



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



604.) B 3

Beta  
=

יהוה



[REDACTED]





2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

VENERABILIS BAEDAE  
OPERA HISTORICA

*PLUMMER*

**HENRY FROWDE, M.A.**  
**PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD**



**LONDON, EDINBURGH, AND NEW YORK**

*Beda*

# VENERABILIS BAEDAE

HISTORIAM ECCLESIASTICAM

GENTIS ANGLORUM

HISTORIAM ABBATUM

EPISTOLAM AD ECGBERCTUM

UNA CUM

HISTORIA ABBATUM AUCTORE ANONYMO

AD FIDEM CODICUM MANUSCRIPTORUM

DENUO RECOGNOVIT

COMMENTARIO TAM CRITICO QUAM HISTORICO

INSTRUXIT

CAROLUS PLUMMER, A.M.

COLLEGII CORPORIS CHRISTI

SOCIUS ET CAPELLANUS

TOMUS POSTERIOR

COMMENTARIUM ET INDICES CONTINENS

OXONII

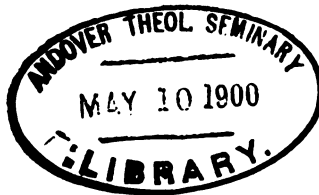
E TYPOGRAPHEO CLARENDONIANO

M DCCC XCVI

OXONII

EXCUBEAT HORATIUS HART

TYPOGRAPHUS ACADEMICUS



50.022

## CONTENTS

---

	PAGE
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE . . . . .	vii
ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA . . . . .	xxxvi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS. . . . .	xxxvii
NOTES TO THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY. . . . .	i
EXCURSUS ON THE PASCHAL CONTROVERSY AND TOMBURE . .	348
NOTES TO BEDE'S LIVES OF THE ABBOTS . . . . .	355
NOTES TO THE ANONYMOUS LIVES OF THE ABBOTS. . . .	371
NOTES TO BEDE'S EPISTLE TO EGBERT . . . . .	378
APPENDIX I.—ON THE OLDEST LIFE OF GREGORY THE GREAT .	389
APPENDIX II.—ON BEDE'S BIBLICAL QUOTATIONS. . . .	392
INDEX . . . . .	395



**CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE**  
**OF EVENTS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT OR NOTES**  
**OF THE PRESENT VOLUMES**



## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

The following symbols are used in this table :—

c. = circa.

> means not earlier than.

< means not later than.

× means that an event took place between two dates.

— means that an event lasted from the first date to the second.

Where the date given in this table differs from that given by Bede, the latter date is generally added in square brackets.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland).</i>	<i>Britain.</i>
B. C.		
59	Lex Vatinia.	
55	Caesar's first invasion of Britain.	
54	Caesar's second invasion of Britain.	
A. D.		
43	Claudius' invasion of Britain.	
161	Accession of M. Aurelius.	
169	Death of Verus.	
> 171	Accession of Elentherus.	
193	Accession of Severus.	
284	Accession of Diocletian.	
306	Death of Constantius.	
325	Council of Nicaea.	
378	Death of Valens.	
381-2	Council of Constantinople.	
395 [394]	Accession of Arcadius.	
397 × 401	Death of St. Martin of Tours.	
c. 403	Birth of Prosper of Aquitaine.	
407		407. Gratianus and Constantinus emperors in Britain.

# Chronological Table.

ix

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland).</i>	<i>Britain.</i>
408	First siege of Rome by Alaric.	
409	Second siege of Rome by Alaric.	
410 [411]	Third siege and capture of Rome by Alaric.	
418	Julianus of Eclanum and other bishops deposed by Pope Zosimus. Germanus becomes bishop of Auxerre.	
423	Death of Honorius.	
427	Lupus becomes bishop of Troyes.	
429	First mission of Germanus to Britain.	
430, Easter		Hallelujah victory.
431	Council of Ephesus. Mission of Palladius to the Irish.	
432	Death of Pope Celestine.	
? 432		? 432, Sept. 16. Death of Nynias.
441 [445]	Death of Bleda, king of the Huns.	
446	Third Consulship of Aetius. Embassy of the Britons to him. Famine at Constantinople.	
447	Earthquake. Second mission of Germanus to Britain.	
448	July 31. Death of Germanus. Nov. Synod of Constantinople.	
449	Robber Synod of Ephesus.	
c. 449		c. 449. Settlement of the Saxons.
450 [449]	Accession of Marcian.	
454	Assassination of Aetius.	
c. 454	Death of Julianus of Eclanum.	
455	Death of Severus of Trèves. March 16. Assassination of Valentinianus.	
c. 463	Death of Prosper of Aquitaine.	
476	Fall of Romulus Augustulus, and end of the Western Empire.	
479	Death of Lupus of Troyes.	
c. 493		Battle of Mons Badonicus. Birth of Gildas.
c. 500		Settlement of the Scotti in Alba.
506	Council of Agde.	
c. 537		Gildas writes the De Excidio Britanniae.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland).</i>	<i>Kent (including Sussex) and Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>	<i>Essex.</i>
538, Feb. 15 [16th]	Solar eclipse.		
540, June 20	" "		
547			
553	Council of Constanti- nople.		
557			
559 × 560 a. 560		Accession of Ethelbert.	
565	Nov. Accession of Jus- tinus Minor.		
565 × 566			
568		Ethelbert defeated by Ceawlin.	
573 × 574			
574	Accession of Benedict I. Convention of Druim Cett.		
578	Death of Benedict I. Accession of Pelagius II.		
579			
582	Aug. 13. Accession of the Emperor Maurice.		
585			
585 × 588	Gregory sees the An- glican boys in the Roman Forum.		
588			
585 × 590	Columban goes to Gaul.		
590	Death of Pelagius II.		
590 [591]	Sept. Accession of Gre- gory I.		
592 × 593			
596	Gregory sends Augustine to Britain.		
> 596, July 23	Augustine leaves Rome the second time.		
597		597. Arrival of Augus- tine. June 2. Baptism of Ethelbert.	
< 597, Dec. 25	Consecration of Augustine.		
601	? Jan. 1. Letter of Gregory to Augustine on his miracles.		

# Chronological Table.

xi

<i>Wessex.</i>	<i>Mercia.</i>	<i>East Anglia.</i>	<i>Northumbria and Northern Britain.</i>
			<p>547. Accession of Ida. Foundation of Bamborough.</p> <p>557. Accession of Brude, king of the Picts.</p> <p>c. 560. Defeat of the Dal- riadic Scots by the Picts.</p> <p>565. Coming of Columba to Britain.</p> <p>565 × 566. Foundation of Iona.</p> <p>573 × 574. Death of Conall mac Comgaill, king of the Dalriadic Scots.</p> <p>574. Accession of Aedan mac Gabrain.</p> <p>579. Aedan attacks the Orkneys.</p> <p>582. Aedan attacks the Isle of Man.</p> <p>585. Birth of Edwin.</p> <p>588. Death of Ælle of Deira.</p> <p>590. Battle of Leithrig.</p> <p>592 × 593. Accession of Ethel- frid.</p> <p>597, June 9. Death of Co- lumba.</p>
568. Ceawlin defeats Ethel- bert.			

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland).</i>	<i>Kent (including Sussex) and Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>	<i>Essex.</i>
601, June 22 601	Gregory sends letters to Ethelbert, &c., by Mellitus. June 22 x July 18. Mission of Mellitus, &c.		
601, July 18	Letter of Gregory to Mellitus.		
601, Nov. 2 602	Accession of Phocas. Synod in Gaul on the Easter question.	Conferences of Augustine with the British bishops. Consecration of Christ Church, Canterbury. 604. Justus bishop of Rochester.	Mellitus bishop of the East Saxons.
602 x 603 603			
?603, June 9	Death of Gregory I.	Death of Augustine; succession of Laurentius. Death of Abbot Peter.	
604 [605]			
604 x 605, May 26 607	Accession of Boniface IV. ? 608	? 608. Mellitus leaves Britain.	
608			
610, Feb. 27	Mellitus present at Council of Rome.		
610, Oct. 5 610	Accession of Heraclius. Columban expelled from Gaul.		
611			
< 612 613	Death of Brunhild.		
613 x 614 614			
615	Deaths of Boniface IV, and of Columban.	616. Death of Ethelbert. Succession of Eadbald.	
616			
? 616 613 x 617			
616 x 617			Death of Sæbert. Apo- stasy of the East Saxons.
c. 617	Foundation of Fare- moutier.		
618, Nov. 619, Feb. 2	Death of Deusdedit.	Death of Laurentius. Succession of Mellitus.	
619, Dec.	Accession of Boniface V.		

*Chronological Table.*

xiii

<i>Wessex.</i>	<i>Mercia.</i>	<i>East Anglia.</i>	<i>Northumbria and Northern Britain.</i>
			603. Battle of Degastan.
			604 × 605. Birth of Oswald.
611. Accession of Cyne- gils.			< 612. Birth of Osfrid.
			613 × 614. Birth of Oswy.
			614. Birth of Hild.
		613 × 617. Vision of Ed- win at the court of Red- wald.	? 616. Battle of Chester.
		616 × 617. Battle of the Idle ; death of Ethel- frid and accession of Edwin.	

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland).</i>	<i>Kent (including Sussex) and Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>	<i>Essex.</i>
619 × 624 623 624, April 24 625, July 21	Letters of Boniface V to Mellitus and Justus.	Death of Mellitus. Suc- cession of Justus. Justus consecrates Paulinus.	
625, Oct.- Nov. 626 ? 626	Death of Boniface V; accession of Honorius I. Faro becomes bishop of Meaux.	Death of Rufinianus.	
627			
? 627, Nov. 10 627 × 628		Death of Justus.	
628			
630 ? 630 630 × 631	Asterius becomes Arch- bishop of Milan. First South Irish Synod.		
> 630 × 631			
631	Irish delegates at Rome. Heraclonas made Caesar.		
? 632 ? 632 × 633	Second South Irish Synod.		
630 × 633	Southern Irish adopt the Roman Easter.		
< 633 633, Oct. 12			
629 × 634 ? 634, June 11	Letter of Honorius to the Irish. Letters of Honorius to Edwin and Honorius. Pallium sent to Paulinus.		
635 > 635			

# Chronological Table.

XV

<i>Wessex.</i>	<i>Mercia.</i>	<i>East Anglia.</i>	<i>Northumbria and Northern Britain.</i>
			623. Seghine abbot of Iona.
			625. Paulinus sent to Northumbria.
	626 Accession of Penda.		626, April 20. Attempted murder of Edwin; birth of Eanfled.
			626, June 7. Baptism of Eanfled.
			627, April 11. Baptism of Edwin.
		627 x 628. Conversion and death of Earpwald.	
			628. Birth of Benedict Bishop.
		630 x 631. Accession of Sigbert and coming of Felix.	
		> 630 x 631. Coming of Fursa.	
			? 632. Edwin besieges Cadwallon.
			< 633. Birth of Yffi.
			633, Oct. 12. Battle of Hatfield. Death of Edwin.
			634. Birth of Wilfrid.
			634, Summer. Death of Osric.
			634, end. Death of Eanfrid. Battle of Hefenfelth, and accession of Oswald.
			635. Mission of Aidan, and foundation of Lindisfarne.
635. Baptism of Cynegils.			> 635. Birth of Ethelwald of Deira.



<i>Date.</i>	<i>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland).</i>	<i>Kent (including Sussex) and Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>	<i>Essex.</i>
636			
638	Accession of Clovis II. Death of Honorius I.		
639			
c. 639			
640	Ercinwald Neustrian mayor of the palace. Death of Asterius of Milan. Ac- cession and death of Pope Severinus. Letter of John IV as Pope Elect to North- ern Irish. Consecration of John IV.	Death of Eadbald. Ac- cession of Earconbert.	
641	Accession of Hera- cleonas.		
642			
> 642			
641 × 643			
640 × 644	Fursa goes to Gaul.		
< 644			
644		Death of Paulinus (Oct. 10). Consecration of Itha- mar to Rochester.	
644 × 645			
645 × 646			
< 646,			
May 21			
< 647			
647			
> 647			
647 × 648			
648			
649	First Lateran Council.		

*Chronological Table.*

xvii

<i>Wessex.</i>	<i>Mercia.</i>	<i>East Anglia.</i>	<i>Northumbria and Northern Britain.</i>
636. Baptism of Cwichelm.			638. War of Oswald, ? against Mercia.
639. Baptism of Cuthred. c. 639. Birth of Aldhelm.			
641 x 643. Death of Cyne- rils. Building of the old Minster at Winchester.			642. Birth of Ceolfrid. Battle of Maserfelth (Aug. 5). Death of Oswald; accession of Oswy. > 642. Marriage of Eanflæd and Oswy.
		< 644. Accession of Anna.	644. Accession of Oswin of Deira.
644 x 645. Expulsion of Cenwalh.			
645 x 646. Conversion of Cenwalh.			< 646, May 21. Birth of Egfrid. < 647. Foundation of Hartlepool. 647. Hild takes the veil.
		> 647. Here- swith takes the veil. 647 x 648. Death of Felix; consecration of Thomas.	
647 x 648. Restoration of Cenwalh.			
648. Consecration of the old Minster at Winchester.			648. Wilfrid enters Lindisfarne.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland).</i>	<i>Kent (including Sussex) and Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>	<i>Essex.</i>
? 649 648 × 650  649 × 650  650 651  652 ? 652 652 × 653  < 653	Death of Fursa. Foillan and Ultan go to Gaul.		
653	Martin I sent to Con- stantinople. Wilfrid and Benedict Biscoop leave Kent for Rome.	Wilfrid arrives in Kent.      Sept. 30. Honorius dies.	Death of Sig- bert Parvus; accession of Sigbert Bonus.  Reconversion of East Saxons.
654  654 × 655 655 ? 655  656  ? 656  657  657 × 658  658	Eugenius I consecrated (Aug. 10). Wilfrid leaves Rome.  Wilfrid at Lyons. Foillan martyred. Death of Martin I (Sept. 16).  Death of Clovis II.  Accession of Vitalian. Death of Ercinwald. Suc- cession of Ebroin. Murder of Annemundus.  Accession of John, arch- bishop of Arles, and of Emmo, bishop of Sens.	654, ? Dec. 12. Election of Deusdedit.  March 26. Consecration of Deusdedit. ? 655. Death of Ithamar, and consecration of Da- mian.	

# Chronological Table.

xix

<i>Wessex.</i>	<i>Mercia.</i>	<i>East Anglia.</i>	<i>Northumbria and Northern Britain.</i>
<p>648 x 650. Death of Bir- nna. 649 x 650. Agilbert bishop of the West Saxons.</p>	<p>653. Conversion of Peada and the Middle Angles.</p> <p>655. Nov. 15. Battle of the Win- wæd. Death of Peada.</p> <p>656. Spring. Murder of Peada. ? 656. Diuna bishop of the Mer- cians.</p> <p>658. Rebellion of Mercia against Oswy. Wulfhere king.</p>	<p>652. Marriage of Ethelthryth and Tondbert. 652 x 653. Death of Thomas; con- secration of Boniface.</p> <p>654. Death of Anna. Founda- tion of Ican- hoe by Botulf.</p> <p>655. Death of Tondbert.</p>	<p>650. Birth of Eosterwine. 651. Murder of Oswin (Aug. 20). Death of Aidan (Aug. 31). Cuthbert enters Melrose. 652. Death of Seghine of Iona.</p> <p>654 x 655. Birth of Elfed. 655. Battle of the Winwæd.</p> <p>657. Foundation of Whitby. Cuimine Ailbe abbot of Iona.</p> <p>657 x 658. Birth of Wil- brord.</p>

*Chronological Table.*

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland).</i>	<i>Kent (including Sussex) and Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>	<i>Essex.</i>
? 658			
659	Baldhild makes St. Leger		
? 659	bishop of Autun.		
660			
658 x 661			
661			
? 661			
662	Restoration of Chelles		
	by Baldhild.		
? 663			
663 x 664			
< 664			Barking founded.
664		Plague	
	Eclipse, May 1 [May 3]. Sigebrand, bishop of Paris, killed. Baldhild enters a convent.	July 14. Deaths of Ear- conbert and Deusdedit. Accession of Egbert.	664. Death of Cedd.
? 664		? 664. Death of Damian.	? 664. Death of Ethelberg.
? 665	Death of St. Burgundo- fara. Second visit of Bene- dict Biscop to Rome.		
666			
? 666			
> 666	Agilbert bishop of Paris.		
665-667	Benedict Biscop at Le- rins,		
667	Benedict Biscop's third visit to Rome.		
	Nov. Theodore ordained subdeacon.		
? 667	Wighard sent to Rome by Egbert and Oswy.		

# Chronological Table.

xxi

Wessex.	Mercia.	East Anglia.	Northumbria and Northern Britain.
	<p>? 658. Ceollach bishop of the Mercians.</p> <p>? 659. Trumhere bishop of the Mercians.</p> <p>? 661. Wulfhere conquers Wight.</p> <p>662. Death of Trumhere. Succession of Jaruman.</p>		<p>? 658. Alchfrid sends for Wilfrid.</p> <p>660. Marriage of Egfrid and Ethelthryth.</p> <p>658 x 661. Grant of Stamford to Wilfrid.</p> <p>661. Death of Finan.</p> <p>? 661. Expulsion of Eata and Cuthbert from Ripon. Grant of Ripon to Wilfrid. Ceolfrid goes to Ripon. Death of Boisil.</p>
<p>? 663. Wineade bishop. Gilbert leaves Essex.</p>		<p>663 x 664. Accession of Aldwulf.</p>	<p>Wilfrid ordained priest.</p>
	in		Britain.
			<p>664. Synod of Whitby. Colman leaves Lindisfarne. Cuthbert provost of Lindisfarne. Death of Tuda. Election and consecration of Wilfrid.</p> <p>? 664. Rebellion of Alchfrid.</p>
<p>'666. Expulsion of Wine.</p>			<p>666. Wilfrid returns to Britain.</p>
			<p>667. Colman's settlement at Inisboffin.</p>
	<p>? 667. Death of Jaruman.</p>		

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland).</i>	<i>Kent (including Sussex) &amp; Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>	<i>Essex.</i>	<i>W'essex.</i>
668.	March 26. Theodore consecrated. May 27. Sets out for Britain.			
666-669				
669		Foundation of Re- culver. May 27. Theodore reaches Canterbury.		
669 x 670 < 670		< 670. Arrival of Abbot Hadrian.		
a. 670 670 669 x 671	Arculfus' pilgrim- age.			670. Hlothhere bishop.
671 > 671	Benedict Biscop's fourth visit to Rome.	> 671 Hadrian abbot of SS. Peter and Paul, Canterbury.		
672	Deaths of Vitalian, and of Faro bishop of Meaux.			672. Death of Cenwal
? 672				
669 x 673				
672 x 673 673		July. Death of Eg- bert. Accession of Hlothhere. Sept. 24. Theodore holds the Council of Hertford.		
? 673				
674 671 x 675 < 675	Death of Colman at Inisboffin.			
675 ? 675	Deaths of John bishop of Arles, and Emmo bishop of Sens.			
675 x 676	Benedict Biscop goes to Gaul.		Karoon- wald bishop of London. ? 675 Death of Ethel- berg.	? 675. Al- helm abb of Malme bury.

# Chronological Table.

xxiii

<i>Mercia.</i>	<i>East Anglia.</i>	<i>Northumbria and Northern Britain.</i>	<i>History of Wearmouth and Jarrow.</i>
669. Ceadda bishop of the Mercians.	669 × 670. Death of Boniface.	666-669. Wilfrid in retirement at Ripon. 669. Ceolfrid ordained priest by Wilfrid. Wilfrid restored by Theodora. Death of Cuimine Ailbe of Iona.	
672. Death of Ceadda (March 2). Wynfrid bishop.	669 × 673. Consecration of Bisi. 673. Foundation of Ely.	669 × 671. Oswy wishes Wilfrid to accompany him to Rome. 671, Feb. 15 [670]. Death of Oswy; accession of Egfrid.	
< 675. Deposition of Wynfrid. Accession of Sexulf.	? 673. Division of the East Anglian see.	672. Return of Benedict Biscop. Separation of Egfrid and Ethelthryth. ? 672. Ethelthryth receives the veil from Wilfrid.	672 × 673. Birth of Bede.
675. Death of Wulfhere. Accession of Ethelred.		671 × 675. Egfrid recovers Lindsey.	674. Foundation of Wearmouth.



<i>Date.</i>	<i>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland).</i>	<i>Kent (including Sussex) &amp; Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>	<i>Essex.</i>	<i>Wessex.</i>
676		Kent ravaged and Rochester sacked by Ethelred of Mercia.		Hædde bishop.
c. 677	Wilbrord goes to Ireland.			
671 × 678				
672 × 678				
678	Pope Agatho consecrated. Fifth visit of Benedict Biscop to Rome with Ceolfrid. Wilfrid winters in Frisia.	Drought in Sussex, followed by famine.		
? 678		Consecration of Gebmund.		
679	Wilfrid at Rome.			
? 679, Dec.	Death of Dagobert II.			
679 × 680				
Nov. 679– March, 680	Council of Rome. Trial of Wilfrid's appeal.			
680	Deaths of Baldhild, Ebroin, and Agilbert.	Sept. 17. Theodore holds the Council of Hatfield.		
c. 680	Death of Ultan.			
Nov. 680– Sept. 681	Council of Constantinople.			
681				
681 × 682				
682				
684	Council of Toledo.			
? 684	Benedict Biscop's sixth visit to Rome.			
675 × 685				
685		Feb. 6. Death of Hlothhere.		
? 685				

# Chronological Table.

XXV

<i>Mercia.</i>	<i>East Anglia.</i>	<i>Northumbria and Northern Britain.</i>	<i>History of Wearmouth and Jarrow.</i>
676. Putta takes refuge with Sexwulf.		676. Cuthbert retires to Farne.	
		671 × 678. Church at Ripon built. 672 × 678. Church at Hexham built. 678. Expulsion of Wilfrid. Division of his diocese. Consecration of Bosa, Eata, and Eadhed.	
679. Battle of the Trent. Lindsey becomes Merian.		?678. Church at Lindisfarne consecrated by Theodore. 679. Adamnan abbot of Iona. Death of Ælfwine at the Trent.	679. Eosterwine ordained priest.
		680. Wilfrid returns to Britain, and is thrown into prison. Death of Hild, Nov. 17.	679 × 680. Return of Benedict Biscop with John the archchanter. Bede enters Wearmouth.
		681. Brude, king of the Picts, attacks the Orkneys. Release of Wilfrid. Consecration of Tunbert and Trumwine.	681 × 682. Jarrow founded. 682. Eosterwine abbot.
675 × 685. Eata bishop of Dorchester.		684. Synod of Twyford. Deposition of Tunbert. Election of Cuthbert. Bert's expedition to Ireland.	
		685, March 26. Consecration of Cuthbert. May 21. Death of Egfrid at Nechtansmere. Succession of Aldfrid.	?685, April 23. Consecration of Jarrow church.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland).</i>	<i>Kent (including Sussex) &amp; Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>	<i>Essex.</i>	<i>Wessex.</i>
672-685 681 x 686		Plague at Selsey (Sussex).		672-685 Anarchy
681-686 686		681-686. Wilfrid in Sussex.		686. cession Cædwall Conques Wight. c. 686. Wilfrid Wessex.
c. 686				
? 686 686 x 687		? 686, Aug. Death of Edric.		
687	Battle of Testry. Accession of Sergius I.			
687-688				
688				Abdic tion c Cædwall
688 x 689				
689, April	Baptism and death of Cædwalla at Rome.			
689 x 690				
< 690	Abortive attempt of Egbert to evangelise Germany.			
690	Wilbrord's mission to Frisia.	690, Sept. 19. Death of Theodore. Oct. Accession of Witred.		
691 x 692	Second voyage of Adamnan to Ireland.			
692		692, July 1. Election of Bertwald.		
? 692	First visit of Wil- brord to Rome.			
691 x 693				
692 x 693	Swidbert consecrated by Wilfrid as bishop of the Frisians.			
693		June 29. Consecra- tion of Bertwald.		

# Chronological Table.

xxvii

<i>Mercia.</i>	<i>East Anglia.</i>	<i>Northumbria and Northern Britain.</i>	<i>History of Wearmouth and Jarrow.</i>
688. Death of Putta, bishop of Hereford.		<p>686. First visit of Adamnan to Northumbria, and voyage to Ireland with the released prisoners. Last interview of Cuthbert and Herbert.</p> <p>? 686. Death of Eata.</p> <p>686 × 687. Restoration of Wilfrid. He administers the see of Hexham for a year.</p> <p>687 &lt; March. Cuthbert resigns his see.</p> <p>March 20. Deaths of Cuthbert and Herbert.</p> <p>Aug. Consecration of John of Hexham.</p> <p>687-688. Wilfrid administers Lindisfarne.</p> <p>688. Second visit of Adamnan to Northumbria.</p>	<p>686. Death of Eosterwine. Election of Sigfrid.</p>
			<p>688 × 689. Ceolfrid abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow (May 13). Death of Sigfrid (Aug. 22).</p>
			<p>689 × 690. Death of Benedict Biscop (Jan. 12).</p>
		<p>691 × 692. Second expulsion of Wilfrid.</p> <p>692. Death of Brude mac Bill, king of the Picts.</p>	<p>Bede ordained deacon.</p>
691 × 693. Consecration of Miffor, bishop of the Hwiccas.			

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland).</i>	<i>Kent (including Sussex) &amp; Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>	<i>Essex.</i>	<i>Wessex.</i>
> 693				
692 x 694			Death of Earcn- wald. Re- signation and death of Sebbi; accession of Sighard and Swe- fred.	
694		Peace between Kent and Wessex.		
695 [696]	Wilbrord's second visit to Rome, and consecration.			
? 695				
696		Witenagemót of Bersted; Witred's laws.		
675 x 697				
696 x 697	Third voyage of Adamnan to Ireland.			
697				
698				
699				
691 x 703				
701	Death of Sergius I. Ceolfrid's monks, in- cluding Hwætbert, at Rome.			
702 x 703				
703 x 704	Wilfrid and Acca with Wilbrord in Frisia.			
704	Wilfrid at Rome. Second appeal.			
< 705				
705	Death of John VI (Jan.).			705. Aldhelm's letter to Geraint. Death of Hædde.

# Chronological Table.

xxix

Mercia.	East Anglia.	Northumbria and Northern Britain.	History of Wearmouth and Jarrow.
<p>&gt; 693. Death of Offor.</p> <p>675 × 697. Translation of Oswald to Bardney.</p> <p>697. Murder of Osthryth.</p> <p>704. Etheld becomes a monk. Succession of Cedd.</p>	<p>? 695. Translation of Ethelthryth.</p>	<p>698, March 30. Translation of Cuthbert.</p> <p>May 5. Death of Eadbert.</p> <p>699. Death of Ethelwald of Farne.</p> <p>702 × 703. Great Council.</p> <p>703 × 704. Death of Adamnan.</p> <p>705. Death of Bosa. Return of Wilfrid. Death of Aldfrid. Accession (after two months) of Osred.</p>	<p>691 × 703. Bede writes <i>De Arte Metr.</i>, <i>De Schematibus</i>, and prob. <i>De Orthographia</i>.</p> <p>Bede ordained priest.</p> <p>704. Hwætbert ordained priest.</p> <p>&lt; 705. Bede's <i>Metrical Life of Cuthbert</i>.</p>

*Chronological Table.*

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland).</i>	<i>Kent (including Sussex) &amp; Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>	<i>Essex.</i>	<i>Wessex.</i>
705	Wilfrid ill at Meaux.			Division of the Wessex diocese. Aldhelm bishop of Sherborne.
706				
708 < 709	Accession of Constantine I.		< 709. Accession of Offa.	
709	Cenred and Offa go to Rome.	c. 709. Eadbert, bp. of Selsey (Sussex).	709. Resignation of Offa.	May 25. Death of Aldhelm.
c. 709 > 709 709 x 710 713		Death of Abbot Hadrian.	> 709. Death of Hildilid.	
690 x 714	Mission of the Hewalds.			
713 x 714 714	Death of Pippin of Héristal.			
713 x 715 715	Death of Swidbert. Death of Constantine I; accession of Gregory II.			715. Battle of Ine and
696 x 716		Witenagemót of Bapchild.		
709 x 716				
< 716				
716		Council of Clovesho.		
> 716 717				
718	Boniface goes to Frisia.			
719	Death of Radbod of Frisia.			
c. 720				

# Chronological Table.

xxxi

Mercia.	East Anglia.	Northumbria and Northern Britain.	History of Wearmouth and Jarrow.
709. Resignation of Cenred; accession of Ceolred.		705. Synod on the Nidd. Wilfrid restored to Hexham and Ripon.  706. Death of Brude mac Derili, king of the Picts; accession of Nechtan.  709. Death of Wilfrid.	708. Bede's letter to Plegwin, De Sex Aetatibus.
between Ceolred.	713. Death of Aldwulf.	713 x 714. Death of Elfred.	
716. Death of Ceolred; accession of Ethelbald.		716. Death of Osred; accession of Cenred. Change of Easter at Iona.	709 x 716. Bede writes In Acta, In Lucam, ? In Epp. Catholicas. < 716. Bede writes In Apocalypsin. Resignation and death of Ceolfrid. Election of Hwætbert. Translation of Eosterwine and Sigfrid. Bede writes In Samnelem, De Mansionibus fl. Israel, De eo quod ait Isaias, &c. > 716. Bede writes Hist. Abb., In Maroum.
717, Dec. 30. Death of Egwin of the Wiccas.		717. Expulsion of Columbite clergy from the Picts. 718. Death of Cenred; accession of Osric.	c. 720. Bede writes In Genesim.



<i>Date.</i>	<i>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland).</i>	<i>Kent (including Sussex) &amp; Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>	<i>Essex.</i>	<i>Wessex.</i>
721	Visit of Daniel to Rome. Defeat of the Saracens.			
? 721				
722	Grant of Utrecht to Wilbrord by Charles Martel.			
724				
< 725				
725	Defeat of the Saracens.	April 23. Death of Witred.		
726				
? 726				? 726. Ab- dication of Ini.
727		Death of Tobias. Consecration of Ald- wulf.		
728				
< 729				
729	Cometa.			
715 × 731	Visit of Nothelm to Rome.			
725 × 731				
729 × 731				
731	Death of Gregory II; accession of Gregory III.	Jan. Death of Bert- wald.		
? 731				
732	Battle of Tours.			
? 732		? 732. Death of Al- binus.		
733	Aug. Solar eclipse.	733. Sigfrid bishop of Selsey (Sussex).		733. War Wessex and
731 × 734				
734	Jan. Lunar eclipse.	734. Deaths of Ald- wulf and Tatwin.		
734 × 735				

# Chronological Table.

xxxiii

Mercia.	East Anglia.	Northumbria and Northern Britain.	History of Wear-mouth and Jarrow.
721. Accession of Aldfrid (Worr), king of Lich- field.		721. Death of Bishop John (May 7). Accession of Ethelwald, bishop of Lindisfarne.	
		724. Nechtan tonsured.	< 725. Bede writes De Ratione Bissexti.
		726. Nechtan imprisoned.	725. Bede writes De Temporum Ratione, De Natura Rerum.
		728. Nechtan restored. Miracle at Lindisfarne.	< 729. Bede writes De Tabernaculo.
		729. Death of Egbert at Iona (April 24). Death of Osric; accession of Ceolwulf.	725 × 731. Bede writes In Ezram et Nehemiam.
		? 731. Deposition of Ceolwulf. Expulsion of Acca.	729 × 731. Bede writes De Templo.
		732. Death of Nechtan. Resignation of Wilfrid II. Election of Egbert of York.	731. Bede writes the Eccl. Hist. and Ep. to Albinus. [For other works of Bede which can only be dated < 731. v. Int. pp. cli-clv.]
ween selbald.		734. Consecration of Egbert.	733. Bede visits Egbert at York.
		734 × 735. Consecration of Frithbert.	731 × 734. Bede writes Retractationes in Acta.
			734. Nov. Bede's letter to Egbert.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Foreign Affairs, Popes, &amp;c. (including Ireland).</i>	<i>Kent (including Sussex) &amp; Ecclesiastical Affairs.</i>	<i>Essex.</i>	<i>Wessex.</i>
735		Nothelm archbishop of Canterbury.		
737	Forthere goes to Rome.			
738 × 739	Death of Wilbrord.	Death of Nothelm.		
739				
740				
744				744. signatio of Dani
743 × 745				
744 × 745				
745			745. Death of Ingwald, bishop of London.	Death Daniel.
746			746. Selred of Essex slain.	
747		Council of Clovesho.		
757				
758				
760 × 764				

## XXV

<i>Mercia.</i>	<i>East Anglia.</i>	<i>Northumbria and Northern Britain.</i>	<i>History of Wearmouth and Jarrow.</i>
737. Death of Aldwine.		735. Death of Pehthelm. Pallium sent to Egbert. 737. Ceolwulf becomes a monk. Accession of Eadbert.	735. Death of Bede.
743 x 745. Death of Wilfrid of the Hwiccas.		740. Death of Ethelwald of Lindisfarne. ? Death of Acca.	
		744 x 745. Death of Wilfrid II. 745. Death of Herebald.	
757. Ethelbald slain.		758. Resignation of Eadbert. 760 x 764. Death of Ceolwulf.	

## ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

---

- P. 18, l. 1, after 'pp. 15, 24,' add 'cf. Crawford Charters, p. 24.'
- P. 78, l. 4 from bottom, after 'Opp. Min. p. 193' add 'and so the oldest Life of Gregory, App. I. § 11.'
- P. 79, l. 10 from bottom, add 'cf. Crawford Charters, pp. 13, 93.'
- P. 88, l. 3 from bottom. Other instances of these shortened names are 'Tuma' for Trumwine, p. 268; 'Siegga' for Sigfrid, Fl. Wig. i. 234; cf. Stark, Die Kosenamen der Germanen.
- P. 95, l. 24, add 'On the name Lilla, cf. Crawford Charters, p. 51.'
- P. 111, bottom line, add 'The date A. D. is probably an addition of Bede's own to the letter; cf. Crawford Charters, p. 45.'
- P. 136, l. 4 from bottom, add 'This was also a trait in the practice of Sir W. W. Hunter's "Old Missionary."'
- P. 185, l. 6, read 'She played an important part both in the second and in the final restoration,' &c.
- P. 219, l. 15 from bottom, for 'the abbess' read 'Eadburg abbess'; and this Eadburg is identical with the Bugga mentioned on p. 289, and also with the English abbess mentioned on pp. 282, 339.
- P. 237, bottom line, after 'festival' add 'and so in the Roman Breviary.'
- P. 270, l. 10, add 'On the name Cudda, cf. Crawford Charters, p. 68.'
- P. 342, l. 6 from bottom. In some MSS. the prologue of Felix's Life of Guthlac is addressed to Alfwold, in others to Ethelbald king of the East Angles. The former attribution is of course quite possible. But I have little doubt that the person really meant is Ethelbald of Mercia; especially as, in the body of the work, the author makes the analogous mistake of calling Ethelred king of the East Angles, instead of king of the Mercians. With this agrees the tradition that Felix was himself a monk of Croyland. To whom should a monk of Croyland dedicate the life of his patron saint rather than to the founder of his house?

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS COMMONLY USED.

---

- AA. SS. = *Acta Sanctorum*. When cited simply thus, the reference is to the great Bollandist collection; when Mabillon or Mab. is prefixed, it refers to Mabillon's *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Benedictini*; and when Colgan is prefixed, Colgan's *Lives of the Irish Saints* are meant.
- Ad. Col. = *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*; v. Ra. Ad. During the printing of the present work a very convenient edition has appeared, by Dr. J. T. Fowler, of Durham; Clarendon Press.
- a. l. = *ad locum*.
- Ang. Sac. = *Anglia Sacra*, ed. Wharton.
- Ann. Camb. = *Annales Cambriae*; R. S., and (more correctly) in Y Cymmrodor, vol. ix.
- Ann. Ult. = *Annals of Ulster*. R. S.
- Ann. Wig. = *Annales Wigornenses*. R. S.
- Ann. Wint. = *Annales Wintonienses*. R. S.
- App. Ff., v. Ltft. App. Ff.
- Art de Vérif. = *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, &c. 3 vols. fol. 1783-1787.
- AS. vera. = The Anglo-Saxon version of Bede's H. E., ed. Dr. T. Miller, E. E. T. S.
- Biogr. Misc. = *Miscellanea Biographica* (*Lives of Oswin, Cuthbert, and Eata*). S. S. 1838.
- Birch = Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*.
- Bouquet = *Recueil des Historiens de la Gaule et de la France*. (The whole series is thus cited, although the later volumes are not edited by Dom Bouquet.)
- Bright = Dr. W. Bright's *Chapters of Early English Church History*. 1878.
- C. B., v. Rhys.
- Chron., v. Sax. Chron.
- Chron. = Bede's *Chronicle* at the end of the *De Temporum Ratione*.
- Chron. Scot. or C. S. = *Chronicon Scotorum*. R. S.
- Colgan, v. AA. SS.
- D. C. A. = *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*.

D. C. B. = Dictionary of Christian Biography.

Ducange = Ducange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*. 4to.  
1884-1887.

Dugdale, v. Mon. Angl.

Dunstan, v. Stubbs.

E. C., v. Palgrave.

Eddius = Vita Wilfridi, auctore Eddio Stephano; in Raine's *Historians of the Church of York*, i. R. S.

E. E. T. S. = Early English Text Society.

E. H. S. = English Historical Society.

Elmham = *Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis*, by Thomas of Elmham, ed. Hardwick. R. S.

Ep. Succ., v. Stubbs.

E. T. = English Translation.

Félire = The *Félire or Calendar of Oengus the Culdee*; ed. Dr. Whitley Stokes for the Royal Irish Academy.

Fl. Wig. = *Florence of Worcester*, ed. Thorpe. E. H. S. (also in M. H. B.).

F. M. = The *Annals of the Four Masters*, ed. O'Donovan.

F. N. C. = *Freeman's History of the Norman Conquest*.

Gams = *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae*, ed. P. B. Gams. 1873.

Geof. Mon. = *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, ed. San-Marte. 1854.

G. P. = *William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Hamilton. R. S.

G. R. = *Gesta Regum*, v. W. M.

Green, M. E. = J. R. Green, *The Making of England*. 1882.

Haa., Hab.; in the indices, and occasionally in the notes, the Anonymous History of the Abbots and Bede's History of the Abbots are thus cited.

Hardy, Cat. = Sir T. Duffus Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*. R. S.

H. E. = *Historia Ecclesiastica*; generally Bede's, but occasionally Eusebius' is meant.

Hexham = The Priory of Hexham, its *Chronicles . . . and Annals*, ed. Raine. S. S.

H. H. = Henry of Huntingdon, ed. T. Arnold. R. S.

H. & S. = Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*.

H. Y. = *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. Raine. R. S.

Jaffé, v. R. P., Mon. Alc., Mon. Mog.

*List of Abbreviations.*

xxxix

- K. C. D. = Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*. E. H. S.  
Kemble, *Saxons = The Saxons in England*, by J. M. Kemble. 1849.
- Lanigan = Lanigan's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*. 1829.
- Lib. Eli. = *Liber Eliensis*, ed. Stewart. Anglia Christiana Society.
- Lismore Lives = (Irish) *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*,  
ed. Dr. Whitley Stokes. *Anecdota Oxoniensia*.
- Ltft. App. Ff. = Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, two parts in five vols.  
(2nd ed. of Part ii).
- L. Br. = *Lebar Brec*, 'The Speckled Book.' Published in Facsimile  
by the Royal Irish Academy.
- LL. = *The Book of Leinster*. Published in Facsimile by the Royal  
Irish Academy.
- LU. = *Lebar na h-uidri*, 'The Book of the Dun Cow.' Published  
in Facsimile by the Royal Irish Academy.
- M. = Bede's H. E., &c., ed. G. Moberly.
- Mart. Don. = *Martyrology of Donegal*, ed. O'Donovan, Todd, and  
Reeves. Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society.
- M. E., v. Green.
- Mem. Hex., v. Hexham.
- M. H. B. = *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, vol. i. (all published).
- M. H. G., v. Pertz.
- Migne, Pat. Graec. = Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*.
- Migne, Pat. Lat. = Migne, *Patrologia Latina*.
- Misc. Biogr., v. Biogr. Misc.
- M. & L. = Bede's H. E., Books iii. and iv., ed. Mayor and Lumby.  
1881.
- Mon. Alc. = *Monumenta Alcuiniana*, ed. Jaffé and Wattenbach.
- Mon. Angl. = Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. Caley, Bandinel, and Ellis. 1817-1830.
- Mon. Mog. = *Monumenta Moguntina*, ed. Jaffé.
- Muratori, v. SS. RR. II.
- N. & K. = *Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern*, ed. Forbes. 1874.
- Opp. = *Venerabilis Bedae Opera*, ed. Giles, 12 vols. 1843, 1844.
- Opp. Min. = *Beda's Opera Historica Minora*, ed. Stevenson. E. H. S.  
1841.
- Orosius, AS. vera. E. E. T. S.
- Palgrave, E. C. = *The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, by Sir F. Palgrave.
- Pal. Soc. = *Palaeographical Society*.
- Pertz = *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, folio series.
- Pertz 4to. = *Monumenta Historiae Germaniae*, 4to series.
- P. & S. = *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, ed. W. F. Skene.



Rawl. = Rawlinson Collection of MSS. in Bodleian Library.

Rhŷs, C. B. = Rhŷs, Celtic Britain. S. P. C. K.

R. P. = Regesta Pontificum, ed. Jaffé.

Rs. Ad. = Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, ed. Reeves. Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society.

R. W. = Roger of Wendover, ed. Coxe. E. H. S.

*s. a.* = sub anno.

Sax. Chron. = Saxon Chronicle. Owing to variations of reading it is often necessary to cite the six MSS. A. B. C. D. E. F. separately.

S. C. H. = Stubbs, Constitutional History. Cabinet edition. 1874-1878.

S. C. S. = Skene, Celtic Scotland, 1876-1880.

S. D. = Simeon of Durham, ed. T. Arnold. R. S.

Sig. Gembl. = Sigebertus Gemblacensis; in Pertz, vi.

S. S. = Surtees Society.

SS. RR. II. = Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, ed. Muratori.

Stubbs, Dunstan = Memorials of St. Dunstan, ed. Stubbs. R. S.

Stubbs, Ep. Succ. = Registrum Sacrum, . . . Episcopal Succession in England, by W. Stubbs. 1858.

*s. v.* = sub voce.

Thorne = Chronica Gulielmi Thorne, monachi S. Augustini Cantuar., in Twysden, Decem Scriptores.

Three Fragments = Three Fragments of Irish Annals, ed. O'Donovan. Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society.

Tigh. = The Annals of Tighernach. Printed (very incorrectly) in O'Connor, Scriptores Rerum Hibernicarum; and (imperfectly) in P. & S. I have generally used the Bodleian MS. Rawl. B. 488.

Vit. Cudb. = Bede's Prose Life of Cuthbert, in Opp. Min.

Vit. Metr. Cudb. = Bede's Metrical Life of Cuthbert, ib.

Vit. Anon. Cudb. = The Anonymous Life of Cuthbert, ib.

Wattenbach, v. Mon. Alc.

Werner = Beda der Ehrwürdige und seine Zeit, von Dr. Karl Werner. 1875.

W. M. = William of Malmesbury's Gesta Regum, ed. Stubbs. R. S.  
Wülker, Grundriss = Grundriss der angelsächsischen Litteratur, von R. Wülker. 1885.

Z. K. B. = Zimmer, Keltische Beiträge, in Zeitschr. für deutsches Alterthum.

# BEDE'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

## NOTES.

### THE PREFACE.

P. 5. *Historiam . . . edideram*] i.e. in the case of this as of most Bede's books, the preface was the last thing to be written. We get from this address to Ceolwulf an insight into Bede's manner of working. He first sends to his correspondent a rough draft of the work for criticism; and then lends the completed work for transcription. In this lending of copies for purposes of transcription consisted the mediaeval process of publication; 'edideram.' Cf. the letter to Albinus printed above. And hence, too, the existence of what may be called quite truly different editions of mediaeval works; for it is evident that copies might be multiplied at different stages in the process of revision. A striking instance of this phenomenon exists in the case of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*. See Dr. Stubbs' Preface, I. xliii-xc. On the editions of the present work see Introduction, §§ 27-28. Bede's mode of working comes out still more clearly in the preface to the prose life of St. Cuthbert. He says: 'nec sine certissima exquisitioe rerum gestarum aliquid de tanto uiro scribere, nec . . . ea, quae scripseram, sine subtilissima examinatione testium indubiorum passim transcribenda quibusdam dare praesumpsi. Quin potius primo diligenter . . . progressum . . . uitae illius ab his, qui nouerant, inuestigans, quorum etiam nomina . . . ob indicium certum cognitae ueritatis apponenda iudicaui, sic demum ad schedulas manum mittere incipio. At, digesto opusculo, sed adhuc retento in schedulis, frequenter et . . . Herefrido et aliis, qui . . . uitam illius optime nouerant, quae scripsi legenda atque . . . retractanda praestiti, ac nonnulla ad arbitrium eorum . . . sedu-

lus emendauit; sicque . . . certam ueritatis indaginem . . . commendare membranulis . . . curauit . . . Quod cum . . . patrarem, et coram senioribus . . . uestrae congregationis [*i.e.* Lindisfarne] libellus biduo legeretur, . . . cuncta . . . decernebantur absque ulla dubietate legenda, et . . . ad transscribendum esse tradenda,' Opp. Min. pp. 45-47. On Ceolwulf, see v. 23 note.

ex tempore] 'at leisure,' and so ii. 9 *ad fin.*; Opp. v. 306; Introd. Part I. App. 2, p. clxiii.

siue enim, &c.] On Bede's desire to benefit his readers see the Introduction, § 7, and cf. R. W. i. 4.

p. 6. ut autem . . . curabo] Cf. the passage given above from the Vita Cudb.: 'quorum etiam nomina,' &c., and Werner, pp. 211, 212.

Albinus.

Albinus] He succeeded Hadrian as abbot of the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul at Canterbury in 709 or 710, see v. 20, p. 331. Elmham says: 'successit uenerabilis pater Albinus natione Anglicus, primus qui de gente nostra ad regimen istius monasterii est electus,' p. 294. He says that he died in 732 after an abbacy of twenty-four years, p. 301. But as he places his succession in 708, which is certainly a year too early at the least, it is possible that he did not die till 733 or 734. Anyhow, his death falls just outside the limits of Bede's work. The letter in which Bede thanks him for his help, and sends him copies of the Ecclesiastical History and of the De Templo for transcription is given above, I. p. 3. Elmham quotes his epitaph, p. 301. The Saxon version adds: 'se wæs wide gefaren 7 gelæred,' 'he was far travelled and learned.'

Documents.

monimentis litterarum] This is interesting as showing that Albinus was in possession of documentary evidence connected with the mission of Augustine. We cannot tell how far the documents connected with that mission which Bede gives came from Canterbury, and how far from Rome through Nothelm. See on i. 27.

Nothelm.

Nothelmum] He was, as Bede says here, a priest of the church of London. Bede's 'Quaestiones in Libros Regum' were written in answer to inquiries from him; and are prefaced by a letter in which Bede addresses him as 'frater dilectissime,' Opp. viii. 232, 233; see also Introd. p. xlix, note 2. His visit to Rome and his researches in the papal archives must be placed 715 × 731, during the pontificate of Gregory II, who is obviously the pope referred to below as 'Gregorius qui nunc praest.' (If the letters in i. 29 and ii. 19 came from the papal archives, and the latter at any rate probably did, even if Ewald's view be adopted that Bede obtained the letters of Gregory I, not from Rome, but from the originals at Canterbury, Neues Archiv, III. 542 ff., Nothelm's visit to Rome must be earlier than 725, as Bede certainly seems to allude to these letters in his

Chron., Opp. Min. pp 194-196). Gregory II died in Feb. 731. Bede finished his history in that year, but in what month is not clear; with the exception of the allusion to the defeat of the Saracens in 732, v. 23, p. 349, which may have been added later (v. note a. l.), the last event mentioned appears to be the consecration of Tatwin, June 10, 731, ib. p. 350. The news of the Pope's death would take some time to reach Britain. As Gregory II had before his elevation been librarian of the Church of Rome (Stevenson), he would be eminently qualified to direct Nothelm's researches. Obviously Gregory III cannot be meant, for he was not consecrated till March 731, and there would be no time for Nothelm to make researches at Rome under him and communicate them to Bede before the latter finished his work. It is also clear from this passage, and from the letter to Albinus given above, that Nothelm had at some time after his Roman journey visited Bede. Unfortunately we have no means of fixing the date of that visit. In 735 Nothelm became Archbishop of Canterbury; in 736 he received the pallium; Chron.; S. D. ii. 31, 32; Fl. Wig. He died in 739 according to Cont. Baed., *infra* p. 362; S. D. ii. 32 (so H. & S. iii. 335); in 740, Chron. F; Elmham, p. 312; on Oct. 17, 741, Fl. Wig. The other MSS. of the Chron. do not mention his death; A. B. place the accession of Cuthbert in 741, C. D. E. in 740. Elmham, *u. s.*, gives Nothelm's epitaph, and etymologises his name into 'Notus almus.' Cf. Werner, p. 87.

**A principio . . . didicimus]** Here Bede, though he gives no names, does acknowledge generally his obligations in the earlier chapters of this work. Cf. Introduction, p. xxiv note; and notes to i. 1, p. 8.

**p. 7. hortatu . . . Albini]** Cf. the letter printed I. p. 3.

**Danihel]** See on v. 18, p. 320.

**Ceddi et Ceadda]** In iii. 21, 23, Bede does not associate Ceadda (Chad) with Cedd in the evangelisation of Mercia, the re-conversion of Essex, or the foundation of Lastingham.

**Lastingaeu]** See on iii. 23.

**Esi].** Nothing appears to be known of him.

**successio sacerdotalis]** 'episcopal succession.' See note on i. 28.

**Cyniberoti]** See on iv. 12.

**allorum . . . uirorum]** One of these is mentioned by name in ii. 16; Deda, a monk of Partenay.

**partim ex eis . . . adsumpsi]** This is a reference to the Anonymous Life of Cuthbert printed by the Bollandists, and by Stevenson, Opp. Min. pp. 259-284.

**p. 8. quod uera lex . . . studuimus]** So commenting on Luke ii. The law of 33, Bede says: 'neque enim oblitus euangelista quod eam de Spiritu <sup>History.</sup> Sancto concepissee . . . narrarit, sed opinionem uulgi exprimens,

quae uera historiae lex est, patrem Ioseph nuncupat Christi,' Opp. x. 333. Bede, however, is nearly always careful to mark where he is writing only 'fama uulgante' by using such words as 'fertur,' 'perhibetur,' &c. See Introduction, p. xlv note.

*Praeterea omnes*] On the position of this paragraph in the various MSS., see the critical notes here and at p. 360: and on the importance of this as a test of the different recensions of Bede's work, see the Introduction, § 27.

*interuenire meminerint*] On Bede's desire for the prayers of his readers, see Introduction, pp. lxv, lxvi.

## BOOK I. CHAPTER 1.

Introductory Chapters.

The first twenty-two chapters of this first book are in the nature of an introduction to Bede's main subject, which is 'the ecclesiastical history of the people of the English.' As preliminary to this he gives, chiefly from second-hand authorities, (1) a description of Britain, c. 1; (2) an account of the Roman conquest and government of Britain, cc. 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 11; (3) of the abandonment of Britain by the Romans, and of the state of the island after their departure, cc. 12-14; (4) such particulars as he was able to glean as to the condition of British Christianity up to the time of the conquest of Britain by the Saxons, cc. 4, 7, 8, 10, 17-21; (5) the coming of the Saxons and the struggles of the Britons against them, cc. 15, 16, 22. With the coming of Augustine in c. 23, Bede reaches his proper subject.

Bede's reference to authority.

p. 9. *Brittania*] The marginal references and notes will show that Bede derived a large part of this chapter from earlier writers. We can hardly therefore agree with Sim. Dun. when he says: 'terrarum regionumque diuersarum situs, naturas, qualitates, subtiliter ac cuncta ipse peragrasset, plerumque describit,' i. 41. We could indeed heartily wish that Bede had given us more of his own observation and less of ancient writers. But it is a good illustration of the way in which authority dominated the mediaeval mind. Bede in turn became an authority. William of Tyre (xiii. 18) discussing the question of the sources of the Jordan, a question which he could easily have solved by a visit to the spot, after quoting various opinions, says: 'Beda tamen et quidam alii nostri doctores, auctoritatis praecipuae, utrunque fontem iuxta Caesaream Philippi . . . originem dicunt habere,' &c., and so leaves the matter. I owe this interesting illustration to my friend Mr. T. A. Archer. For the extracts from classical authors printed in the notes to this chapter I am very largely indebted to the collection of passages

at the beginning of the M. H. B. This chapter is much abbreviated in the AS. version. It is sometimes found separately with the title 'De situ Britanniae,' e.g. MS. Rouen, No. 1398.

**Oceani insula]** So at the end of book i. of the Cant. Cant. Bede Britain an speaks of himself and his countrymen as 'longius extra orbem,' 'alter hoc est in insula maris oceani nati et nutriti,' Opp. ix. 200. For Britain as the end of the world, as in some sort an 'alter orbis,' see the passages in H. & S. i. 3-5, 10, 11, 13; ii. xxi; cf. *infr.* c. 8, and the passages cited on c. 2 *ad init.* This first sentence is from Pliny whom Bede cites largely in his scientific works: Opp. vi. 106, 198, 'in opere pulcherrimo naturalis historiae'; 204, 208, 209, 211, 214, 216, 'solertissimus naturalium inquisitor'; and also in his theological works, vii. 45; ix. 310; xii. 142, 149; cf. Introduction, pp. xxvii f., lii f. For the way in which Bede in these early Bede's authorities chapters ignores the authorities he follows, see Introduction, p. xxiv note.

**Hispaniae]** This implies that Spain projects very much further Spain. to the west than is really the case; a mistake very common in ancient writers, e.g. Tac. Agr. c. 10, 'Britannia . . . in occidentem Hispaniae obtenditur,' and see the maps of the world according to Strabo and Ptolemy. Cf. Orosius, i. 2, ed. Zangemeister, pp. 11, 12.

**milia passuum DCCC]** The references to Gildas are to the edition of Stevenson.

**habet a meridie]** Orosius, i. 2; almost verbally identical with the *Orbis Descriptio* given M. H. B. p. xix<sup>a</sup>.

**Butabi portus]** Richborough, near Sandwich, in Kent; now Richborough. silted up, but in Roman times one of the chief ports of embarkation for the Continent; Guest, *Orig. Celt.* ii. 396, 397; Scarth, *Roman Britain*, pp. 154 ff.

**Gessoriacco]** Gessoriacum is Boulogne, cf. Scarth, *u.s.* p. 36, and Boulogne. for the Morini and their nearness to Britain, c. 2 *ad init.*

**ut quidam . . . CCCCL]** This is the estimate of Dio Cassius, M. H. B. p. li<sup>a</sup>, and of the *Itinerarium Antonini*, ib. xx<sup>b</sup>, to which Bede possibly alludes. M. B. N. read CCCL.

**Orcadas]** See on c. 3.

**p. 10. vineas]** The culture of the vine was more extensive in England formerly than now, especially in some of the monasteries. Culture of the vine in England. Henry VI used to stay at Bury St. Edmund's 'propter . . . vinearum odorem delectabilem,' Lappenberg-Pauli, *Gesch. Engl.* v. 281. 'The Vineyard' may still be seen as the name of streets in old English towns. Malmesbury says of the Vale of Gloucester: 'Regio plus quam aliae Angliae prouintiae uinearum frequentia densior, prouentu uberior, sapore iocundior. Vina enim ipsa bibentium ora

tristi non torquent acredine, quippe quae parum debeant Gallicis dulcedine,' G. P. p. 292. When Fortescue says of wine 'that comode ite we have not,' he only means that the manufacture of wine was not sufficiently extensive to make the taxation of it a source of revenue; Governance of England, pp. 132, 268. Cf. H. H.: 'Britania uineae . . . fertilis est, sed raro.' He gives Winchester the palm for its wine. On vineyards and wine-making in England, and on recent attempts to revive the industry, see Spectator, Sept. 22, 1894. Tacitus, however, says: 'solum praeter oleam uitemque et cetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta, patiens frugum, fecundum,' Agr. c. 12.

**'Isicius' and 'esox.'** **issicio]** 'Isicius' is a derivative of 'isix' (Ducange), which is a collateral form of 'esox,' from which also we get the derivative 'esocius.' 'Esox' and its derivatives are often taken to mean 'pike.' But in mediaeval Latin at any rate they mean 'salmon.' In the Celtic languages 'esox' becomes Irish *eó*, O. Welsh *chawc*, Mod. Welsh *eog*, Cornish *ehoc*, all of which mean 'salmon'; e.g. 'isicius uel salmo, *ehoc*,' Zeuss, G. C. p. 1074. More to the point are the Anglo-Saxon vocabularies: 'isic, laex' (= Germ. *lachs*, salmon), Wülker, col. 28; 'esocius uel salmo, lex,' ib. col. 180; 'esox, leax,' ib. col. 394. In Ælfric's colloquy, in a list of sea fishes, we find 'alleges et isicios, delphinus et sturias' glossed 'hæringas 7 leaxas, mere-swyn (lit. sea-swine) 7 stirian,' ib. col. 94. Cf. Rs. Ad. p. 129 note. **uituli marini]** 'seals,' cf. iv. 13 *ad fin.* **exceptis]** 'besides, in addition to.'

**Pearls in Britain.** **margaritam]** On the pearls of Britain, see the extracts in M. H. B. viii<sup>a</sup> (Pliny), x<sup>b</sup> (Solinus), xliii<sup>a</sup> (Tacitus), xciv<sup>b</sup> (Aelian). Suetonius mentions a tradition that Julius Caesar invaded Britain 'spe margaritarum,' ib. xlix<sup>a</sup>, and Pliny, copied by Solinus, (u. s.) says that he dedicated, in the temple of Venus Genitrix, a breastplate set with British pearls. Most of these authors, however, do not agree with Bede in praising the colour of the British pearls. Pliny calls them 'decolores,' Tacitus, 'subfusca et liuentia,' u. s. They are commonly found still at Whitstable in mussels.

**St. Basil's Hexameron.** **Basilus]** The Hexameron of St. Basil the Great 'is the most celebrated of all his works,' D. C. B. i. 296. It is a treatise on the six days' work of creation, Gen. i. 'It was translated into Latin by Eustathius Afer,' c. 440, ib. and ii. 391. Cf. Aldhelm, Opp. ed. Giles, p. 32. '[Basilii] . . . ἔργα τὰ ἑξαήμερον, id est, opera sex dierum . . . in Latinum translata leguntur.' This translation was used by Bede, and the present passage is taken from it, v. Migne, Pat. Lat. liii. 907. Cf. 'Basilius Caesariensis quem Eustathius interpretes de Graeco fecit esse Latinum,' Opp. vii. 1. Bede also quotes

the Hexameron, Opp. vi. 151, 200, 208; vii. 7. Origen, Ambrose, and Hippolytus wrote works with the same title; Ltft., App. Ff. I. ii. 327, 331, 413. Bede, in his own Hexameron on Gen. i. 2, says: 'ignem ardentem terrae interioribus insitum, calidi aquarum fontes produnt, quae cum per certa quaedam metalla in profundo aquarum transcurrunt, non solum calidae sed et feruentes insuper faciem telluris emanant,' Opp. vii. 5. There is an Anglo-Saxon Hexameron attributed to Ælfric, based partly on Basil and partly on Bede, ed. H. W. Norman, Lond. 1849. Cf. Wülker, Grundriss, p. 466.

argenti] 'Fert Britannia aurum et argentum, et alia metalla, Silver and gold in Britain.  
pretium uictoriae,' Tac. Agr. c. 12. Cicero, on the other hand, writing c. B.C. 55, says: 'In Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri neque argenti.' And again: 'Etiam illud iam cognitum est, neque argenti scripulum esse ullum in illa insula, neque ullam spem praedae, nisi ex mancipiis,' v. M. H. B. lxxxvii f. The Life of St. Cainnech speaks of Britain as the source whence the Irish obtained their gold; Cod. Salmant, ed. de Smedt and de Backer, col. 388, cited by Zimmer.

firmissimis] 'butan oðrum læssan unrim ceastra,' 'besides innumerable other lesser towns,' adds the AS. version. Cf. the Panegyrist in M. H. B. p. lxvii: 'Britannia . . . tanto frugum ubere, tanto laeta munere pastionum, tot metallorum fluens riuus, tot uectigalibus quaestuosa, tot accincta portubus, tanto immensa circuitu.'

lucidas . . . noctes habet] 'Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram; nox clara, et extrema Britanniae parte brevis, ut finem Length of days in Britain.  
atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas,' Tac. Agr. c. 12. On the midnight sun in yet more northern countries, 'in insula Thyle, quae ultra Britanniam est, uel in finibus Scytharum,' see Bede, Opp. viii. 255, 256. Cf. vi. 159.

p. 11. iuxta numerum librorum] On the symbolism of the number five, see Introduction, p. lx.

quinque gentium linguis] Bede is speaking of the existence in Britain of five languages, rather than of five nations; and more particularly of languages employed in the service of religion, as Professor Earle has rightly remarked, Sax. Chron. p. 279. Hence Bede was obliged to include Latin, the most important of them all from this point of view. He does not mean that in his day there were descendants of the Roman legionaries existing in such distinctness in Britain as to form a separate 'gens.' H. H., copying Bede, says distinctly: 'quinque linguis utitur Britannia,' and adds: 'quamuis Picti iam uideantur deleti, et lingua eorum ita omnino destructa, ut iam fabula uideatur quod in ueterum scriptis eorum mentio inuenitur,' p. 12. Nennius, § 7, speaking of nations



only, rightly omits 'Latini': 'in ea habitant quattuor gentes, Scotti, Picti, Saxones, atque Brittones.' MSS. D, E, F, of the Sax. Chron. have, *ad inii.*, a short summary of this chapter of Bede. Of these, D translates the present passage correctly: 'there are in the island five languages, English, Brit-Welsh, Scottish, Pictish, and Latin.' F turns the languages (*geþeódu*) into 'peoples' (*þeóða*), omits Latin, and redresses the balance by breaking up 'Brit-Welsh' into 'British and Welsh'; a mode of action for which MS. E had prepared the way. Geoffrey of Monmouth gives 'Romani' as the first of the five 'populi'; i. 2, but his Welsh translator turns these 'Romans' into 'Normans,' Welsh Bruts, ed. Evans & Rhŷs, p. 41. Where Bede treats of the languages of Britain without any ecclesiastical reference he speaks of them as four, iii. 6.

Armorica.

*de tractu Armoricano*] The name 'Armorica' (= the district by the sea, cf. Caesar, B. G. vii. 57, 'uniuersae ciuitates quae oceanum attingunt . . . Armoricae appellantur') was originally applied to nearly the whole of the northern seaboard of Gaul. But in Gaul, as in Britain, the Celtic inhabitants were driven further and further towards the west, and the name Armorica retreated with them into the north-western angle of the country, the modern Brittany, cf. H. & S. ii. 70-73. It was this close connexion of the populations on the two sides of the Channel which obliged the Romans to attack Britain. Mommsen, *The Provinces*, E. T. i. 173. Note that Bede knows nothing of the Brutus legend, which appears in Nennius, § 7, and reaches its most developed form in Geof. Mon. lib. i. The Chron. D, E, F, turns 'Armorica' into 'Armenia.'

Picts and  
Scots.

*Pictorum de Scythia*] 'Scythia citerior siue Scandia,' Smith. And in a passage cited above, p. 7, Bede evidently uses 'Scythae' for the inhabitants of the Scandinavian peninsula. Note that Bede only gives this as a tradition: 'ut perhibent.' Nennius, §§ 13-15, drawing from Irish sources, 'sic mihi peritissimi Scottorum nunciauerunt,' brings the Scotti to Ireland from Scythia by way of Spain; and this is the ordinary Irish account; cf. e.g. the poem of Maelmura, Irish Nennius, pp. 221 ff. It is based on a wild identification of 'Scotti' and 'Scythae.' Bede does not profess to know anything of the Scotti prior to their settlement in Ireland. For an account of the early legends, &c., of the Picts and Scots, cf. S. C. S. i. 123-144, 192 ff.; iii. ch. 3. As to the Picts, the most probable view is that they were a pre-Aryan race, like the Basques. The name has nothing to do with the Latin 'pictus,' 'painted,' v. Rhŷs, Rhind Lectures, pp. 51-55, 95-98, 102-106; Proceedings, Antiquaries of Scotland, pp. 305, 306. In the latter monograph Professor Rhŷs has made an attempt to solve the vexed question of the Pictish language.

**Hiberniam]** 'Scotland,' AS. vers. Cf. Orosius, AS. vers. 'Ibernia þæt we Scotland hātað,' 'Hibernia which we call Scotland,' p. 24.

**contra Hispaniæ]** Cf. Orosius, i. 2, pp. 11, 12. His phrase that Ireland and Spain front one another at a great distance, 'procul spectant,' was improved by Irish legend into the statement that Ireland is visible from Spain; and hence the migration of the 'Scots' or 'Gael's' from Spain to Ireland, Irish Nennius, pp. 238 ff. and notes.

**p. 12. de feminea regum prosapia]** This is the famous law of Pictish succession, whereby brothers, sons of the same mother, succeeded one another, and on their failure the succession passed to the children of their sisters or the nearest male kinsman whose relationship was traced through a female. This law has its origin in tribal customs prior to the institution of monogamy; but when its origin was forgotten, legends were invented to account for it. Cf. P. & S., pp. xcvi ff., 122, 123, 199, 319, 329, 381; S. C. S. i. 177, 232 ff.; iii. 96, 97. Zimmer, *Früheste Berührungen*, p. 286, refers to *Zeitschr. für franz. Sprache u. Litteratur*, xiii. 101.

**quod . . . seruatum]** 'þæt get to dæg is mid Peohtum healden,' 'which is still to-day observed among the Picts,' AS. vers. It certainly lasted until the union of the Pictish and Scottish lines of kings in the person of Kenneth Mac Alpin, in the middle of the ninth century; and attempts were made to revive it subsequently. P. & S. pp. cxxiii ff. The Sax. Chron. says: 'þæt hy heoldon swa lange syþþan,' 'that they so observed for a long time afterwards.'

**Scottorum nationem . . . recepit, &c.]** The northern part of the modern county of Antrim was called Dal Riada, and traced its origin to an eponymous hero Cairbre Riada, son of Conaire, whose (Conaire's) death is placed in 165 A.D. From this Irish district a settlement was made on the west coast of the modern Scotland; and thus the name Dal Riada was transplanted from Irish to British soil. According to what seems the most historical account, this settlement was made about 500 A.D. under the sons of Erc. But another form of the legend, followed apparently by Bede here, makes Cairbre Riada himself lead a colony to Britain contemporaneously, or nearly so, with the settlement in Ulster; i.e. c. 200 A.D. This is probably an attempt to account for the name Dal Riada on British soil without reference to the Irish district. Certainly the first permanent settlement of the Irish Scots in Britain was c. 500. Earlier (like the Saxons and Danes) they appear as marauders. Ammianus Marcellinus shows us Picts, Saxons, and Scots all fighting against the Romans in Britain about the year 363,

Law of  
Pictish  
succession.

Settlement  
of Scotti in  
Britain.

M. H. B. p. lxxii. Stilicho towards the end of the century repulsed them for a time :

‘ Maduerunt Saxone fuso

Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule ;

Scotorum cumulos fleuit glacialis Ierne.’

Claudian, in M. H. B. xcvi (cf. the other extracts there given). But they soon resumed their ravages ; and first the Saxons and then the Scots effected permanent lodgements. Cf. Rhŷs, Rhind Lectures, pp. 87, 88 ; C. B. pp. 91, 244, 272. But for the coming of the Saxons the Scots might have had a wider dominion in Britain ; their advance southward was finally checked by Ethelfrid in the battle of Dægsastan, 603 A. D., c. 34 ; but they ultimately gave their name to the northern kingdom, while the Picts were absorbed leaving hardly any trace behind them. Cf. S. C. S. i. 137 ff. ; P. & S. pp. cix-cxi ; Rs. Ad. pp. 184, 433 ff. ; Zimmer, Kelt. Beitr. iii. 6. On the spread of the Gaelic language in Scotland, see some very interesting remarks in Rhŷs’ Rhind Lectures, pp. 81-98.

Hibernia] ‘ Hibernia, Scotta ealond,’ ‘ Ireland, the island of the Scots,’ AS. vers., and so very frequently.

usque hodie . . . uocantur] ‘ þæt cynn nu geond to dæg Dalreadingas wæron gehatene,’ ‘ up to this day that race were called Dalreadings,’ where the translator has combined the Irish ‘ Dal’ with the Saxon patronymic in ‘-ing.’

daal] ‘ dāl,’ ‘ a division,’ occurs frequently in Irish names of districts : see e.g. the indices to the Four Masters, to the Irish Nennius, &c.

Descrip-  
tion of  
Ireland.

Hibernia . . . præstat, &c.] Cf. Solinus : ‘ Hibernia . . . ita pabulosa, ut pecua ibi nisi interdum a pascuis arceantur, in periculum agat satias. Illic nullus anguis . . . Adtanatos insula (Thanet) . . . quum nullo serpatur angue, asportata inde terra quoquo gentium inuecta sit, angues necat,’ M. H. B. p. x<sup>a</sup>. Isidore, who copies Solinus, actually derives the name Thanet from *thávaros*, ib. cii<sup>b</sup>. Irish legend attributes this immunity of Ireland to St. Patrick. St. Columba obtained a similar blessing for Iona. There is a basis of fact for these legends. Very few reptiles and batrachians are native to Ireland, v. M. C. Cooke, Our Reptiles and Batrachians, pp. 23, 40, 47, 67, 91, 113, 156 ; and Fowler’s Adamnan, pp. xxxii, 97 ; Rs. Ad. p. 142. There is a very interesting notice of Ireland in Tacitus, Agr. c. 24 : ‘ Spatium eius, si Britanniae comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. Solum, caelumque, et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differunt. Melius aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exceperat, ac specie

amicitiæ in occasionem retinebat. Saepe ex eo audiui legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse; idque etiam aduersus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma, et uelut e conspectu libertas tolleretur.' We see here the same causes which led the Romans from Gaul to Britain, drawing them from Britain to Ireland. That Ireland was never conquered by the Romans is one of the reasons why she has always lagged behind the sister island. We see here also the chronic tendency of Ireland to discord and the invocation of the foreigner, which culminated in the application of Dermot Mac Murrough ('Diarmait na n-Gall,' 'Dermot of the Strangers,' as the Irish call him) to Henry II in the twelfth century.

p. 13. *denique uidimus*] 'sume men gesawon,' 'some men saw,' AS. vers.

*rasuram aquae inmissam*] For similar modes of treatment, cf. iii. 2, 9, 13 *ad fin.*, 17; iv. 3 *ad fin.*; v. 18, pp. 129, 145, 153, 161, 212, 218, 320; Vit. Cuthb. c. 41.

*haec autem proprie patria Scottorum est*] Cf. ii. 4, p. 87: Ireland the 'Scotti qui Hiberniam . . . incolunt . . . in praefata ipsorum patria.' home of the Scotti. It cannot be too clearly realised that at the time when Bede wrote, and for more than two centuries after, the term 'Scottia' refers to Ireland, and Ireland alone. It was only towards the end of the tenth century that it began to be used of any part of Britain; and even then it was applied to a very limited district, and only gradually during two more centuries was the application extended to the whole of the northern kingdom. Thus in ii. 4, p. 87, the letter of Laurentius, &c., is addressed 'episcopis uel abbatibus per uniuersam Scottiam,' whom earlier in the chapter Bede had spoken of as 'Scotti qui Hiberniam . . . incolunt.' So in iv. 26, p. 266, Bede says that Egfrid 'Hiberniam . . . uastauit,' and then a little lower down tells how Egbert exhorted him 'ne Scottiam . . . inpugnaret,' p. 267. Cf. P. & S. p. 197: 'Scotois . . . leur propre pays est Ireland, leur coustume et patoys acordaunt, qi puis furount mellez od Pices,' 'The Scots . . . their proper country is Ireland, their customs and language agreeing thereto, though they afterwards became mingled with the Picts.' Cf. ib. 380: 'Yat cuntre, yat now is callit Irland . . . [Iber] callit it . . . Scotia; ye quihilk it in ald cronyclis . . . is callit Scotia Maior, to ye tymme yat sum part of ws comme out of it in oure Scotland, . . . and it was callyt Scotia Minor.' I know no authority for this latter statement, and believe it to be a mere bookman's analogy from the use of Britannia Minor for Brittany as opposed to Britain. It illustrates the point in question that when Bede uses the term 'Hibernia' the AS. translator nearly

always adds the explanation 'Scotta ealond,' 'the island of the Scots.' Of course the tribe name 'Scotti' would apply to any members of the Irish race, whether living in Ireland or in Britain, and where Bede is speaking of matters common to both branches, such as their paschal customs, it is often to be understood as including both. Still, as Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, says, writing to Calixtus II in 1119: 'saepenumero [Beda] in eodem volumine euidenter distinguit inter Scotos qui Britanniam, et illos qui incolunt Hiberniam,' H. & S. ii. 194. For the latter, cf. (in addition to the passages already quoted) i. 13; ii. 19; iii. 3, 26 (Scotti austrini); v. 15. For the former, cf. i. 34; ii. 5; iv. 26; v. 23 *ad fin.* Bede also distinguishes the Scots in Britain by coupling them with the Picts: 'Scotti siue [=et] Picti,' iii. 1, 27 *ad fin.* On the difference of usage between Bede and Adamnan as to the inclusion of Iona in the term Scottia, see iii. 24 note. Cf. on the whole subject, S. C. S. i. 1-7, 398; P. & S. pp. lxxv ff., and note on iii. 19, p. 167.

Alcluith] See on c. 12 *infra*.

## CHAPTER 2.

Bede's  
sources.

It is no part of my plan to discuss the history of Roman Britain; especially as Bede's account of it is based almost entirely on second-hand authorities. I must confine myself as a rule to pointing out Bede's sources, and the slight additions which he has made to them. This chapter is very briefly summarised in the AS. vers., MS. B of that version omitting it altogether. It is almost wholly taken from Orosius. Cf. Werner, pp. 23, 31.

Julius  
Caesar

inaccessa atque incognita] Cf. the extracts in M. H. B. pp. xxxv, xlix<sup>a</sup>, lxxii<sup>a</sup>; Bede, Opp. vi. 299 (from Eutropius). On the invasion of Julius Caesar there is an interesting article by Dr. Guest in the Archaeological Journal, xxi. 220; reprinted in Origines Celticae, ii. 331-372.

qui anno, &c.] The year A. U. C. 693 is taken from Orosius, who gives it as the year of the passing of the Lex Vatinia, whereby the command in Gaul was conferred on Caesar for a period of five years. The year corresponding to A. U. C. 693 is B. C. 61, not 60 as Bede gives it. But the date is wrong. The year of the consulship of Caesar and Bibulus and of the Lex Vatinia was A. U. C. 695 or B. C. 59. The expeditions to Britain were in A. U. C. 699 and 700; B. C. 55 and 54.

p. 14. in hiberna] Both here and at the end of the chapter there is a various reading 'hibernia.' See critical notes. This has misled

the epitomator of the Sax. Chron. MSS. D, E, F, who writes: 'þa he forlet his here gebidan mid Scottum,' 'then he left his army to remain among the Scots' (= Irish). The same variety occurs in the MSS. of H. H. p. 18.

*quarum . . . infixae*] This sentence is Bede's own. There is no reason to believe that Bede had ever been in the south of England. He may have received the information from some of his south-country friends, such as Albinus or Nothelm. Dr. Guest, *Orig. Celt.* ii. 281, decides in favour of the latter. The site of the ford he places at Halliford, at the Coway Stakes, *ib.* 388. So Smith *ad loc.* Bede has omitted an erroneous statement of Orosius, that the Thames is fordable only at one point.

### CHAPTER 3.

**P. 15. Anno, &c.]** The date of Claudius's invasion of Britain is *Invasion of*  
A. U. C. 796, A. D. 43. The reason why he reaped his laurels so easily *Claudius.*  
was that the way had been prepared for him by Aulus Plautius, on whose campaign see Guest, *u.s.* ii. 381 ff. Cf. the extracts in M. H. B. pp. xliii<sup>a</sup>, xlix<sup>b</sup>, lxxii<sup>a</sup>. It was while celebrating games in honour of Claudius' return from Britain, that Agrippa I was stricken down in the manner narrated in the Acts, c. 12, v. Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüdischen Volkes*, i. 469 f. It is interesting to find the history of our own island thus brought into direct connexion with that of the early Church. For inscriptions relating to Claudius' conquest of Britain, cf. Scarth, *u.s.* pp. 241, 242; and compare with this chapter Bede's Chron. Opp. Min. pp. 170, 171.

*pauoissimos dies*] sixteen. Dio Cassius, ix. 23, in Clinton.

*plurimam insulae partem*] The Sax. Chron. D. E. *sub ann.* 47 interprets this by 'ealle Pihtas 7 Walas,' 'all the Picts and Welsh.'

*Orcadas . . . adiecit imperio*] He may have nominally annexed The  
them; there was no real conquest. Tacitus expressly says of *Orkneys.*  
*Agricola*, c. 10: 'incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas uocant, inuenit domuitque.' The Orkneys were constantly a rendezvous and basis for attacks on Britain from the north. Hence the need for reducing them. Nennius represents the Picts as thus using them: 'Picti uenerunt, et occupauerunt insulas, quae uocantur Orcades, et postea ex insulis uastauerunt regiones multas,' § 12. Claudian, in a line already quoted, represents the Saxons as defeated there:

'maduerunt Saxone fuso

Orcades.'

Aedan mac Gabrain (c. 34), King of the Scots of Dalriada, attacked

them in 579; Brude, King of the Picts, in 681. Ann. Ult. In the ninth century they played an important part in the Scandinavian inroads and became the seat of a Scandinavian power. Cf. Adam of Bremen: 'Orchades insulae, quas barbari uocant Organas,' Pertz, vii. 384.

**Vespasian.** Uespasianus] 'quod initium uenturae mox fortunae fuit; domitiae gentes, capti reges, et monstratus fatis Vespasianus,' Tac. Agr. c. 13. 'Duas ualidissimas gentes, superque xx oppida et insulam Uectem Britanniae proximam in ditionem redegit,' Suet. Vesp. c. 4; M. H. B. pp. xliii, l.  
Uectam] On Wight, cf. iv. 13, 16.

## CHAPTER 4.

**Chronology.**

P. 16. Anno, &c.] Orosius gives A. V. C. 811 as the date of Marcus Antoninus (better known as Marcus Aurelius). This would be A.D. 158. The real date is A.D. 161. Lucius Verus (here called Aurelius Commodus) died in 169. Eleutherus did not succeed till 171 at the earliest, possibly not till 177. The alleged event cannot therefore strictly have taken place 'horum temporibus.' Bede, in his Chronicon, places it under the year 180, Opp. Min. pp. 173, 174; the Saxon Chron. under 167.

**Legend of King Lucius.**

Lucius] The earliest authority for this story is the recension of the Liber Pontificalis known as the 'Catalogus Felicianus,' attributed to the year 530. Thence Bede probably got it, either through his friend Nothelm, or through his brother monks who visited Rome in 701 (Opp. vi. 242, Introduction, p. xvii; Liber Pont. ed. Duchesne, I. ccxxii f.), or in 716, Haa. §§ 37, 38. Gildas knows nothing of it. It may safely be pronounced fabulous. Liber Pont. u. s. I. cii; H. & S. i. 25, 26. Cf. Wharton, Ang. Sac. i. 180: 'nobis tanti non sunt fabulae utcumque splendidae, ut earum gratia in Cimmeriis tenebris luctemur.' Nennius, § 22, makes the Pope 'Eucharistus,' an obviously fictitious name. The fable was largely developed in later times; W. M. makes Eleutherus' missionaries found a church at Glastonbury, i. 23, 24; while Rudborne makes Lucius endow the bishop and monks of Winchester with various lands, &c.; Ang. Sac. i. 182, cf. N. & K. pp. 183, 208; D. C. B. article 'Eleutherus'; Bright, pp. 3-5, who is inclined to think that the tale may have some foundation: so Lappenberg, i. 46, 47; E. T. i. 48, 49; Werner, pp. 208-210. In v. 24, p. 352, Bede gives the length of Eleutherus' reign as fifteen years.

Diocletiani] 'þæs yfelan Caseres,' 'the bad emperor,' adds AS. vers.

## CHAPTER 5.

Anno, &c.] Orosius gives A.U.C. 944 as the date of Severus's accession (= A.D. 191). The real date is 193.

non muro, ut quidam] I do not know to whom Bede is alluding here. Of the authors cited in M. H. B. Eutropius, p. lxxii<sup>a</sup>, Orosius, p. lxxix<sup>b</sup>, Eusebius's Lat. Chron. p. lxxxix<sup>b</sup>, Cassiodorus, p. lxxxii<sup>b</sup>, all use *uallum*. Aelianus Spartianus once uses *murus*, in another passage he speaks of 'muris aut uallum,' p. lxxv<sup>a</sup>. In the text of Sextus Aurelius Victor the word is *muris*, p. lxxi<sup>a</sup>, but in the epitome it is *uallum*, p. lxxi<sup>b</sup>. The explanation of the difference between a *uallum* and a 'muris' is Bede's own. The AS. vers. merely says 'mid dice 7 mid eorðwalle,' 'with a ditch and earth-wall.' On the Roman fortifications in Britain I have received the following interesting note from Mr. Haverfield, of Christ Church. I print it here as a valuable contribution by one who has made an independent study of the original authorities, which I cannot pretend to have done.

'The northern frontier of Roman Britain was defended by two fortified lines, one joining the Solway and the Tyne, the other the Clyde and the Firth of Forth. The southern line consists of two parts. The most striking part is a stone wall, with a ditch, large and small forts, and a connecting road, which is plainly meant to repel northern attack and stretches for a distance of about 85 miles from Bowness-on-Solway to Wallsend-on-Tyne. South of this, and separated from it by an interval which varies from 30 to 1300 yards, is the so-called Vallum, an earthwork comprising a ditch and three ramparts of upcast earth. It appears to have no military object, but runs parallel to the Wall for its whole length with the exception of five or six miles at each extremity. The origin of the Wall is known. The Life of Hadrian, attributed to Spartianus, says that Hadrian built a wall for 80,000 paces to divide Romans and barbarians (c. 11, 2), and the inscriptions of the Wall show that it, with its forts, dates mainly, if not wholly, from Hadrian's reign (Proceedings of the London Society of Antiquaries, xiv. (1892) 44-55). The origin and object of the Vallum are disputed, and our evidence is purely *a priori*. Presumably it was either built in connexion with the Wall (Mommesen, Westdeutsche Zeitschrift, xiii. 134) or formed an earlier frontier, afterwards superseded by a fortified wall. The lines between the Clyde and the Forth are simpler. They consist of an earthen rampart built of regularly laid sods, with a foss, large forts, and a connecting road, the whole being



about 35 miles in length. The origin of the work is known; the life of Pius attributed to Capitolinus (c. 5, 4) and the inscriptions agree in referring it to Pius. It was apparently intended not to supersede Hadrian's Wall, but to act as a breakwater and relieve the pressure upon it. Its subsequent history is unknown; no inscription or historical reference occurs except in relation to its building, and it is a fair inference that it was speedily abandoned. The wall of Hadrian, on the other hand, was certainly held till the middle of the fourth century; in the first half of the third century the Romans also held several fortresses to the north of it.

'So far we have a consistent, intelligible, and well-supported account of the Roman frontier lines. Unfortunately the harmony is disturbed by certain historians who credit Septimius Severus with the erection of a wall from sea to sea. According to Eutropius, who wrote about A.D. 370, he built a *vallum* across Britain for a length of 132 miles, or, as some MSS. read, of 32 miles (viii. 19), and the statement is repeated almost verbally by Aurelius Victor (Epit. 20), Jerome (Chron. a. Abr. 2221), Orosius (vii. 17), Cassiodorus (Chron. a. 207), the author of the *Historia Brittonum*, usually called Nennius (c. 23, Mommsen, p. 165), and Bede (Chron.). An almost identical statement, with omission of the wall's length, appears in the life of Severus ascribed to Spartianus (c. 18), the *Caesares* of Victor (20, 18), and Bede's history (i. 5). These accounts have been referred by English antiquaries to a building or rebuilding of the southern wall, by Mommsen to a reconstruction of the Wall of Pius, but both explanations are open to serious objections. The inscriptions of Hadrian's Wall indicate that Severus was *not* active in this region, while the very existence of the other wall in the reign of that emperor is unproven, and perhaps improbable. So far as we can judge from the epitome of Xiphilinus, the narrative of Cassius Dio contained no reference to any wall erected by Severus, though it did mention some earlier fortification (76, 12). It seems possible that the fourth-century story which begins with Eutropius and the life of Severus—the date of which is uncertain—may be wholly false; it may be a mistaken inference from some passage in Dio where Hadrian's wall was mentioned. If the story be true, we must say that, at present, we have not sufficient knowledge to reconcile it with our other and better attested evidence as to the history of the frontier lines.

'Bede's own references to the walls (i. 5; i. 12) in the *historia* are based partly on Orosius and Gildas, partly on local knowledge, and testify to an effort to explain the difficulties relating to the origin of the works, as he saw them and read about them. He supposes

that Severus built the earthwork of the lines between Tyne and Solway, and thus interprets the text of Orosius. He then borrows from Gildas references to walls built after 400 A.D. and supposes that the Roman aid sent to Britain was directly or indirectly responsible for the stone wall which we now believe to be Hadrian's, and for the earthen wall of Pius. His views are interesting as the earliest conjectures on the subject, but they are plainly conjectures.' Cf. C. J. Bates, *History of Northumberland*, chs. 1, 2.

p. 17. *Eboracum*] On Roman York, cf. H. Y. I. xi ff. Alcuin, *York. De Sanctis Ebor.* vv. 19, 20, says of it:

'Hanc Romana manus muris et turribus altam  
Fundavit primo.'

*Geta hostis publicus*] Inscriptions exist from which the name of Geta has been erased. Scarth, *u. s.* pp. 245, 246; Bates, *u. s.* p. 33.

## CHAPTER 6.

*Anno, &c.*] Orosius gives A.U.C. 1041 (= A.D. 288) as the date of Diocletian's accession. The real date is 284. Cf. with this chapter Bede's *Chron. Opp. Min.* pp. 179, 180.

*socium . . . imperii*] 'gesælde him west dæl middan eardes,' Roman 'gave him the western part of the world.' AS. vers.; which then omits from 'quorum tempore' down to 'iussus occidi'; thus making 'purpuram sumpsit,' &c. refer to Maximianus instead of to Carausius. For a sketch of the Roman occupation of Britain from the revolt of Carausius to the final withdrawal of the legions v. S.C.S. i. 91-113; cf. especially the table of events in parallel columns on p. 113 derived (a) from Greek and Roman authors; (b) from Gildas (who is largely embodied by Bede). This sketch covers cc. 6, 8-9, 11-14 of Bede's narrative.

## CHAPTER 7.

It is tolerably certain that this chapter of Bede is based on some earlier acts of St. Alban, but so far these have not been discovered. Various lives of St. Alban are catalogued by Hardy, *Cat. i.* 3-34, but they are all later than Bede. Many of these lives are mixed up with the acts and miracles of St. Amphibalus, the cleric who converted St. Alban. This name first occurs in Geoffrey of Monmouth, v. 5. Cf. Hardy, *u. s.* p. 5; *Ang. Sac. i.* 183-185, and is probably created out of St. Alban's 'amphibalus' or cloak. Bright, p. 6; *Ra. Ad.* p. 114; Hardy, *u. s.* It is curious how many of the lives call Alban 'Protomartyr *Anglorum*,' *ib.* 6-12, 14-16, 27, 30;

cf. pp. 24, 25; so Misc. Biogr. S. S. pp. 15, 24. One writer, Hardy, p. 22, says: 'confidenter dico nostrum [Albanum], calumnias (=claims) Britonum non formidans.' Elmham, on the other hand, says very justly: 'quod autem sanctus Albanus protomartyr Anglorum notatur . . . hoc omnino dici oportet . . . per anticipationem, quia necdum Angli in Britanniam uenerant,' p. 182. (By the same sort of 'anticipation' Vortigern is called 'Dux Anglorum' in some curious verses printed in Muratori, SS. RR. II. vii. 469 ff.). About 983-991, the Empress Theophanu translated the body of a certain martyr, Albinus, to St. Pantaleon's in Cologne. As nothing was known of this saint, the acts of the British St. Alban were transferred to him, Pertz, xv. 686 ff. Hence the heading of one of the lives: 'Albani, quem in Germania et Gallia Albinum uocant, passio,' &c. Hardy, p. 30. And MS. N here spells the name Albinus, at least four times, v. critical notes. Some of the lives belong to a certain St. Alban of Mainz in the ninth century, ib. 31, 32. We may hope that the following hagiological Oedipus is not 'noster Albanus'; 'Vita . . . Sancti Albani; qui natus fuit ex patre et filia, postea accepit matrem in uxorem, post haec occidit patrem et matrem, demum sanctus,' ib. 33; cf. pp. 31, 32. This may actually be a transference of the Oedipus myth, cf. Introduction, § 16. Ælfrie's homily on St. Alban is wholly taken from Bede, Lives of Saints, pp. 414 ff.

Diocle-  
tian's per-  
secution.

p. 18. Siquidem in ea] H. & S. i. 6 deny that the persecution of Diocletian extended to Britain, and show that the earliest trace of the story of St. Alban is c. 429; while for Aaron and Julius (*infr.* p. 22), the evidence is still more doubtful. Cf. ib. 35; D. C. B. i. 69.

Fortuna-  
tus.

Fortunatus] Carm. VIII. iii. 155, 156.

'Egregium Albanum secunda Britannia profert,  
Massilia Victor martyr ab urbe uenit.'

Fortunatus was 'the last representative of Latin poetry in Gaul.' D. C. B. He was born c. 530 at Ceneda, and died bishop of Poitiers at the beginning of the seventh century. Bede quotes him; Opp. vi. 39, 45, 61, 67-69; xii. 348; cf. Manitius, Aldhelm, und Baeda, p. 92. 'Perfidus.' *perfidorum principum*] 'Perfidus,' 'perfidia' are constantly used in Bede and other ecclesiastical writers in the sense of 'heathen,' 'heathenism,' 'unbelieving,' 'unbelief,' as opposed to 'fides,' 'fidelis,' which mean 'belief,' and 'believing' or 'believer.' So ii. 5 of Eadwald; iii. 1 of Osric and Eanfrid; iii. 7 *ad fin.* of Cenwalh; iii. 24 of Penda; iii. 30 *ad fin.* of the relapse of the East Saxons into Paganism; v. 23 of the Saracens, pp. 90, 128, 141, 177, 179, 200, 349. Bede applies the term also to various forms of

'Perfidus.'

heresy. Thus in ii. 2, p. 84, it is applied to the Britons because of their paschal and other heresies; in i. 8 to Arianism; in i. 10, 17 *ad fin.* to Pelagianism; in v. 21, p. 344, to simony. It is often used in this sense of the Jews; thus in the great passage of Jerome on the ruin of Jerusalem and the Jews, Comm. in Zeph. i. 15; Opp. vi. 692, ed. Vallarsi: 'usque ad praesentem diem perfidi coloni . . . prohibentur ingredi Ierusalem.' So too in the Roman Liturgy for Good Friday: 'Oremus et pro perfidis Iudaeis.' It is extraordinary that a man of Dr. Döllinger's vast learning should misinterpret this as implying that they were regarded as 'deserving neither of truth nor trust.' Akadem. Vorträge i. 216; E. T. p. 217; cf. Pseudo-Ign. ad Philad. c. 6, *ὁ τοιοῦτος ἡρῆται τὴν πίστιν οὐχ ἥττον τῶν χριστοφόνων Ἰουδαίων.*

*principis*] 'ealdormannes,' 'alderman,' AS. vers.

*milites*] 'þegnas,' 'thanes,' AS. vers.

*caracalla*] 'Vestis clericorum talaris.' Ducange, 'munuc-gegyrelan,' 'monk's habit,' AS. vers.

p. 19. *cuius familiae . . . es?*] 'hwylcere mægðe eart þu?' Ælfric, u.s. p. 416, 'hwylces hiredes 7 hwylces cynnes,' AS. vers.

p. 20. *ad flumen . . . diuidebatur*] This passage seems corrupt; but there is no variation in the MSS. It would mend matters slightly to read, 'quo murus ab harena.' The AS. vers. has: 'to swiðstremre éa, seo floweð neah ðære ceastre wealle,' 'to a swift river which floweth near the city wall.'

*ad obsequium . . . sine obsequio*] 'tô þenunge . . . bútan 'Obsequium,' 'þenunge,' AS. vers. The word 'obsequium' has here a concrete meaning, 'escort,' 'train.' 'Obsequium, famulorum et amicorum comitatus, pompa,' Ducange. Cf. 'perlatus obsequentum manibus episcopus,' ii. 7, p. 94. So: 'regum non est esse sine comitum obsequio,' Opp. x. 270; 'uidebat [Lazarus] procedentem diuitem obsequentibus cuneis fulciri,' xi. 232. Cf. the use of 'ministerium' in iii. 14, p. 156, note.

*ut . . . transire nix posset*] Ælfric states this as a fact, u.s. p. 418.

*sine obsequio*] Ælfric lays stress on the fact that he was dinnerless: 'ungereordod sæt,' u.s., p. 420.

*uidit undam . . . uestigis*] See next note.

p. 21. *in huius ergo . . . reuersus est ad naturam*] It is evident that in this passage, which has to do with the second miracle worked by St. Alban, viz. the producing of a spring on the summit of the hill, some phrases have been incorporated which really belong to the previous miracle, the arresting of the river; viz. 'incluso meatu,' 'ut omnes . . . detulisse,' 'qui uidelicet . . . ad naturam.' We might remove these, and insert them in the former

Emenda-  
tion of text.

passage thus : 'uidit undam, incluso meatu, suis . . . uestigiis ; ut omnes . . . detulisse. Qui uidelicet . . . ad naturam. Quod cum,' &c. Both passages will then gain very much in clearness.

intulit manus] '7 his heafod of asloh,' 'and smote off his head,' adds AS. vers.

gaudere . . . non est permissus] Cf. Bede on Prov. xxi. 18 : 'pro iusto datur impius, cum pro martyre persecutor, qui eum morti dedit, punitur,' Opp. ix. 134.

die X. Kal. Iul.] June 22. So Bede, Mart. Opp. iv. 83, 84. Note that Bede does not attempt to fix the year.

Uerolamium] Cf. Scarth, *u. s.* pp. 26, 28.

Ueolingacæstir] This name was no doubt given to the town from its position on the 'Watling Street,' which runs from London to Wroxeter. The name 'Wætlinga ceaster' occurs in a charter of Ethelred's of the year 996, in which also St. Alban figures as 'protomartyr Anglorum,' K. C. D. No. 696 ; Guest, Orig. Celt. ii. 235.

ecclesia] On the alleged foundation of the monastery of St. Alban's by Offa, v. H. & S. iii. 469, 470 ; Hardy, Cat. i. 27 ; W. M. i. 85 ; R. W. i. 252 ff.

Legionum urbis] Caerleon-on-Usk. The story of Aaron and Julius must be considered extremely doubtful ; v. H. & S. i. 6 ; cf. Bede's Chron. Opp. Min. p. 180.

## CHAPTER 8.

P. 22. renouant ecclesias] Rudborne places here the second building of the Church of Winchester ; the first having been under Lucius. Ang. Sac. i. 185 ; cf. on c. 4, *sup.*

Arianism. Arrianae uesaniae] 'It is evident . . . that Gildas and Bede following him have greatly exaggerated the influence of Arianism in Britain,' Bright, pp. 11-13 ; cf. H. & S. i. 8. Bede sees the progress of Arianism foreshadowed in the pale horse of Rev. vi. 7 : 'Ecce Arrii uesania de Alexandria nascens, ad Gallicum usque peruenit oceanum, non fame tantum uerbi Dei, sed et gladio corporali bestialiter pios insequens,' Opp. xii. 363. The passage 'quae corrupto . . . infudit' is omitted by the AS. vers.

noui semper aliquid] This seems to hint at the existence of various heresies in Britain.

Constantius. uir summae mansuetudinis] διακομένων γὰρ τῶν ἀπὸ τὴν ἄλλην οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν, μόνος Κωνσταντῖος ὁ Κωνσταντίνου πατὴρ ὁδεῶς θρησκεύειν συνεχώρησε τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς. Sozomen, Hist. Eccl. i. 6, in H. & S. i. 4.

in Brittaniam . . . obiit] At York in 306 A. D. ; cf. Opp. Min. p. 180.

**Constantinum filium]** 'þam godan casere,' 'the good emperor,' Constantine the Great. inserts AS. vers. This is Constantine the Great.

**in Britannia creatus imperator]** The AS. translator misunderstanding here and elsewhere the word 'creatus,' makes Constantine born in Britain: 'on Breotone acenned.' He was really born at Nissa in Upper Moesia. Chifflet, by an analogous error, reads 'procreatum.'

**in Nicena synodo]** A. D. 325.

**sed et insularum]** 'eac swylce on þis ealond,' 'likewise in this island,' AS. vers.

## CHAPTER 9.

**P. 23.** This chapter is not in the AS. vers.; but the heading is in the capitula, where 'creatus' is again mistranslated 'acenned,' 'born.' The Sax. Chron. *ad ann.* 381 has the same mistake.

**Anno, &c.]** Orosius gives A. U. C. 1132 (= A. D. 379) as the date of the death of Valens. The real date is 378.

**Maximus]** Cf. Opp. Min. p. 184; Rhÿs, C. B. p. 104; and on the legends which have gathered round his name, see the article in D. C. B.

**uir . . . probus]** Gildas, as Smith remarks, gives him a very different character, § 13.

## CHAPTER 10.

This chapter is not in the AS. vers.; though the heading is in the capitula.

**Anno . . . CCCXCIII]** The true year is 395.

**Pelagius Bretto]** On Pelagius and Pelagianism, and the efforts of Augustine against them, see Dr. Ince's article on Pelagius in D. C. B.; Milman, *Lat. Christ.*, Bk. ii. c. 2. On Bede's own attitude towards Pelagianism, cf. Introduction, pp. lxii f.

**p. 24. Iuliano de Campania]** This is the person against whom the first or introductory book of Bede's Commentary on the Song of Songs is directed. Opp. ix. 186 ff.; cf. ib. 310, x. 140, xii. 292. He was bishop of Eclanum near Beneventum, and was one of eighteen Italian bishops deposed by Pope Zosimus in 418, for refusing to sign the circular letter in which the Pope condemned the doctrines of Pelagius. He himself wrote on the Song of Songs, which is the reason why Bede thinks it necessary to refute him: 'ne per copiam eloquentiae blandientis, [lector] in foueam incidat doctrinae nocentis . . . Est enim . . . rhetor peritissimus,' ix. 186. Besides his writings on the Song of Songs, Bede mentions among his works

a 'Libellus de Amore,' 'De Bono Constantiae,' 'Dialogus Attici et Critobuli,' ib. 186, 194, 195. He also ascribes to him 'Liber ad Demetriadem de Institutione Virginis,' which however, in spite of Bede's vehement denial, seems really to be by Jerome; ib. 195-197. Bede (ib. 186) calls him 'Iulianus Celanensis episcopus de Campania'; where 'Celanensis' is a mistake for 'Eclanensis.' Julian was a man of high character, learned and pious; superior in temper and judgement to many of his opponents. He occupied an intermediate position between Augustine and Pelagius, and is regarded by Milman as the founder of Semi-Pelagianism. He died c. 454, the teacher of a school in a small town in Sicily. v. Ince and Milman, *u. s.*, and article Julianus, D. C. B.

uersibus heroicis] See v. 8, p. 295, note.

Prosper of  
Aquitaine.

Prosper rethor] Commonly called Prosper of Aquitaine; born c. 403, and died after 463. He was a strong partisan of Augustine against the Pelagians. Besides shorter poems like the one in the text, he wrote a long poem against them entitled 'De Ingratis,' meaning by *ingrati* 'opponents of the grace of God.' He is best known as the author of the longer chronicle which bears the name of Prosper, from which some of the statements in the text are taken; ed. 1711, col. 740, 747. The shorter chronicle which bears the name of Prosper Tiro, is probably by a different hand. v. D. C. B., *s. v.* Prosper. Bede cites the Epigrammata of Prosper in his *de Arte Metrica*, Opp. vi. 46-48, 56, 60, 62-66, 75. Cf. Manitius, Aldhelm, und Baeda, pp. 83, 89, 97.

Prosper  
Tiro.

aequorei . . . Britanni] Mr. Stevenson, *a. l.*, ingeniously suggests that this is an allusion to the name of Pelagius; 'aequoreus' = 'πελάγιος.'

## CHAPTER 11.

This chapter is in the AS. vers., but very much abbreviated. In the heading 'creati' is again mistranslated 'acende,' 'born.'

Anno . . . CCCCVII] The date is correct.

minoris] So the MSS., but the reading required is 'minore.' Honorius was the second son of Theodosius I. O, reads 'maioris,' a less probable correction.

ante biennium] The first siege of Rome was in 408, the second in 409; the third siege and capture in 410. Bede probably refers to the first; dating it, as he does the third, a year too late.

Impolicy of  
Carausius,  
&c.

in Gallias transiit] Mr. Skene (S. C. i. 104) has remarked that had these local emperors, Carausius, &c., been content to maintain themselves in Britain, they might not impossibly have been successful, and the subsequent history of the island might have

been very different. But their attempts to seize the whole of the western part of the Empire not only led to their own failure, but stripped Britain of troops, and left it open to the attacks of the barbarians. Cf. c. 12, *ad init.*

p. 25. Gerontius] He was a Briton, one of Constantine's ablest generals; but turned against him, inviting the Germans to invade Gaul and Britain; thus playing in real history the part which legend assigns to Vortigern. The name, in the form Geraint, is known to all readers of Tennyson. See Rhys, C. B. pp. 96, 97, 298.

anno . . . CLXIII] The real date is A. U. C. 1163 = A. D. 410. On this event, cf. Milman, *u. s.*, Book ii. c. 1.

habitant] The AS. vers. entirely perverts the meaning by translating 'eardædon Bryttas,' 'Britons dwelt,' &c.

farus] Originally 'light-house,' from the famous one on the island of Pharos. Here it perhaps means 'watch-towers' ('torras,' 'towers,' AS. vers.). Cf. Chron. Watinense, in Pertz, xiv. 164: 'Pharus altissima, quae domus olim speculatoria in hiberna Romanorum dicebatur, Bononiae muro contigua, . . . Britanniam Deirorum insulam prospectans.' There are, however, remains of Roman lighthouses in Britain. Cf. Scarth, *u. s.*, pp. 156, 213.

usque hodie testantur] 'þa we to dæg sceawian magon,' 'which we may see to this day,' AS. vers.

## CHAPTER 12.

Exin Brittaniam] Cf. Opp. Min. p. 184.

tyrannorum] Gildas says 'tyranni' in the singular, meaning Maximus. But Bede is quite justified in generalising the remark.

transmarinas . . . dicimus, &c.] This is Bede's own gloss on the words of Gildas, and it seems a very forced one. It is true that according to the tradition probably followed by Bede the settlement of the Dalriadic Scots in Alba had already taken place (see on c. 1), and therefore he is not inconsistent in making the invading Scotti come from thence. But Gildas in using the term meant not only to imply that the invading Scotti came from Ireland, but also that the Picts now (*i. e.* after the death of Maximus, *v. s.*) first settled in Britain from beyond sea. Bede, as we have seen (c. 1, note), brings the Picts from Scythia to Britain; but he makes no attempt to fix the date of their settlement. In c. 14, p. 29, he unconsciously slips into the other view both as to the Scots and Picts; for, following what is the reading of some MSS. of Gildas, he calls the former 'grassatores Hiberni,' and 'Hibernus' is never

Bede's gloss  
on Gildas.



used of the Scots in Britain; while of the Picts, also following Gildas, he says: 'Picti in extrema parte insulae tunc primum et deinceps quieverunt.' If the Dalriadic settlement *had* taken place at this time, its members *may* have co-operated with their kinsmen from Ireland in attacking the Britons. Nennius says: 'Scotti ab occidente, et Picti ab aquilone unanimiter pugnabant contra Brittones, nam et ipsi pacem inter se habebant,' § 23. Cf. Ethelwerd, M. H. B. p. 501.

Giudi. urbem Giudi] Commonly said to be Inchkeith in the Forth. That Giudi was an important name in that region is proved by a passage in the Book of Lecan given by Reeves, Culdees, p. 124, in which the Forth is called 'muir n-Giudan,' 'the sea of Giude.'

Cf. Rhys, C. B. p. 151. Professor Rhys hesitates as to the common identification of Bede's Giudi with Nennius' Iudeu; ib. and Rhind Lectures, pp. 99-102. See iii. 24, notes.

Dumbarton.

p. 26. Aloluth . . . petram Cluith] From Celtic 'ail,' a rock. In the Würzburg MS. f. 11, the 'spiritalis petra' of 1 Cor. x. 4 is glossed: 'ind ail ründe.' Now Dumbarton, i.e. 'Dun na m-Bretan,' 'fort of the (Strathclyde) Britons.'

Date of the British embassies.

legatos . . . mittentes] From the fact that Bede in his Chron. Opp. vi. 316, 317; Opp. Min. pp. 186, 187 (g. v.) places the two embassies of the Britons between the discovery of St. Stephen's relics and the death of Jerome, Smith, on that passage, p. 26, argues that they must fall between those two events, i.e. 415 and 420. But this is a rather hazardous argument.

inter duo freta] i.e. the line of the northern wall. See on c. 1.

Abercorn.

Aebbercornig] Abercorn on the Forth. It was in this monastery that Bishop Trumwine had his see. v. iv. 12, 26; pp. 229, 267.

Peanfahel.

Peanfahel] Professor Rhys sees in this word evidence of a Brythonic language affected by Pictish influence. It is clearly not pure Pictish. Rhind Lectures, p. 82; C. B. pp. 152, 153, 197.

p. 27. tempore autumnii] Gildas has: 'casibus foliorum tempore certo assimilandam . . . peragunt stragem,' a metaphor which Bede has understood as a fact. So Moberly on Bede, and Stevenson on Gildas.

inter urbes] i.e. the line of the southern wall.

usque hodie . . . clarum est] 'ðone man nu to dæg sceawian mæg,' 'which may still be seen at the present day,' AS. vers.

reuersuri] '7 hi sigefæste ofer sæ ferdon,' 'and they victoriously fared over sea,' adds AS. vers.

p. 28. a feris] 'from wulfum 7 wildeorum,' 'by wolves and wild beasts,' AS. vers.

## CHAPTER 13.

ab Aetio consule] 'fram Ettio þam cyninge,' 'from King Ettius,' AS. vers. Cf. with this chapter Opp. Min. pp. 187, 188.

Anno . . . ccccxliii] This is right for the death of Honorius.

Palladius . . . episcopus] This notice of Palladius is taken from Palladius the chronicle of Prosper of Aquitaine, ann. 431, v. s. i. 10 note. and Patrick. It is to be noted that the Irish to whom Palladius is sent are already Christians : 'in Christum credentes.' This at once cuts the ground from under all later developments of the story of Palladius, which represent him as an unsuccessful forerunner of St. Patrick in the work of christianising Ireland. The way for this idea was perhaps prepared by a very rhetorical passage of Prosper, Contra Collatorem, c. 21, in which he says of Celestino : 'ordinato Scotis episcopo . . . fecit . . . barbaram [insulam] Christianam.' In the so-called collections of Tirechan in the Book of Armagh, which profess to rest on seventh century evidence, but which Zimmer, Kelt. Beitr. iii. 77, 78, has shown to be not earlier than the first half of the ninth century, it is said : 'a Celestino . . . papa . . . Patricius episcopus ad doctrinam Scottorum mittitur. . . . Paladius episcopus primo mittitur, qui Patricius alio nomine appellabatur, qui martyrium passus est apud Scottos, ut tradunt sancti antiqui. Deinde Patricius secundus . . . mittitur, cui Hibernia tota credidit, qui eam pene totam baptizavit,' Stokes, Vita Tripartita, p. 332. The notes of Muirchu Maccu-Machtheni, also in the Book of Armagh, of which the real and pretended dates are about the same as in the case of Tirechan, represent Palladius as sent to convert Ireland, but failing even to land he returns Romewards, and dies 'in Britonum finibus,' ib. 272. Nennius, §§ 50, 51, gives much the same account, but makes him die 'in terra Pictorum.' The annals of Ulster place the mission of Palladius correctly in 431, and they place that of Patrick in 432. If Patrick, as Tirechan and Nennius represent, was sent by Pope Celestine, his mission cannot be later than 432, as Celestine died in that year. But if Prosper and Bede knew of the unsuccessful mission of Palladius, is it conceivable that they should have been unaware, or, if aware, should have made no mention of the triumphant mission of Patrick? On the whole I am inclined to agree with those who, beginning with Ledwich, Antiquities of Ireland (1790), cited Vita Trip. p. cxiv, have doubted the very existence of St. Patrick. It is true that Patrick is mentioned in the so-called Martyrology of Bede at March 17. But this Martyrology has been so largely interpolated by later writers, that it is unsafe to argue from it. He is mentioned in the second preface

to Adamnan's Life of St. Columba; and earlier still in Cummian's letter on the Easter question. But even this is two hundred years later than his supposed mission. It is possible that the statement of Tirechan, 'Palladius . . . qui Patricius alio nomine appellabatur,' may ultimately rest on some confused reminiscence of the present chapter of Bede, and that the words 'qui et patricius fuit,' which belong to Aetius, have got attached to Palladius, and this may be the starting-point of later developments. Saints have been created out of less. We have seen the origin of St. Amphibalus from St. Alban's cloak (c. 7); and a St. Pontiolus has been evolved from a false reading of *ποντιόλας* for *ποντιόλαν* (= Puteoli) in the Antiochene Acts of St. Ignatius; Ltf. App. Ff. II. ii. 488. It is worthy of note that the earlier MSS. of the Sax. Chron. A. B. C. (D. is defective) have the right version: 'Here *Palladius* . . . was sent to the Irish by Pope Celestine to confirm their faith'; i.e. they were already Christian; whereas E. has: 'Here *Patricius* was sent by Pope Celestine to preach baptism to the Irish'; i.e. they were heathen. Ethelwerd (M. H. B. p. 503) is midway between the two; retaining Palladius, but representing him as 'Christi nunciatus euangelium.' Of the origin of Irish Christianity we know absolutely nothing. Zimmer, *u. s.*, has shown that the documents in the Book of Armagh which have been relied on as the earliest authorities for the history of Patrick are forgeries. In later times the 'Scoti' to whom Palladius was sent were taken to be Scots in the modern sense; so N. & K. p. 246. Cf.: '433. Haly Palladius prechit ye fayth to Scottis men. . . 434. Sanct Patrice prechit ye faith to Irlandis menn.' P. & S. p. 387. Cf. ib. 200, where he is joined with St. Columba (whose mission was more than a century and a half later!) in the conversion of the Pictish king.

anno . . . XXIII] The twenty-third year from 423 would be 446, and this is the date of the third Consulship of Aetius.

patricius] 'heah ealdorman,' 'high alderman,' AS. vers.

gessit consulatum] 'wæs . . . consul 7 cyning,' 'was consul and king,' AS. vers.

Marcellinus Comes. p. 29. *Blaedla et Attila*] These notices of the invasion of the Huns, the famine and pestilence at Constantinople, &c., are taken from the chronicle of Marcellinus Comes, which extends from 379 to 534. From its cessation at 534 it is inferred that Marcellinus died soon after, but nothing is known of him. Bede cites Marcellinus in his Commentary on St. Mark, Opp. x. 95; and in that on St. James, xii. 184.

anno . . . proximo] It was really two years previous; 444 A.D. *hisdem temporibus*] 446 A.D.

plurimi . . . conruerunt] This was owing to an earthquake, 447 A. D.

## CHAPTER 14.

confidentes . . . auxilium] Gildas, § 20, says: 'secundum illud exemplum Philonis, "Necesse est adesse diuinum, ubi humanum cessat auxilium."' It is quoted also as from Philo in Eginhard's letters, Bouquet, vi. 375. (Eginhard died in 839.)

reuertuntur . . . quieuerunt] See on c. 12.

cessante . . . hostili] 'æfter þyssum com gód gear,' 'after this came a good year,' AS. vers.

p. 30. grex Domini] Cf. Gildas' rebukes to the British clergy in his so-called Epistle, §§ 66 ff.

initum . . . consilium] 'þa gesomnedon hi gemot, 7 þeahtedon 7 reddon,' 'then they assembled a moot, and deliberated and advised,' AS. vers. Nennius has a totally different tradition: 'uenerunt tres ciulae a Germania expulsae in exilio, &c. . . Guorthiginus suscepit eos benigne, &c.' § 31.

## CHAPTER 15.

Anno . . . CCCCKLVIII] The true date of Marcian's accession is 450. That the following *tunc* is not to be taken (as is commonly done by historians) as fixing the settlement of the Saxons to the definite year 449 or 450 is shown by the chronological summary, v. 24, p. 352, where, placing, as here, the beginning of Marcianus' association with Valentinianus in the empire in the year 449 (459, Opp. Min. pp. 188, 189, q. v.), Bede adds: '*quorum tempore Angli . . . Brittaniam adierunt.*' (Marcian died in 457.) So the Sax. Chron. 449: 'On heora dagum,' 'in their days': '*quorum tempore,*' Ethelw. M. H. B. p. 503. Bede never professes to know the exact year of the first settlement of the Saxons. He always uses the word 'circiter' in reference to it. Thus in i. 23, p. 42, and v. 23, *ad fin.* he places it 'about' 446; in ii. 14, *ad init.* 'about' 447 (so S. D. i. 19). Cf. also i. 16. Lappenberg thinks that this fluctuation is due to the use of a double source, Kentish and Northumbrian, by Bede, i. 74, 120; E. T. i. 76, 118; so Werner, p. 207. But in view of the use of the word 'circiter' this must be regarded as very doubtful. Bede's reason for placing the coming of the Saxons 'about' this time, 446 × 457, is that copying Gildas he makes it follow the mission of the Britons to Aetius in the latter's third consulship, 446. M. de la Borderie has shown in his monograph on Nennius, pp. 52-65, 79, that if the confused and interpolated chronology of that work be rightly interpreted, it is in favour of the date 449; but that work can add nothing to nor

Date of the coming of the Saxons.

detract anything from the authority of Gildas and Bede, whose credibility must be judged on other grounds. Prosper Tiro places the reduction of Britain by the Saxons in 441: 'Britanniae usque ad hoc tempus uariis cladibus . . . laceratae, in ditionem Saxonum rediguntur.' Bouquet, i. 639. Where Bede writes independently of Gildas he is no doubt embodying the Kentish traditions which he would learn from his friends Albinus and Nothelm. (See Notes on Bede's Preface and on c. 2 *supra*.)

Of the leaders of the invaders Bede says below (p. 31), '*fuisse perhibentur . . . Hengist et Horsa.*' And though it is going too far to say that this phrase implies critical doubts (in the modern sense) on the part of Bede, yet it does undoubtedly imply that he gives that part of the story as a tradition and nothing more. (Hengist is called '*Anschis*' by the Ravenna geographer. M. H. B. p. xxiv.) It is curious that the words of the Sax. Chron. with reference to the first coming of the Danes have been misinterpreted exactly in the same way as Bede's words about the Saxons here. See notes to the year 787, or the Preface to my smaller edition, p. xii. Of course Bede is speaking here of the first *settlement* of the Saxons. He fully recognises the fact of earlier attacks by them (on which cf. S. C. S. i. 92, 99, 101, 106, 111). See on cc. 1, 6. Sidonius Apollinaris (431-489) gives a vivid picture of the Saxon ravages on the coast of Gaul in this century. Ep. viii. 6 (translated in Green, M. E. pp. 16-19). Cf. Ethelwerd: '*agilem audierunt esse piratico in opere gentem Saxonum in tota maritima a Rheno fluuio usque in Doniam urbem, quae nunc uulgo Danmarc nuncupatur.*' M. H. B. p. 501. The question whether there were earlier Saxon settlements in Britain turns largely on the interpretation to be given to the phrase '*Comes Limitis (or Littoris) Saxonici.*' The majority of recent critics, Guest, Stubbs, Freeman, Green (Skene is an exception) are in favour of explaining it as the shore exposed to Saxon attacks, rather than the shore occupied by Saxon settlers. The subject of the Saxon Conquest of Britain cannot be dealt with here. I may refer to, without professing wholly to endorse, the papers of Dr. Guest republished in *Origines Celticae*, vol. ii, and the early chapters of Mr. Green's *Making of England*. I confess to doubting whether the foundation is strong enough to bear the elaborate superstructure which has been reared upon it. Mr. Green indeed writes as if he had been present at the landing of the Saxons, and had watched every step of their subsequent progress. This certainty is very favourable to picturesque writing. I wish I could feel equally sure that it was justified by the quality of the evidence. In the *Translatio S. Alexandri*, Pertz, ii. 674, there is a curiously

inverted form of the legend, according to which the Continental Saxons came from Britain.

p. 31. *segnitia Brettonum*] 'Brytwalana nahtscipe,' 'the British naughtness of the Brit-Welsh.' Sax. Chron. E. This phrase is perhaps the basis of the ordinary view that the Britons were easily vanquished by the Saxons, *e.g.* Lappenberg, i. 63, 64, 103; E. T. i. 66, 100. That the contest really was long and obstinate, see Green, M. E. p. 133; Scarth, *u. s.*, pp. 224-229.

*Germaniae*] 'Terra quae . . . sub septentrionali axe iacet, quia tantum hominum germinat, non iniuria Germania uocatur.' W. M. i. 8. This, like many mediaeval etymologies, comes from Isidore, Origines, xiv. 4. The Chronicon Holzatiae, Pertz, xxi. 276, anticipating the Anglo-Israelite craze, derives the 'Iutae' from 'Iudei,' and the 'Dani' from the tribe of Dan. But even these feats are outdone by Mr. Skene, who derives 'Iutae' from 'Teutones.' C. S. i. 190.

*Itis, &c.*] 'of Geatum,' AS. vers. Elmham in borrowing this passage (p. 138) writes throughout 'Wictis,' 'Wictarum' for 'Iutis,' &c., perhaps with the idea of bringing it nearer in form to 'Victuarii,' 'Vecta'; cf. a citation in Lappenberg, i. 101.

*Uictuarii*] 'Wihtssetan,' 'settlers in Wight.' AS. vers., which omits the words 'et ea quae . . . Uectam.'

*Intarum natio*] 'Iutna cynn.' Sax. Chron. E. Fl. Wig., speaking of the death of William II, says that it occurred 'in prouincia Iutarum, in Noua Foresta,' i. 276. And again (ii. 44, 45), 'in Noua Foresta, quae lingua Anglorum Ytene [*i.e.* Iutena cynn or land] nuncupatur.'

*Orientales Saxones*] See article in D. C. B. ii. 20, 21.

*Angulus*] On the mediaeval derivation of 'Anglia' from 'an-' 'Angulus' 'gulus,' cf. my notes to Fortescue, p. 287. F. N. C. i. 348, 772; and H. & S. iii. 12, 447. A curious polemical use is made of this derivation by a Scottish Chronicler: '*Sed ueritas non quaerit angulos iuxta ueritatem euangelii, thirfor thai may nevir be trew that comme fra Angulo.*' P. & S. p. 385.

*Orientales Angli*] See D. C. B. ii. 19-20.

*Humbri fluminis*] For the Humber as the boundary between the Northern and Southern English, cf. i. 25, *ad init.*; ii. 3, *ad init.*; 5, *ad init.*; 9, *ad init.*; 16, *ad init.*; v. 23, *sub fin.* Eddius uses the terms 'Ultra-Umbrenses,' 'Citra-Umbrenses,' H. Y. i. 63, 64, 67, 87, 103. Cf. M. & L. p. 213. In Hist. Abb. § 4, p. 367, Bede uses the term 'Transhumbrana regio' of the Northumbrian kingdom. So 'Transhumbrana gens,' iii. 14, p. 155; H. & S. iii. 459. 'Hymbronensis' and 'Umbrensis' are also used in the sense of Northumbrian. See on

iv. 17, p. 239. The terms Northumbria, Northumbrian, are of course common enough. In the Sax. Chron. we have also 'Sūðanhymbre,' 'Southumbrians.' In 449 this seems to be used in a general sense; in 697, 702, it means specifically the Mercians; cf. 'Mercii qui dicuntur Suthumbri,' R. W. i. 189. (The suggestion, D. C. B. ii. 590, that it means the Lindisfari, has nothing to recommend it.) S. D. has also the term 'Suthymbria' in a general sense, ii. 189, 267. (Cf. Suthanglia, ib. 298, 309; Sutangli, K. C. D. Nos. 80, 83. Cf. Nos. 88, 89; Birch, Nos. 154, 157, 163, 164.) In one Welsh authority the Humber is called the *Sea* of Humber, 'mor Humyr.' P. & S. p. 121. A mediaeval etymologist derives the name from the Huns! ib. 222. Asser speaks of York as 'in aquilonari ripa Humbrensis fluminis sita.' M. H. B. p. 474. In that case the name extended much further than it does now.

Heathen  
genealogies.

p. 32. de cuius stirpe . . . duxit] Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, in advising St. Boniface how to argue with the heathen, says, among other things: 'nec . . . contraria eis de ipsorum, quamvis falsorum deorum genealogia astruere debes.' H. & S. iii. 304; Mon. Mog. p. 72. Cf. N. & K. p. 217.

Alliance of  
Saxons and  
Picts.

inito . . . foedere cum Pictis] Constantius also, as cited by Bede, c. 20, *ad init.*, represents the Saxons as combining with the Picts. Lappenberg needlessly questions this statement, i. 70; E. T. i. 72.

p. 33. *suspecta . . . mente*] 'with anxious mind.' So c. 32, p. 69.

## CHAPTER 16.

'Here' and  
'Fyrd.'

hostilis exercitus] 'Se here,' AS. vers., which is the term always used in the Sax. Chron. of the army of the invading Danes as opposed to the national force, the 'fyrd.'

domum reuersus est] 'Domum,' apparently refers to their settlement in Thanet; for what follows seems inconsistent with the idea that the Saxons quitted Britain even temporarily at this time. R. W. makes them retire first to Thanet, and then to Germany, i. 15.

Ambrosius  
Aurelianus.

Ambrosio Aureliano] Cf. Opp. Min. pp. 190, 191. Palgrave cites, 'without venturing to maintain, the opinion of Baronius, that Ambrosius continued the legitimate succession of the Empire of the West.' E. C. p. 397. Perhaps a better mode of stating this view would be to say that he was the last of those so-called tyrants or usurpers, who, from Maximus downwards, attempted to exercise Roman authority in Britain. Cf. Rhys, C. B. pp. 104, 105, 107.

Date of the  
battle of  
'Mons Ba-  
donicus.'

ad annum . . . Brittaniam] Taking 449, not as the exact but as the approximate date assigned by Bede to the settlement of the Saxons, we get 493 as his approximate date for the battle of

the 'Mons Badonicus.' The *Annales Cambriae* place it in 516. Gildas tells us that the year of that battle was also the year of his own birth; § 26: 'usque ad annum obsessionis Badonici montis, qui prope Sabrinum ostium habetur, . . . quique quadragesimus quartus, ut noui, oritur annus mense iam primo emenso, qui iam et [etiam] meae natiuitatis est.' There has been much controversy as to which of these dates, 493 or 516, should be adopted for the battle, and the birth of Gildas. There is an article by M. de la Borderie on this question in *Rev. Celt.* vi. 1-13. I agree with him, (i) that the date 493 accords much better than 516 with what we know of the chronology of Gildas' life; (ii) that Bede's authority is much higher than that of the *Ann. Camb.*; (iii) that it is unlikely that Bede's date is due to a mere misunderstanding of Gildas' words, as has been commonly asserted from the time of Usher onwards. I cannot however agree with him in his very forced explanation of the passage of Gildas, which makes Gildas' forty-four years, like Bede's, date from the coming of the Saxons, and necessitates the insertion in Gildas of words for which there is no MS. authority. The present tense, 'oritur,' shows that Gildas refers to the time at which he was writing, and he says that it was 'at the end of the first month of the forty-fourth year [from the year of that event], which is also the year of my birth.' (So I would construe the passage.) Hence Gildas wrote the 'De Excidio,' c. 537, which is a perfectly possible date. Hence if Bede's date is neither due to a misunderstanding of Gildas (Usher), nor taken from him (de la Borderie), it must be based on independent data; and the occurrence of the same number, 44, in both cases is a mere coincidence. Is there any reason why two events should not be, one of them forty-four years before, and the other forty-four years after a third event? Mr. Anscombe (in his monograph on St. Gildas of Ruys, pp. 58 ff.) thinks that he has discovered internal evidence that the *Epistle* of Gildas was compiled 'within . . . three years . . . from Nov. 22, 498.' If so, it must be by a different author from the *De Excidio*; possibly 'by some one else of the same name.'

## CHAPTER 17.

Chapters 17-22 are not in the text of the AS. version, though the headings are in the *Capitula*. Chapters 17-21 are, with the exception of the beginning of c. 17, taken almost verbatim from Constantius' *Life of St. Germanus*, printed by Surius and the Bollandists at July 31. Constantius was a presbyter of Lyons, Life of St. Germanus by Constantius.



a friend and correspondent of Sidonius Apollinaris, whom he induced to collect and publish his correspondence, thus doing a great service to historical literature. His own life of Germanus is addressed to Patiens, Bishop of Lyons (451-491), and Censorius, Bishop of Auxerre (472-502), and therefore must have been written 472-491. The date given in *Gallia Christiana*, xii. 265 is c. 488. The extracts given by Bede are sufficient to show how largely the miraculous element enters into Constantius' composition, and there are many more miracles which Bede has omitted. On this and other lives of St. Germanus, v. Hardy, *Cat. i.* 47-57.

Date of the mission of Germanus.

**Ante paucos . . . annos**] Cf. *Opp. Min.* p. 189. Here Bede, following Gildas, has brought the history of the contest between the Britons and the Saxons to the battle of the 'Mons Badonicus,' c. 493. He now reverts to 'a few years before their [the Saxons] coming'; viz. to 429 according to Prosper Aquit., from whose chronicle the opening words of this chapter are taken. I cannot therefore see on what grounds Dr. Bright (following Smith) says: 'this mission is wrongly placed by Bede at A.D. 446' (p. 16). The phrase '*ante paucos annos*' may well cover a period of twenty years, 429-449. (In iv. 18, p. 242, the phrase '*non multo ante*' indicates an interval of almost thirty years; cf. c. 21, *ad init.* note.) Prosper's words are as follows: '*Agricola Pelagianus, Seueriani Pelagiani episcopi filius, ecclesias Britanniae dogmatis sui insinuatione corrumpit. Sed ad actionem Palladii diaconi, Papa Caelestinus Germanum Antiodorensem episcopum uice sua mittit, et, deturbatis haereticis, Britannos ad catholicam fidem dirigit.*' I have not been able to discover anything about Severianus and his son Agricola. Palladius is very likely the same whose mission to the Irish Prosper relates two years later. It will be noted that Prosper represents Germanus as sent by the Pope, whereas Constantius followed by Bede, *infra*, states that he and Lupus were sent by a Gallican Synod at the request of the Britons. On the various suggestions which have been made with a view to reconciling these statements, see Bright, p. 16. Prosper is the earlier authority, and as he was in Rome about 431, he had means of knowing; cf. what he says *Contra Collatorem*, c. 21 (also in *M. H. B.* p. ci).

p. 34. *sacerdotes*] 'bishops,' as often. See note on c. 28.

Germanus and Lupus.

**Germanus . . . Lupus . . . episcopi**] Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, 418-448; Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, 427-479. Four of Sidonius Apollinaris' letters are addressed to Lupus (vi. 1, 4, 9; ix. 11). In a letter to Sulpicius (vii. 13) he speaks of Lupus as '*facile principem pontificum Gallicanorum*'; while in a letter to Prosper, bishop of Orleans, he couples Germanus and Lupus to-

gether as models of excellence, speaking of another prelate as 'Lupo parem, Germanoque non imparem,' viii. 15. On lives of Lupus, v. Hardy, Cat. i. 60, 61. His day is July 29; cf. Bede's Martyrology at that day: 'Depositio S. Lupi . . . qui cum Germano venit Britanniam, et lii. annos sacerdotio [=episcopate] functus est; qui tempore Attilae, qui Galliam uastabat, sicut in hymno eius canitur,

Dum bella cuncta perderent,

Orando Trecas muniit.' (Cf. AA. SS., *ut infra*.)

There are two churches in Glamorganshire dedicated to Lupus under the Welsh name of Bleiddian (= wolf-cub); H. & S. i. 21. Churches dedicated to St. Germanus are in Wales and Cornwall, *ib.* The abbey of Selby was also dedicated to him, and claimed to possess one of his fingers; Hardy, Cat. ii. 446, 447; cf. Introduction, p. cxxi. Both Lupus and Germanus were disciples of the school of Lérins; Werner, pp. 25, 26. On Lérins, cf. *infra*, Hab. § 2, p. 365, note.

[*inimica vis daemonum*] This incident is cited by Adamnan in his life of Columba, ii. 34. If, as the ancient life of Lupus states, AA. SS. Jul. vii. 69, the two prelates left Gaul 'temporibus hibernis,' this is probably sufficient to account for the storms without any further hypothesis.

## CHAPTER 18.

[Pp. 36, 37. *massam pulueris*] For the wearing of relics on the person, cf. D. C. A. i. 611, ii. 1774, 1779. Contrast Alcuin to Ethelhard, archbishop of Canterbury: 'melius est in corde sanctorum imitari exempla, quam in sacculis portare ossa.' Mon. Alc. p. 719. Germanus seems to have built a church at Auxerre in honour of St. Alban. Cf. Bouquet, x. 172, A.D. 1025: 'ciuitas Autissiodorum exitiialiter igne cremata est, et res humanae in fauillas redactae praeter ecclesiam B. Albani martyris a B. Germano constructam.' Wearing of  
relics.

## CHAPTER 19.

Compare with this chapter the story told of Mellitus in ii. 7.

P. 37. *quae . . . tegebantur*] See note on ii. 14, p. 114.

## CHAPTER 20.

P. 38. *Saxones Fictique*] As Bede distinctly says, c. 17, that the mission of Germanus was prior to the permanent settlement of the Saxons in Britain, this junction of the Saxons and Picts must be Alliance of  
Saxons and  
Picts.

anterior to that mentioned by Bede in c. 15. and corresponds very much to the yet earlier state of things described as existing 360-370 A. D. by Ammianus Marcellinus, and 398-402 by Claudian ; when Saxons, Picts, and Scots were all attacking Britain ; M. H. B. pp. lxxiii f., xcvi. The legend of the Hallelujah victory (for it can hardly be regarded as more than a legend) refers consequently to an earlier period than that to which the victories of c. 16 belong.

Date and scene of the Hallelujah victory.

ad gratiam baptismatis] On baptisms at Easter, v. ii. 9, p. 99, note. If Germanus and Lupus left Gaul in the winter of 429 (see on c. 17) this must be Easter 430.

ecclesia . . . frondibus contexta] See on ii. 14, p. 114.

p. 39. mediis montibus] If Bede really wrote 'mediis,' he has altered his author for the worse ; for it is hard to see how a valley can be surrounded with mountains in the middle ; whereas Constantius' 'editis' gives a good sense. 'The scene . . . is laid by Welsh tradition at Maes-Garmon, "Germanus' Field," a mile from Mold in Flintshire ;' Bright, p. 19. If there is any truth in this, the Saxons must have sailed round to the west of Britain, as they can hardly have fought their way right across the island.

## CHAPTER 21.

Second mission of Germanus.

Nec multo . . . tempore] About seventeen years. This second mission of Germanus is fixed to the year 447, if Constantius is right in making his journey to Italy and his death there in 448 follow immediately on his second return from Britain.

p. 40. Seuero] The date of his accession to the See of Trèves does not seem to be known. He is said to have died in 455.

primæ Germaniæ] 'Germania prima,' or 'Superior,' is the district immediately to the west of the Rhine from about Neuwied to Colmar.

Germanus and the Armoricans.

p. 41. pro pace Armoricanæ gentis] Aetius had ordered Eocharich, chief of the Alani, whom he had settled at Orleans, to attack the revolted Armoricans. Germanus, according to Constantius, overawed Eocharich, and forced him to retire ; and then set off to plead the cause of the Armoricans at the imperial court at Ravenna. His efforts were frustrated by their renewed revolt ; cf. Martin, Hist. de France, i. 362, 363. He died at Ravenna, July 31, 448 ; though Bede in his Martyrology gives his day as Aug. 1, where he says of him : 'Britonum fidem per duas uices a Pelagiana hæresi defendit.' Other martyrologies give his day as Oct. 1, and Wandalbertus Prumiensis, at that date, says of him :

'Oceano fidei refugas et dogma nefandum

Reppulit, et signis te picta Britannia textit.'

**cuius corpus, &c.]** Germanus himself desired that his body should be carried back to Gaul, though Placidia was anxious to retain it in Italy. She herself vested the saint's dead body, according to Constantius. And so when his successor Heribald translated his remains in 841: 'corpus . . . ita integrum repperit . . . ut quondam fuerat a uenerabili . . . Placidia . . . compositum;' Pertz, xiii. 397. Other translations took place later in the same century; AA. SS. Jul. vii. 275-278. Burial and translation of Germanus.

**nec multo post, &c.]** Aetius was assassinated in 454, and Valentinianus March 16, 455. The sixth year of Marcian began on Aug. 25, 455, so that Valentinian's death belongs strictly to his fifth year. Deaths of Aetius and Valentinian.

**Hesperium concidit regnum]** The end of the western empire is commonly dated at the overthrow of Romulus Augustulus by Odoacer in 476.

## CHAPTER 22.

**exteris, ciuilibus . . . bellis]** 'utgefohte, ingefohtum,' 'out-fight and in-fights,' AS. vers.

**Interea, &c.]** It is not quite clear where Bede places this period of immunity from foreign war. Possibly between the Hallelujah victory in 430 and the permanent settlement of the Saxons, c. 449. In Gildas' narrative this passage comes after the mention of the battle of the Mons Badonicus, c. 493. But the Sax. Chron. assuredly gives no countenance to the view that there was any cessation in the attacks of the Saxons after 493. It records their unrelenting advance during the sixth century. Cessation of foreign attacks.

**p. 42. Gildas]** On the lives of Gildas v. Hardy, Cat. i. 151-156; Gildas. S. C. S. i. 116-118. They are all several centuries later than Gildas' time, and it may be doubted whether we know any fact with reference to him beyond what he has told us, viz. that he was born in the year of the battle of Mons Badonicus, and wrote the De Excidio in the forty-fourth year after that event; v. s. c. 16, note. W. M. says of him: 'cui Britanni debent si quid notitiae inter ceteras gentes habent,' i. 24. It is a pity that he could not write a little more clearly.

**flebili sermone]** The work is entitled 'liber querulus.' Gildas' denunciations of the Britons are quoted in Wulfstan's homilies (ed. Napier, p. 166) as a warning to the English of that time: 'an þeodwita was on Brytta tidum, Gildas hatte; se awrat be heora misdædum, hu hi . . . swa . . . God gegræmedon, þæt he let sæt

nyhstan Engla here heora eard gewinnan, and Brytta dugeðe forðon mid ealle. And þæt wæs geworden þurh gelaeredra regolbryce, and þurh læwedra lahbryce . . . Ac utan . . . warnian us be swilcan; and soð is þæt ic seege, wyrsan dæda we witan mid Englum sume gewordene, þonne we mid Bryttan ahwar gehyrdan.' 'There was a prophot of the people in the time of the Britons called Gildas. He wrote about their misdeeds, how they so angered God, that at the last He caused the army of the English to conquer their land, and utterly destroy the strength of the Britons. And that came about through the irregularity of the clergy, and the lawlessness of the laity. Come then, let us take warning by such, and sooth is it that I say; we know of worse deeds done among the English than we ever heard of among the Britons.' Alcuin uses Gildas similarly in writing to Archbishop Ethelhard in 793. H. & S. iii. 476; Mon. Alc. p. 206.

hoc addebant] This is a constant charge against the Britons. Cf. ii. 2, v. 22.

sed non tamen . . . destinavit] With these words Bede leads up to his proper subject.

## CHAPTER 23.

With this chapter begins the real subject of Bede's work, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, to which the preceding chapters have been introductory.

XX et I] So Bede, Chron. Opp. Min. p. 193. It was really only a little over twenty years, Aug. 582 to Nov. 602; Gibbon.

Chronology  
of Gregory  
the First's  
reign.

anno . . . X] Gibbon gives Aug. 13, 582, as the date of Maurice's accession. His tenth year would be from Aug. 13, 591, to Aug. 12, 592. Bede says that Gregory died in 605; ii. 1, p. 73; v. 24, p. 353. He was buried on March 12; ii. 1, p. 79. At this time burial on the day of death was the rule (see on iv. 14, 19), and therefore Fl. Wig. i. 12 is right in treating this as the date of Gregory's death; cf. App. i. § 32. Both here and in ii. 1, p. 73, Bede gives the length of Gregory's reign as thirteen years, six months, ten days. This would give Sept. 3, 591, for his accession, which agrees with the statement here, that it was in the tenth year of the Emperor Maurice. But it appears that Bede is a year wrong in both dates, and that Gregory really ruled from 590 to 604. The latter date agrees with Bede's statement, ii. 1, p. 79, and in his Chron. Opp. Min. p. 194, that Gregory died in the second year of Phocas. See Bright, p. 36, and reff.

anno XIII] Aug. 13, 595, to Aug. 12, 596, v. s. On Gregory's life

and many-sided activity see the notes to ii. 1, where the well-known story of the origin of the mission to Britain is given. Gregory's first idea for the conversion of the Teutonic tribes in Britain was to purchase and educate Angle slave boys for the purpose. In a letter to Candidus, 'eunti ad patrimonium Galliae,' Gregory directs him, 'quatenus solidi Galliarum in terra nostra expendi non possunt,' to devote any money which he may have in hand to purchasing 'pueros Anglos, qui sunt ab annis decem et septem, uel decem et octo, ut in monasteriis dati Deo proficiant.' He is to send a priest with them, to baptize any of them who might fall ill on the way. H. & S. iii. 4-5 date this letter 590 x 595. Jaffé. R. P. p. 115, fixes it to Sept. 595. Bede himself notices how 'gentiles ab errore conuersi, atque ad ueritatem euangelii transformati, melius ipsos gentium errores nouerant, et, quo certius nouerant, eo artificiosius hos expugnare atque euacuare didicerunt.' Opp. viii. 267, 268. Aidan adopted the same plan, iii. 5, p. 136, and Wilfrord; see on v. 11; and it has played a great part in the work of the Central African mission.

Gregory's earlier scheme for the conversion of the English.

circiter] See on c. 15.

Augustinum] 'Augustinus minor, qui et apostolus Anglorum.' Augustine and his companions Ethelwerd, p. 520. Cf. the short account of the mission in Bede's Chron. Opp. Min. p. 193. On the later lives of Augustine, which add nothing but legendary matter to Bede, see Hardy, Cat. i. 192-202.

alios . . . monachos] One of these was a certain John, Bede, Chron. u.s. (following Lib. Pontif. i. 312), who according to the Canterbury tradition, afterwards became abbot of St. Augustine's; Elmham, pp. 127, 147. On the impulse given by Gregory to monasticism, cf. Werner, p. 27.

praedicare . . . genti Anglorum] On the effect of Christianity on the Anglo-Saxons, cf. Lappenberg, i. 132, 140, 141; E. T. i. 130.

aliquantulum] He got at any rate far enough to hear news of, perhaps to have interviews with Stephen, Abbot of Lérins, Protasius, Bishop of Aix, and Arigius, Patricius of Burgundy, whose seat was either at Marseilles or Arles. For in the letters to those persons which Gregory sent by Augustine on his second departure from Rome, he speaks of the good report which A. had made to him of them; Opp. Min. pp. 231, 232; H. & S. iii. 8, 9. That there is nothing similar in the other commendatory letters sent at the same time (v. *infra*, p. 39) would seem to show that A. did not get much beyond Aix, or Arles at the furthest.

barbaram . . . gentem] Much the same complaint was made by the first missionary sent from Iona to Northumbria, iii. 5, p. 137.

p. 43. *Gregorius*] The AS. version, which usually omits all documents, gives a short summary of this letter in oratio obliqua.

'*Seruus  
seruorum  
Dei.*'

*seruus seruorum Dei*] Gregory was the first Pope to assume this style, which he did as a rebuke to the pride of the Patriarch of Constantinople, who had assumed the title of Universal Bishop. Cf. R. W. i. 108. Gregory did not use the title by any means uniformly, as may be seen by a reference to his letters. Cf. also my notes to Fortescue, pp. 252, 253. The style was not at first peculiar to Popes; cf. e. g. the letter of Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus in ii. 4. Other instances are given by M. & L. p. 287. An abbot uses it in relation to his own monks: '*Frater R. seruus seruorum Dei apud Melros seruiencium*,' N. & K. p. 308.

'*Praepositus.*'

*praeposito*] On the monastic sense of this title, v. Introduction, pp. xxviii f. It is used here in a more general sense. It is used similarly of an abbot in Hist. Abb. Anon. § 1, *infr.* p. 388. Augustine had, however, been '*praepositus*' of the monastery of St. Andrew at Rome, which Gregory had founded 'in cliuo Scauri,' Ioann. Diac. i. 6, from which also his companions were mainly, if not wholly, taken, *ib.* ii. 30; cf. H. & S. iii. 13. A doubtful letter of Pope Vitalian to Archbishop Theodore, G. P. p. 51, speaks of Augustine as Gregory's *sincellus*, i. e. '*eiusdem cellae socius*' (gloss *ad loc.*).

Systems of  
dating.

*die X kal. Aug. . . . anno XIII*] i. e. July 23, 596, *v. s.* The indication is also right for 596. Therefore Augustine must have left Rome the second time not earlier than July 23, 596. The mode of dating by imperial regnal years was introduced into papal documents by Pope Vigilius (537-555 A. D.); Jaffé, R. P. p. 76.

*post consulatum*] See the critical notes at the end of cc. 28, 30, 32; cf. Opp. vi. 1. '*P. C. patres conscripti, siue post consulatum.*' The phrase is due to the fact that from the beginning of the fourth century the yearly appointment of consuls became irregular, and from time to time the designation of the year, instead of '*Coss. M. et N.*' became '*post consulatum M. et N.*'; D. C. A. i. 833.

Indictions.

*indictione XIII*] The indictions are cycles of fifteen years; the origin of the system is not known. It has been traced to the quinquennial revisions of the Roman census (cf. Opp. vi. 244; Schürer, Gesch. d. jüdischen Volkes, i. 431, ed. 2). There are three kinds of indictions which come into consideration here: 1. The Constantinopolitan, which began on Sept. 1; 2. the imperial or Caesarean, which began on Sept. 24; 3. the Roman or pontifical, which began with the commencement of the year, whether Dec. 25 or Jan. 1. We must keep apart two questions which are sometimes confused, viz. the question as to the indiction used by Bede himself, and the question of that used in any document quoted by him.

As to the former, Kemble (C. D. I. lxxxi, followed by H. & S. iii. 14) asserts that Bede used the pontifical indiction, but he is clearly wrong. (a) It is doubtful if that system had been introduced in Bede's time; cf. Bright, p. 42; Nicolas, Chron. Hist. p. 7. (b) The author of the Hist. Anon. Abb. § 35 certainly uses the Caesarean indiction, 'viii kal. Oct. (Sept. 24) *incipiente indictione xv*'; and it is unlikely that two systems would be in use in the same monastery. (c) Bede's own words are decisive: '*Incipiunt indictiones ab viii kal. Oct. ibidemque terminantur*,' Opp. vi. 244. Bede therefore used the Caesarean indiction. But this proves nothing as to Gregory's usage. He was the first pope to reckon by indications, and he used the Constantinopolitan system (Bright, p. 42, following Bened. Edd. in Greg. Ep. i. 1; so Jaffé, R. P. pp. 93 ff.). The question does not affect the date of the present document, as on any system July, 596, is in the fourteenth indiction. In Opp. vi. 130 Bede gives the rule for finding the indiction: '*Si uis scire quota sit indictio, sume annos Domini, et adice tria, partire per xv, et quod remanserit, ipsa est indictio anni praesentis*.' Cf. Ducange, s. v. 'indictio,' D. C. A. i. 832-834.

## CHAPTER 24.

The whole of this chapter is omitted in the AS. vers.; and the heading is not even in the Capitula.

**Etherium Arelatensem archiepiscopum]** Etherius was bishop of Lyons, c. 586-602; Gams; Bouquet, iii. 110; cf. ib. 325; D. C. B. ii. 231. Vergilius was archbishop of Arles. This is however the letter to Etherius; the mistake is in the title, not in the name. The letter to Vergilius is given from Greg. Epp. vi. 53 by Stevenson, Opp. Min. p. 230; H. & S. iii. 7. Letters almost identical with this to Etherius were sent at the same time to Palladius, Bishop of Saintes, Pelagius of Tours, and Serenus of Marseilles; H. & S. iii. 6. Other commendatory letters to Desiderius, Bishop of Vienne, Syagrius of Autun, Protasius of Aix in Provence, Stephen, Abbot of Lérins, Arigius, Patrician of Burgundy, Theoderic and Theodebert, Kings respectively of Burgundy with Orleans, and of Austrasia; and to Brunhild, their grandmother, are in Opp. Min. pp. 231-235; H. & S. iii. 7-11; cf. Bright, p. 43. When the second mission started under Mellitus in 601, Gregory furnished them with commendatory letters to Theoderic, Theodebert, Brunhild, and Clothaire, King of Soissons, who had also helped Augustine, Menna, Bishop of Toulon, Serenus of Marseilles, Lupus of Châlons-sur-Saône,

Commendatory letters.



Aigulfus of Metz, Simplicius of Paris, Melantius of Rouen, Licinius of Angers, *Desiderius of Vienne, Vergilius of Arles, Etherius of Lyons, Arigius of Gap.* H. & S. iii. 33-37; Opp. Min. pp. 236-238. (Names of persons and places which occur in the earlier list are given in *Italics*.) These letters, except that to the Bishop of Gap, which is rather far to the East, and Saintes, which is a great deal too far to the West, seem intended to provide for the reception of the missionaries along the various routes open to them, the final choice being left to be determined by circumstances. For Theodore's route in 668, 669, v. iv. 1, p. 203.

p. 44. *sacerdotes*] Probably here, as often, means 'bishops,' v. note, c. 28. So '*sacerdotali*,' 'episcopal,' a little lower down.

*Candidum*] This is the same to whom the directions were sent about purchasing Angle slave boys; v. s. p. 37, and cf. D. C. B.

Patrimony  
of the  
Church.

*ad gubernationem patrimonii eccl.*] For these posts Gregory preferred to employ ecclesiastics; cf. Ep. ix. 65: '*Cauendum ne secularibus uiris . . . res ecclesiasticæ committantur, sed probatis de uestro officio clericis.*' On the property of the Roman Church and Gregory's administration of it, cf. Milman, *Lat. Christ.*, bk. iii. c. 7; Church, *Miscellaneous Essays*, pp. 228-238.

## CHAPTER 25.

Coming of Augustine. *peruenit Britanniam*] In 597; v. 24, p. 353. The coming of Augustine 'was in one sense a return of the Roman legions,' Green, *M. E.* p. 221.

*Aedilbert . . . potentissimus*] On Ethelbert's reign and power, v. notes to ii. 5, p. 89.

p. 45. *Humbræ . . . dirimuntur*] v. note on i. 15, p. 31.

The Hide.

*familiarum*] '*hida*,' AS. vers. If, as both the Latin and Saxon names suggest (for *hfd* is probably connected with *hiwan*, *higan*, 'members of a family'), the hide was originally as much land as would support a family, the extent of it would necessarily vary in different parts with the quality of the land, with the 'standard of comfort,' to use a modern term, of the different tribes, and with the varying circumstances of the conquests of the different districts. Hence there is a strong antecedent presumption against all attempts to find a uniform measurement for the hide throughout England. Kemble, *Saxons*, i. 101-104, 117, 118, has compared the hidage of some of the districts given by Bede here and in iv. 13, 16, pp. 231, 237. He puts aside as irrelevant the measurements for Anglesey and Man given in ii. 9, p. 97; where the former is said

to contain 960 'families,' the latter something over 300; though the acreage of the two is nearly equal; Anglesey, 193,453 acres; Man, 180,000 (Keith Johnston's *Gazetteer*). The greater fertility of Anglesey, which owing to its comparatively level character was the granary of North Wales, will go far to account for this discrepancy. Iona again Bede estimates at five 'families,' iii. 4, p. 133, the acreage being about 1630. The hidage of the North and South Mercians given in iii. 24, p. 180, can hardly be utilised without more knowledge than we possess as to the exact limits of the districts occupied by them.

**Tanatos]** Isidore's etymology of the name has been given above Thanet. on c. 1. It must be borne in mind that Thanet at that time was really an island, entirely separated from the mainland. Cf. Stanley, *Memorials of Canterbury*, pp. 28-30, and the map, ib. p. 55. See also the curious old map of Thanet prefixed to Elmham. In the life of St. Mildred, Thanet is called 'flos et thalamus . . . regni.' Hardy, *Cat. i.* 377, 380.

**adpicuit]** Probably at Ebbsfleet, the traditional landing-place of Hengist and Horsa. *Sax. Chron.*, 449 A.D.; v. Bright, p. 45, and Stanley, *u. s.* The landing-place.

**ferme XL.]** Whether these forty represent the original comrades of Augustine only, or include the 'interpretes de gente Francorum,' is not quite clear. Probably the former.

**acceperunt . . . Gregorio . . . interpretes]** The *prima facie* meaning of this passage seems to be that at this time the Frankish speech and the Kentish dialect were still so near akin that they were mutually intelligible. Fifty years later in Wessex this was not the case. Cenwalh got rid of the Frankish bishop Agilbert, 'pertaesus barbarae loquellae,' iii. 7, p. 140—a good instance of the common tendency to regard all foreign speech as barbarous. W. M. says: 'naturalis . . . lingua Francorum communicat cum Anglis, quod de Germania gentes ambae germinauerint.' This passage of Bede has however been understood as meaning only that these missionaries took with them some persons who, through trade or otherwise, had acquired some knowledge of the dialect of Kent. So Green, *M. E. p.* 112; Werner, p. 40. In his letter to Theoderic and Theodebert (*u. s. p.* 39) Gregory says that he had given directions to Augustine and his fellows 'ut aliquos secum e uicino debeant presbyteros ducere.' In the same letter, and in that to Brunhild, Gregory says that the Angles had shown a desire for Christianity, 'sed sacerdotes (i. e. bishops) e uicino negligere.' It is therefore the Frankish and not the British bishops who are aimed at in this reproach; and it would seem that no attempt had been made by Frankish and Kentish speech.  
  
Neglect of the Frankish bishops.

them to utilise the marriage of Ethelbert with Bertha as an opening for missionary effort.

acceperunt . . . et mittens] A very loose construction.

antea fama . . . peruenerat] v. last note but one.

Bertha.

Berota] daughter of Charibert, King of Paris. Cf. Greg. Tur. iv. 26: 'Charibertus rex Ingobergam accepit uxorem, de qua filiam habuit, quae postea in Ganthia uirum accipiens est deducta;' ib. ix. 26: 'Anno xiiii Childeberti regis Ingoberga regina, Chariberthi quondam relicta, migravit saeculo, . . . relinquens filiam unicam quam in Canthia regis cuiusdam filius matrimonio copulauit.' A note on the former passage in the ed. of G. T. in the M. H. G. (4to series) says that she was also called Ethelberg. No authority is given, but if it is true, it looks as if it were a name taken to indicate her adoption into her husband's family. On the significance of the marriage, cf. Green, M. E. pp. 210, 211; Lappenberg, i. 118; E. T. i. 115, 116.

Liudhard.

Liudhardo] The later legendary lives call him 'praecursor et ianitor uenturi Augustini.' Hardy, Cat. i. 175, 176. Rudborne says: 'et haec erat causa quare tam cito Rex Ethelbyrtus paruit praedicationi S. Augustini.' Ang. Sac. i. 251, cf. Elmham, p. 109; W. M. i. 13: 'uita . . . regem ad Christi cognitionem inuitabat.' In other respects W. M., perhaps from the analogy of his own day, absurdly overestimates the Frankish influence. Liudhard does not seem really to have effected much; v. s. In the additions to Bede's martyrology he is mentioned at Feb. 4: 'Passio S. Liphardi [i. e. Liwhardi] martyris Cantorbeiae archiepiscopi.' Opp. iv. 33. But the story of his death as given in the lives, and implied in this entry, is clearly mythical and chronologically impossible. Nor can he ever have been archbishop of Canterbury. He was merely private chaplain to the queen. According to Canterbury tradition Laurentius removed his body into the church of the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, where it was placed with that of Bertha in the 'porticus' of St. Martin. Elmham, p. 132; Thorn, ii. 2; cf. Stanley, u. s. p. 45.

malificae artis] See notes on c. 30, for Anglo-Saxon heathenism.

Prayers and preaching of Augustine and his fellows.

p. 46. laetaniasque canentes] '7 wæron haligra naman rimeude, 7 gebedo singende,' 'and they were telling the names of saints and singing prayers.' AS. version.

uerbum . . . uitas] According to Ælfrie, Hom. ii. 128, the substance of Augustine's preaching to Ethelbert was: 'hu se mild-heorta Hælend, mid his ágenre ðrowunge. þyane scyldigan middan-eard alysde, 7 geleaffullum mannum heofonan rices infær geopenode,' 'how the merciful Saviour by His own passion redeemed

this guilty world, and opened the kingdom of Heaven to all believers.' (Cited H. & S. iii. 11.)

*cum omni Anglorum gente*] This must not be taken as implying any feeling of national unity, which was a much later growth (cf. '*Anglorum populi*,' at beginning of this chapter), but only as referring to the common heathenism of the Teutonic tribes settled in Britain.

*mansionem*] 'in parochia S. Aelphegi ex opposito regiae stratae Their residence. *versus aquilonem*;' Thorn, col. 1759. '*Mansio signatur quae Stabelgate notatur*;' Elmham, p. 91.

*imperii sui*] i.e. of his overlordship which extended to the Ethelbert's Humber; not merely of his *regnum* of Kent; v. ii. 5 note. So in 'imperium. c. 32, Gregory addresses Ethelbert as '*Rex Anglorum*,' and speaks of '*regibus ac populis sibimet subjectis*.'

*hanc laetaniam*] '*Jeosne letaniam 7 ontemn*,' 'this litany and antiphon (anthem),' AS. version. On the antiphon itself, which is founded on Daniel ix. 16, and belongs to the Rogation Days, v. Bright, p. 48. It will be found in Martene, *De Antiquis Ritibus* (1788), iii. 189; and it, with several other of these antiphons, is embodied in the Latin hymn or prayer ascribed to St. Mugint. *Liber Hymnorum*, ed. Todd, i. 94 ff.

*Alleluia*] Omitted in AS. version.

## CHAPTER 26.

*datam . . . mansionem*] See note to last chapter.

p. 47. *secundum ea, quae docebant . . . utiundo*] On this see Introduction, p. xxxvi.

*sancti Martini*] Cf. Stanley, *u. s.* pp. 31, 32, 53, 54; Bright, *St. Martin*. p. 48. St. Martin died 397×401 (cf. Introduction, p. c, which would give 399), so that the dedication of this church must be later than 400; H. & S. i. 15, 37. There is no real authority for the statement often made that this church was the seat of a separate bishopric; H. & S. iii. 658. A document printed Ang. Sac. i. 150, boldly asserts that this see survived to the time of Lanfranc. To the popularity of the cultus of St. Martin in Britain Venantius Fortunatus (see on i. 7, p. 18) bears striking testimony, saying of him: '*Quem Hispanus, Maurus, Persa, Britannus amat*;' cited H. & S. i. 13, where see note for references illustrating the connexion of St. Martin with the British Isles. Cf. Ven. Fort, *Vita S. Martini*, Lib. iv. vv. 621 ff. (M. H. G. 4to). For the legend of a church at Ely founded by St. Augustine, see Lib. *Eliensis*, p. 48; and cf. Elmham, p. 100.

- Mass.** missas facere] 'mæssesong don,' AS. vers. On the Latin phrase cf. Bright, p. 50; according to whom it appears first in St. Ambrose, Ep. xx. 4, 'ego tamen mansi in munere, missam facere coepi.'
- Augustine's miracles.** miraculorum . . . ostensione] On Augustine's miracles cf. *infra*, i. 31, ii. 1, 3, pp. 66-67, 78, 86. One definite instance, the healing of a blind man, is given in ii. 2, p. 82.
- Baptism of Ethelbert.** baptizatus est] Traditionally on Whitsunday, June 2, 597; Elmham, pp. 78, 137. As to the place, Stanley, *u. s.* p. 36, conjectures St. Martin's; Elmham, p. 84, says Christchurch, which at that time was not built. On Whitsuntide and Easter as the regular times for baptisms *v.* note on ii. 9, p. 99. There is an AS. tract on Ethelbert's baptism in MS. C.C.C.C. 201, on which see Hardy, Cat. i. 176.
- Wholesale conversions.** plures . . . confluere] In a letter to Eulogius, Bp. of Alexandria, written June, 598, Gregory says that the preceding Christmas Augustine, 'coepiscopus noster,' had baptized more than 10,000 Angli; H. & S. iii. 12, cf. *ib.* 4, note c. On the value and effects of such wholesale conversions, see notes to c. 30; ii. 14, 20.
- Conversion and compulsion.** nullum . . . cogeret ad Christianismum] So Bede on Ezra vii. 13 says: 'Omnibus qui uelint ire Hierosolymam licentiam tribuit, nullum ire compellit; et Christiani principes nullum cogentes, ne sit incerta aut dubia uoluntas fidei, uniuersis quibus placuerit de suo regno Christum colere permittunt; 'Opp. viii. 436. Yet *infra*, ii. 5, p. 90, he admits that some in Kent may have conformed 'uel fauore uel timore regio.' Eddius, speaking of Wilfrid's conversion of the South Saxons, says that the pagans deserted idolatry 'quidam uoluntarie, alii uero coacti regis imperio'; Vita Wilf. c. 41. He breathes no hint of disapproval.
- Mythical transference of the Kentish capital.** in Doruuerni metropoli sua] The story that Ethelbert transferred his capital to Reculver, leaving Canterbury entirely to Augustine, Ang. Sac. i. 1, seems to me an obvious myth, based on that greatest of ecclesiastical myths, the Donation of Constantine; cf. the words of Gocelin's life of Augustine: 'baptizat nouum Constantinum Siluester nouus; ' *ib.* ii. 61. Bede's words 'in D. metropoli sua' are distinctly against the idea that the capital was changed.

## CHAPTER 27.

- Augustine's consecration.** P. 48. Interea] It must have been before Christmas 597, as at that date Gregory speaks of him as 'co-episcopus noster'; *v. s.* c. 26 note. According to Thorn, col. 1760, Augustine was consecrated on Nov. 16, but this was not a Sunday in 597.

ab . . . Aetherio] A converse mistake to that noted above, c. 24. Here the office is right, the name wrong; it should be Vergilius. At the beginning of c. 28 Bede tries to solve the difficulty created by his own mistake by making Vergilius succeed Etherius as archbishop of Arles; cf. on Vergilius, Bright, p. 53. Gregory (in H. & S. iii. 12) speaks of Augustine as 'data a me licentia a Germaniarum episcopis episcopus factus'; cf. App. I. § 11, which speaks as if Gregory had consecrated Augustine.

Laurentium . . . et Petrum] On the former v. ii. 4, p. 86; on the latter, i. 33, p. 70. Both are mentioned in the letter of Gregory to Bertha which was sent at the same time as the responsa; H. & S. iii. 17; Opp. Min. p. 251. As Laurentius is styled 'presbyter' while Peter is called 'monachus,' it is probable that the former was not a monk; D. C. B. iii. 631.

nec mora . . . receipt] If Augustine sent off Laurentius and Peter 'continuo' after his own consecration, it is certainly not true that the answers to his questions were received 'without delay'; as the letters which accompanied them are dated June 22, 601. The Preface to the responsa, which is not in Bede (see it in H. & S. iii. 18), attempts to account for this delay by saying that at the time of the arrival of Laurentius and Peter Gregory was ill of the gout (cf. Jaffé, R. P. pp. 137, 142, 150), and could not compose the responsa in time for their departure, as they were anxious to set out at once; and he had no opportunity of sending them till the mission under Mellitus started in 601. As however four of the nine letters sent with Mellitus speak of Laurentius as accompanying him, H. & S. iii. 33-36; and as Bede, c. 29 *ad init.*, clearly implies that Laurentius and Peter accompanied Mellitus and brought the responsa. I am strongly of opinion that the Preface is a forgery.

In 736, St. Boniface applied to Nothelm, then Archbishop of Canterbury, for a copy of the responsa, as none could be found in the Roman archives; H. & S. iii. 336. The document may have been re-discovered at Rome after 736; and it does not therefore follow that this was not one of the documents copied by Nothelm for Bede at Rome; Pref. p. 6, *sup.* On the other hand, the original or a copy may have been preserved at Canterbury, and Nothelm or Albinus may have transcribed this. Anyhow, Bede's copy is the most ancient and authentic in existence, and the additions to it in other MSS. and editions are of no authority, and some of them are palpable and clumsy forgeries; H. & S. iii. 32, 33. A little later, 744 x 747, Boniface sends to Egbert of York some letters of Gregory which he believed to be unknown in Britain; ib. 359. Similar answers of Gregory II and Gregory III to questions addressed

to them by St. Boniface are in Mon. Mog. pp. 88-94. We are reminded of the questions addressed to the Roman Emperors by the governors of provinces, and the imperial rescripts founded thereon; e.g. the famous rescript of Trajan in answer to Pliny's questions as to the treatment of the Christians. It is curious that all MSS. of the AS. version place these responsa at the end of Book iii. I have found no Latin MS. which favours this arrangement, so that it must be due to the translator's own fancy; who also abridges considerably.

Division of  
oblations.

mos . . . sedis apostolicæ] This was the case as early as Gelasius I (492-496 A. D.); in Mansi, viii. 45. For this and for the decrees of various councils on the subject, v. Bright, p. 56.

quia tua fraternitas . . . suis] And therefore the separate provision for the bishop would not be necessary in Augustine's case. This part of Gregory's answer is cited by Bede in the prose life of Cuthbert, c. 16; Opp. Min. p. 80. Gregory himself when at Constantinople organised his household on the monastic pattern; v. ii. 1, p. 75, and note.

Clerks in  
minor  
orders.

p. 49. clerici extra sacros ordines constituti] 'preostas 7 Godes þeowas butan halgum hadum gesette,' 'priests and servants of God appointed outside of holy orders,' AS. version. It really means those in minor orders below the subdiaconate; v. Bright, p. 56. For another instance of the AS. 'preostas' meaning persons in minor orders, cf. Birch, i. 520.

canendis psalmis] On the importance of the psalter at this time see note on iii. 5, p. 136.

Mistrans-  
lation.

quod superest] Gregory treats the 'quod superest' of the Vulgate, which is really an adverbial phrase translating the *ἄλφν* of the original, as if it meant 'what remains,' 'the surplus.' (Cf. the AS. vers. : 'þætte ofer seo 7 to lafe, sellað ælmesse,' 'what is over and remains, give as alms.') Bede in his commentary on the passage does the same: 'quod necessario uictui et uestimento superest, date pauperibus.' Opp. xi. 150. The interpretation became traditional in the English Church, and is found in the AS. version of the Gospels: 'ðæt to lāfe is, syllap ælmessan,' 'what is over, give as alms'; also in Wycliffe: 'that thing that is ouer, gyue ye almes.'

Differences  
of Ritual.

diuersae consuetudines] On the differences of ritual which Augustine might have observed on his journeys through Gaul, v. Bright, p. 57; D. C. A. ii. 962. With Gregory's answer here cf. Ep. i. 43; where, speaking of the question of single or trine immersion in baptism, he says: 'quia in una fide nihil officit sanctae ecclesiae consuetudo diuersa.' With reference to this answer Gocelin, Ang. Sac. ii. 63, very beautifully paraphrases this

principle of variety in unity : ' Sic regina sponsa Domini uarietate circumamicta tam multimoda quam multifaria triumphat in gloria. Sic et una corona multicoloribus textitur floribus, et unum monile aureum uariis gemmarum illustratur splendoribus, et diuersis uocum discriminibus unum concentum reddimus.' On the other side, cf. Landulphus Senior (eleventh century) in his history of Milan, SS. RR. II. iv. 71 D : ' Papa Gregorius . . . omnes latinae linguae ecclesias per diuersa officia multum discrepantes uidit. Qui tantum . . . ad unitatem Romanae ecclesiae reuocauit, dicens . . . unum mysterium totius linguae esse debere latinae.' The idea of a unity of the Latin-speaking races is noteworthy. On Gregory's liturgical reforms, cf. D.C.B. ii. 788-790 ; D.C.A.s. v. Sacramentary.

de ecclesia furtu] This was one of the subjects of Ethelbert's Thefts  
from  
Churches. legislation ; ii. 5, p. 90, and note *a. l.* According to Theodore's Penitential, iii. 2, restitution was to be made fourfold ; H. & S. iii. 179. In Egbert's Penitential penance only is enjoined (three years in the case of a layman).

p. 50. *damnis*] 'Fines.' Cf. Cic. de Off. iii. 5, 'eos morte, exsilio, uinculis, *damno* coercent.' So 'magnae pecuniae dampno obnoxius erit' ; Raine's Hexham, i. 20.

*quaerere*] We should expect *quaerat*, and so the AS. version translates ; but there is no variation in the MSS. The Benedictine Editors read : 'lucrum de *damnis* quaerat.'

*frater et soror*] We should certainly read 'fratris et sororis.' Prohibited  
degrees. But here again there is no variation in the MSS. The AS. version is ambiguous, as *broðor*, *sweostor*, may be either nom. or gen. The civil law, 'terrena lex in Romana república,' varied at different times as to the legality of marriages between first cousins. On the steps by which they were forbidden in the Church, v. Bright, p. 58. The 'quaedam terrena lex' alluded to by Gregory is a Constitution of Arcadius and Honorius passed in 405, and permanently embodied in Justinian's Code, legalising these marriages, D.C.A. i. 486 ; and on this and the whole subject of prohibited degrees cf. ib. ii. 1725 ff.

p. 51. *tertia uel quarta generatio*] i. e. second and third cousins. It was especially as to the authenticity of this permission of Gregory that St. Boniface desired to be informed by Nothelm ; v. s. p. 45. There is a letter of Felix, Bishop of Messana, to Gregory himself on the subject, and Gregory in his answer explains away his permission as being a concession to a newly converted race. After they are firmly established in the faith they are to be forbidden to marry up to the seventh generation H. & S. iii. 32, 33 ; Opp. Min. pp. 239-248. The authenticity of Gregory's letter is however somewhat doubtful (H. & S. u. s.), and it was a subject on which the tempta-



tion to forgery was very strong after the views on consanguinity had become stricter, and Gregory's permission was felt to be a stumbling-block. In favour of the view that the permission was temporary is the fact that the English Church did not continue to make use of it. Boniface, writing in 742, says that a Synod of London had condemned marriage within the third degree as incest; H. & S. iii. 51. Theodore's Penitential says that the Greeks allowed marriage within the third degree, the Romans within the fifth, though they do not dissolve marriages when made within the fourth degree: 'ergo in quinta generatione coniungantur; in quarta, si inuenti fuerint, non separentur;' H. & S. iii. 201. (It should be noted that this tells equally against Gregory's alleged prohibition of marriages within the seventh degree, as does the fact that Gregory II, writing to St. Boniface in 726, says: 'post quartam generationem iungantur;' Mon. Mog. p. 89.) On the other hand, as late as 1015 A. D. this permission of Gregory was quoted with effect against Gerard, Bishop of Cambrai, who wished to prevent the marriage of Rainer II, Count of Hainault, with the daughter of Hermann, Count of Verdun; Pertz, vi. 469. It would be interesting to know what was the 'illicitum coniugium' of one of the 'gesitts' of Sigbert of Essex, which Bishop Cedd visited with excommunication; iii. 22, p. 173.

cum nouerca] It seems strange that Augustine should have thought it necessary to ask the question in view not only of the O. T. passages which Gregory cites, but of 1 Cor. v. 1. But the question caused trouble elsewhere (cf. D.C.A. ii. 1727, 1728), and perhaps difficulties like that with Eadbald, ii. 5, p. 90, may have already arisen; and Augustine may have wished to have the weight of Gregory's authority to back him; cf. the final words of the eighth question, and the first words of the answer to it.

'Cognatus.' cognata] 'Sister-in-law,' broðor wiif, AS. vers., as is plain from the context, and the reference to John the Baptist; so in the interrogatio above *cognatis* means brothers and sisters-in-law. Cf. Italian 'cognato,' 'cognata.' Another clear instance of this sense is in iii. 21, p. 170. In iii. 18, p. 162, the meaning is doubtful. In ii. 12, p. 109, it is used in its ordinary sense of 'relation.' It might be suggested that the clause above, 'et sacra lex . . . reuelare' should come in here after 'fuerat facta.' Then 'cognatio' would be the abstract of 'cognatus' in this specific sense (it is so used in ii. 9, p. 97), and the reference would be to Levit. xviii. 16. But there is no MS. authority for the alteration. Cf. Iohannes Ianuensis, cited by Ducange, 'et est Leuir Cognatus, scilicet frater mariti uel uxoris.'

**Iohannes Baptista]** Cf. Bede himself, Opp. xi. 327 : 'Iohannes Baptista, qui non pro Christi confessione, sed pro defensione ueritatis occubuit, ideo tamen pro Christo, quia pro ueritate martyrium suscepit.' So of Abel ; Opp. v. 128. See on iii. 14, p. 157.

John Baptist a martyr.

**in hoc enim tempore, &c.]** If Gregory had intended the regulation as to prohibited degrees to be only temporary, would he not have added some words like these ?

**p. 52. an debeat . . . episcopus ordinari]** Consecration by a single bishop seems to have been common in the Celtic Churches. H. & S. i. 155 ; Ra. Ad. p. 349. That it was not universal, see on iii. 22, p. 173. St. Kentigern is said to have been consecrated by a single bishop from Ireland 'more Britonum et Scottorum tunc temporis.' And the decision of his biographer is, 'licet consecratio Britonibus assueta sacris canonibus minus consona uideatur, non tamen uim aut effectum diuini misterii, aut episcopalis ministerii amittere comprobatur.' N. & K. p. 182 ; cf. ib. 335-340. This is evidently Gregory's view ; he regards it as valid but irregular ; Bright, pp. 58, 59, who gives the decisions of various councils on the point. Honorius was consecrated by Paulinus alone, Deusdedit by Ithamar alone, ii. 16, p. 117 ; iii. 20.

Consecration by a single bishop.

**et quidem . . . debeant conuenire]** The text is certainly corrupt. The readings of A<sub>2</sub> and O<sub>2</sub> (see additional critical notes) improve the sense somewhat, but these and other readings are probably only the expedients of scribes and editors to emend a text which they found unintelligible. If conjectures be admitted we might put a comma after 'potes,' and a full stop after 'adisstant,' reading 'nisi' for 'nam,' and omitting the words 'nulla sit necessitas ut' altogether. The AS. version reads : 'ne meaht þu on oðre wisan biscop halgian buton oðrum biscopum. Ac þe sculon of Gallia rice biscopas cuman,' i. e. 'thou canst not consecrate a bishop otherwise (than) without other bishops. But bishops ought to come to thee from Gaul.' The rest of the answer is much abbreviated.

**pallium]** This word has various usages in ecclesiastical Latin ; the only one with which we are concerned is that which denotes a vestment bestowed by the pope on archbishops as a special mark of their rank, indicating that they represent the Roman See. The form of it varied at different times. Ultimately it became fixed to the form in which it appears in the arms of several archiepiscopal sees ; a circular band passing over the shoulders, with pendants hanging down behind and before, so that the front and back views of it present the appearance of the letter Y. It was ornamented with a varying number of purple crosses, now fixed to four. It was and is composed of the wool of lambs reared in the

History of the Pallium.

convent of St. Agnes at Rome, and after it is made, it is placed for a night on the tomb of St. Peter, and then kept until required.

Originally the bestowal of the pallium had no legal significance, but was merely a general mark of honour and favour conferred at first by the emperor, then by the pope in the emperor's name, at his desire, or at least with his consent, on certain distinguished prelates. Nor was the right to bestow it confined at first to the popes, nor its reception to metropolitans. Other patriarchs conferred it upon their metropolitans; and there are instances of its reception by simple bishops. Ultimately it became one of the chief instruments whereby the popes built up the fabric of their power. They gradually established the principles (a) that the pallium could only be bestowed by themselves; (b) that its possession was necessary to the exercise of metropolitan functions, and that till it was received none of those functions could be legally performed. Hence they acquired the power of confirming the appointment of all metropolitans, and of exacting submission from them as the price of confirmation. The pallium was sometimes refused to an unworthy prelate. Thus Mauger of Rouen '*tota uita pallii usu caruit, quod negaret sedes apostolica honoris huiusce priuilegium homini qui sacratum negligebat officium*;' W. M. ii. 327. It was not, however, without a struggle that these results were achieved. John VIII in 878 complains: '*cum in Galliae partibus essemus . . . unum ualde prohibendum inuenimus; metropolitae, antequam pallium a sede apostolica suscipiant, consecrationem facere praesumunt, quod antecessores et nos canonico decreto ne fieret interdiximus*;' Bouquet, ix. 162. (John VIII had in the previous year, 877, in the synod of Ravenna, ordered that all metropolitans must, under pain of deprivation, apply for the pallium within three months from their consecration.) There are not many known instances of the bestowal of the pallium by popes prior to Gregory the Great. Most of the earliest cases are in connexion with the see of Arles, which bears out Gregory's words here: '*In Galliarum episcopis nullam tibi auctoritatem tribuimus; quia ab antiquis praedecessorum meorum temporibus pallium Arelatensis episcopus accepit, quem nos priuare auctoritate percepta minime debemus*.' Here the bestowal of the pallium certainly involves such an increase of authority, as would make it impossible to place the recipient under the jurisdiction of another prelate; and the archbishop of Arles was in some sense primate of Gaul at this time; cf. D. C. B. iv. 1160. In i. 29, p. 63, Gregory seems certainly to treat the reception of the pallium as necessary to enable Augustine to consecrate

bishops. Pope Honorius sent pallia to Honorius of Canterbury and Paulinus of York, to enable the survivor of them to consecrate the other's successor; ii. 17, 18. Alcuin in 797 begs Leo III to send the pallium to Eanbald II of York: 'quia ualde illis in partibus sacri pallii auctoritas necessaria est ad opprimendam improborum peruersitatem, et sanctae ecclesiae auctoritatem conseruandam.' Mon. Alc. p. 359. At certain periods, especially in the eleventh century, the popes attempted to enforce the rule that archbishops must come to Rome to receive the pallium in person; and it is noteworthy that the author of the Anglo-Saxon homily on St. Gregory represents him as commanding Augustine, 'þæt his æftergengas symle þæt pallium 7 pone ercehadæ æt þam apostolican setle Romaniscra gelaðunge feccan sceoldon,' 'that his successors should always fetch the pall and archiepiscopal authority from the apostolic see of the Roman Church;' ed. Elstob, p. 34. As early as 805 the English bishops remonstrated against this claim; which certainly had no basis in the history of Canterbury and York up to that time, and they hint pretty plainly that pecuniary exaction was the papal motive; H. & S. iii. 559-561. (Gregory I, in a synod of 595, had forbidden any payment to be made for the pallium; R. P. p. 114.) From the end of the tenth century we find many archbishops of Canterbury and York going to Rome for the pallium—Ælfric, Ælfheah (Alphege), Ethelnoth, Robert, Lanfranc, of Canterbury (Sax. Chr. s. a. 997, 1007, 1022, 1050, 1072); Ælfric, Kinsy, Ealdred, of York (ib. 1026, 1055, 1061). So of Dunstan: 'suscepto sacerdotio, proluxa itinera quas summis solum sacerdotibus solita, Romanam . . . tetendit ad urbem;' Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 38. Gregory VII refused to grant the pallium to Lanfranc and to Bruno of Verona unless they came for it; Baronius, ad ann. 1070; R. P. p. 407. In March, 1095, Urban II writes to Guy of Vienne: 'contra ecclesiae morem absenti tibi pallium contribuimus;' ib. 462. In the next century there was a great contest between Honorius II (1124-1130) and Anselm V, Archbishop of Milan (1126-1135), on this point. 'Papa . . . dixit . . . : si uis frui auctoritate archiepiscopi, . . . necesse est ut stolam suscipias a manibus meis ad altare Sancti Petri.' Anselm consulted Robaldo, the administrator of the see of Alba, who replied: 'quod prius sustineret nasum suum scindi usque ad oculos, quam daret sibi consilium, ut susciperet Romae stolam, et ecclesiae Mediolanensi praepararet hanc nouam et grauissimam . . . mensuram;' SS. RR. II. v. 510. The popes ultimately abandoned this pretension, and the pallium is usually sent by a papal Nuncio. There was a tendency also on the part of the popes to restrict the use of the pallium to certain

special occasions. Thus Gregory I grants it to Augustine 'ad sola missarum solemnina agenda,' i. 29. So to Vergilius of Arles; Bouquet, iv. 14. So Boniface V to Justus, ii. 8. Honorius I (625-638) decreed that metropolitans who wear their pallium 'per plateas uel in litanis' [*i.e.* in processions], shall be deprived of it; R. P. p. 158. Nicolas I in 866 rebukes Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, for the too indiscriminate use of his pallium; *ib.* 249, 250. John XII in 960 grants the pallium to Dunstan to be used only on certain great festivals and other high occasions, and asserts that this had been the custom of his predecessors; Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 297. See on the whole subject Ducange, *s.v.* Pallium; D. C. A. s. *vv.* Metropolitan, Omophorion, Pallium, Pope; Bright, pp. 60, 61, 67. See also the index to vol. ii. of the Benedictine edition of Gregory the Great's Works, where many references will be found to letters of his, in which the pallium is mentioned. Very strict rules about the pallium are found in the Pontificale Romanum, ed. Venice, 1572, ff. 36, 37.

p. 53. *epistulas*] This is the letter given in c. 28.

Bishops of  
Britain  
subject to  
Augustine.

Question  
of the  
Primacy.

*Brittaniarum... omnes episcopos*] The reference to the need for instruction and correction shows that Gregory is thinking mainly of the bishops of the Celtic Churches in Britain, the British, and perhaps the Irish Church at Iona. But the phrase does not refer to them exclusively; it would include all bishops consecrated by Augustine and his future colleague of York (*cf.* the expression in c. 29, p. 64). This concession, like that of c. 29, giving Augustine authority over the occupant of the see of York, was a purely personal concession to Augustine in consideration of his great services; the ultimate arrangement was to be equal division of authority between London (eventually Canterbury) and York. Of course the partisans of the claims of Canterbury tried to interpret both as permanent concessions to that see. London and York, with their history dating from Roman times, would naturally be the cities best known to Gregory; *cf.* Elmham, p. 95: 'eo quod ad illud tempus alterius obscurae urbis notitia Romanos non attigisset.' *Cf.* H. Y. I. xxii. It was largely owing to the apostasy of Essex, ii. 5, 6, that this plan was not carried out. By the time Essex was reconverted, iii. 22, the primacy was too firmly established at Canterbury to be removed. H. & S. iii. 67; *cf.* *ib.* 51. With the substitution of Canterbury for London this arrangement, itself probably based on Severus' division of the island into the provinces of Upper and Lower Britain (*cf.* Bates' Northumberland, p. 30), was carried out in the case of Honorius and Paulinus, ii. 17, 18. Then came the flight of Paulinus from Northumbria, and

no northern prelate received the pallium till Egbert in 735, *infra*, p. 361, Ee. § 1, note. Hence from 633 to 735, a date beyond the limits of Bede's history, the question of the relation between the two metropolitans could not arise; Theodore quietly stepped into the vacant place, and freely exercised metropolitan jurisdiction over the whole of that part of Britain occupied by the Teutonic settlers: 'Isque primus erat in archiepiscopia, cui omnis Anglorum ecclesia manus dare consentiret;' iv. 2, p. 204; cf. iv. 5, 17. Cenulf, King of Mercia, writing to Leo III in 798, speaks as if the primacy had been fixed at Canterbury by some formal decree: 'uisum est cunctis gentis nostrae sapientibus quatenus in illa ciuitate metropolitanus honor haberetur, ubi corpore pausat, qui his partibus fidei ueritatem inseruit,' *i.e.* Augustine; H. & S. iii. 522. But it was circumstances, not any formal resolution, which fixed the primacy at Canterbury.

How far the Celtic churches at this time admitted the jurisdiction of Rome is a very obscure point. Cf. Bright, pp. 61-63, 83. The British Church emphatically rejected Augustine's authority at Augustine's Oak; ii. 2, and notes; and as long as the Celtic Churches retained their separate Easter they were treated by Rome as schismatical. See Excursus on Easter question.

p. 54. *prohibere*] 'bewatered beon'; *i.e.* *prohiberi*, AS. vers.; a better reading, found in some MSS.

*si donum . . . uideatur*] 'þætte scyle þære godcundan gife wið-cweden beon,' ib., which points to a reading 'si dono . . . contradici,' &c., which certainly yields a better sense. It is difficult to get much meaning out of the text as it stands.

*nullo peccati pondere grauat*] Theodore's penitential, however, forbids a woman to enter a church for forty days after childbirth; H. & S. iii. 189.

p. 55. *quoadusque . . . ablactatur*] The time fixed in Egbert's penitential is forty days; H. & S. iii. 423.

*prohiberi ecclesiam intrare non debet*] Here again Theodore's rule is stricter: 'Mulieres menstruuo tempore non intrent in ecclesiam neque communicent, nec sanctimoniales, nec laicae;' H. & S. iii. 188, 189.

p. 56. *sanctae . . . communionis*] See last note.

*religiosae uitae*] This would seem to show that Gregory is thinking mainly of nuns; cf. last note but one.

p. 57. *nec . . . culpam deputamus esse coniugium*] Cf. Theodore, *Marriage u. s.*, where marriage seems to be distinctly treated as sinful, and penance is enjoined for it. Bede's own view is that of Gregory. The command 'be fruitful and multiply' was given by God, 'ne

quis honorabili connubio inesse peccatum . . . putaret,' Opp. vii. 22 ; cf. x. 116. Those who forbid marriage are 'maledictione digni,' vii. 26. Yet he regards continence (i.e. the abstinence of widowed persons from further marriage), and still more virginity, as a higher estate than marriage. 'In infimo habitat pudicitia coniugalís, supra uidualis, atque hac superior uirginalis,' vii. 102 ; cf. ib. 26, 208, 254, 255 ; ix. 107, 133 ; xi. 189 ; xii. 224, 225, 368. Yet virginity is not to be regarded as the whole of virtue : 'quia nil castimoníae custodia absque aliorum augmento bonorum ualeat,' vii. 346 ; viii. 282 ; x. 324. (Aldhelm's views are very similar, though more rhetorically expressed ; Opp., ed. Giles, pp. 10, 14, 15, 20.) It is hard to see how any one can condemn Bede's views on this subject without also condemning St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 25-40. The only point in which Bede differs from St. Paul is where, as in iv. 19, he commends the withdrawal of one party from the marriage bond *without* the consent of the other. This is in flat contradiction of 1 Cor. vii. 1-7, and is clearly unscriptural ; cf. M. & L. on iv. 19. It is noteworthy that Bede, following Jerome (*Aduersus Heluidium, sub fin.*), maintains the perpetual virginity not merely of Mary, but also of Joseph : 'nos . . . absque ullius scrupulo quaestionis scire et confiteri oportet, non tantum beatam Dei genitricem, sed et beatissimum castitatis eius testem atque custodem Ioseph ab omni prorsus actione coniugali mansisse semper immunem ;' Opp. v. 405 ; cf. ib. 385 ; x. 54, 83.

p. 58. *ecce enim, &c.*] Bede quotes this verse in the same form. Opp. vii. 388 ; x. 291. The text as commonly printed alters 'delictis peperit' into 'peccatis concepit' in conformity with the Vulgate. The reading of the text is that of the Roman Psalter ; see on v. 19.

*portat*] 'portat arbor,' several MSS.

*oportet . . . copulam*] A verb seems wanting after 'oportet.'

p. 59. *abstinere*] The AS. version inserts from the Bible narrative : 'þæt heo heora hrægl woosce 7 clænsode,' 'that they should wash and cleanse their garments, and abstain, &c.'

*per sacerdotem dicitur*] Cf. Bede on this passage, Opp. viii. 144, 145.

*post inlusionem*] Cf. Opp. viii. 134 ; Egbert's Penitential, ix. 6 ff. ; H. & S. iii. 425, 426 ; Vita Fursei, i. 17 ; Cod. Salmant., col. 91.

*lotum . . . ei*] Anacoluthic. Perhaps he had *sinit* or some similar word in his mind in beginning the sentence.

p. 60. *nescientem pertulisse . . . quam fecisse*] So Bede, of Lot : 'tale scelus . . . nesciens pertulit, magis quam fecit,' Opp. vii. 211.

p. 61. *tribus . . . modis*] Bede, on James i. 15, 16, follows Gregory very closely. 'Tribus modis tentatio agitur ; suggestiones, delecta-

tione, consensu. Suggestione hostis, delectatione autem, uel etiam consensu nostrae fragilitatis. Quod si, hoste suggerente, delectari aut consentire peccato nolumus, tentatio ipsa nobis ad uictoriam prouenit . . . Si uero . . . hostis suggestione . . . in uitio incipimus illicite delectari, delectando quidem offendimus, sed needum lapsus mortis incurrimus. At si delectionem concepti corde facinoris etiam partus prauae sequitur actionis, nobis iam mortis reis uictor hostis abscedit,' Opp. xii. 164, 165; cf. x. 81, 82 (in Marc.; repeated xi. 87, 88 in Luc.). In the *Moralia*, iv. 49, Gregory adds a fourth mode of sin: 'defensionis audacia.' I owe the reference to Moberly.

**sæmen**] This correction (v. critical notes) is strongly supported by Bede, Opp. vii. 60, 'sæmen [diaboli] est peruersa suggestio.' It was also suggested by Stevenson.

## CHAPTER 28.

This chapter is not in the AS. vers., nor is the heading in the *Capitula*.

**P. 62. commemorat]** i. 27, p. 53.

**Uergilium . . . successorem]** v. note on i. 27, p. 48.

**sacerdotum]** A comparison with c. 27, pp. 52, 53, shows that 'Sacerdos.' here as often 'sacerdos' means bishop; as its derivatives 'sacerdotalis,' 'sacerdotium' often mean 'episcopal,' 'episcopal office.' This is certainly the case, i. 24; i. 29, p. 64; ii. 2, p. 82 ('biscopum,' AS. vers.); ii. 4, p. 88; ii. 17, p. 119; ii. 18, p. 120; iii. 5, p. 137 ('biscope'); iii. 27, p. 193 ('biscopphad,' cf. v. 22, p. 346); iv. 17, p. 238 ('biscopa'). So iii. 27, p. 140, 'sacerdotali iure' ('on biscoplicum onwealde'); 'sacerdotalis cura,' ii. 10, p. 101, of the pope. In many cases the AS. vers. retains the Latin word 'sacerd,' which is of course ambiguous like the original. It means, however, bishop in the following cases: iii. 17, p. 161; iii. 21, p. 171 (though just before, p. 170, 'sacerdotes,' 'sacerdotibus' occur, meaning presbyters); iv. 5, p. 215, 'consacerdos,' of various bishops. In iii. 23, p. 176, four brothers are mentioned who were priests, 'sacerdotes' ('sacerdas'), two of whom became bishops, 'summi sacerdotii gradu functi' ('biscopas'). [In a passage cited above, p. 51, 'summi sacerdotes' are archbishops.] On the other hand 'sacerdos' clearly means presbyter in the following cases: i. 27, pp. 59, 60 ('sacerd'); iv. 25, p. 263; v. 6, p. 291; v. 10, p. 300; v. 19, p. 325 ('mæsse preost'); iv. 14, p. 233; v. 21, p. 344 (not translated in AS. vers.). In iv. 27, p. 269, 'sacerdos,' as applied to Boisil, is translated 'mæsse preost' by the AS. vers. Ælfric, however, understood it



the other way; see note on iv. 28, p. 272. The meaning is doubtful in ii. 9, p. 98 (not translated); iii. 3, p. 132; iii. 19, p. 166 ('sacerd-had'). In iii. 30 *ad fin.* it seems to include both bishops and priests. In ii. 2, p. 84, 'sacerdotes' is expanded in the AS. vers. into 'sacerdas, 7 biscopas, 7 munecas,' 'priests, and bishops, and monks.' At the Council of Estrefeld in 702 x 703, Wilfrid's enemies endeavoured to induce him to promise that he would retire to Ripon, 'nec aliquid sacerdotalis officii attingeret,' i.e. 'and not attempt to discharge any episcopal function,' H. Y. i. 68; a passage which Canon Raine has misunderstood. A good instance of this meaning is Vita Fursei, i. 19; Cod. Salmant., col. 92: 'Populus contra regentem erigitur, clerus contra sacerdotem, monachi contra abbatem.'

die X . . . XIX] i.e. June 22, 601.

## CHAPTER 29.

P. 63. cum prae-fatis legataris] i.e. Laurentius and Peter, v. i. 27, p. 48, note.

Rufinia-  
nus.

primi et praecipui] Of all these except Rufinianus we shall hear again in Bede. Elmham wrongly speaks of Rufinianus as accompanying Augustine and the first mission to Britain. He afterwards became abbot of SS. Peter and Paul's (or St. Augustine's) monastery, ib. 148, 150. He is said to have died 626, ib. 153, and his epitaph is given ib. 154.

MSS. sent  
by Gregory.

uniuersa . . . codices plurimos] A list of these gifts is in Elmham, pp. 96-102; but 'is too late in date to be of any authority,' H. & S. iii. 60. On the strength of this list two MSS., Bodl. Auct. D. ii. 14, and C.C.C.C. 286, both copies of the Gospels, have been thought to belong to Gregory's benefaction; Elmham, pp. xxv-xxvii; Bosworth, Anglo-Saxon Gospels, p. x; H. & S. u. s. But the former was pronounced by Mr. Coxe to be not earlier than 650, Bright, p. 68. These 'codices plurimi' Elmham speaks of as 'primitiae librorum totius ecclesiae Anglicanae'; an interesting remark, which cannot, however, be literally true. Augustine must have brought some books with him, one of which, according to King Alfred, was Gregory's Pastoral Care, see on ii. 1; and Egbert in his Dialogue says that the English Church kept the first Ember Fast, 'ut noster didascalus beatus Gregorius in suo Antiphonario et Missali Libro, per pedagogum nostrum beatum Augustinum transmisit ordinatum et rescriptum;' H. & S. iii. 411; cf. ib. 412. A passage in a spurious charter of Ethelbert speaks of Augustine having deposited some at

least of Gregory's gifts in the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul (St. Augustine's). The tradition may be true, though the charter is spurious; K. C. D. No. 4; Birch, No. 6; H. & S. iii. 55.

*sacerdotalia*] 'episcopal,' v. c. 28, note.

*quarum litterarum*] This letter is cited by Bede, Ee. § 9, pp. 412, 413; it is omitted in the AS. vers.

*pallii*] See note on c. 27, p. 52.

p. 64. *quem tamen . . . subiacere*] This, however, as the next Primacy words show, was a purely personal grant to Augustine. On this and on the primacy question generally v. note on c. 27, p. 53.

*die X . . . anno XVIII*] Cf. the reference to this letter in Bede, Date. Chron. Opp. vi. 323, Opp. Min. p. 194: 'Gregorius xviii anno Mauricii indictione xiii scribens Augustino, Londini quoque et Eboraci episcopos, accepto a sede apostolica pallio metropolitanos esse debere decernit.' The eighteenth year of Maurice would give 600 A.D., which is clearly wrong, and inconsistent with the indiction; Stevenson reads 'decimo nono.' Cenulf, King of Mercia, cites this letter, when writing to Leo III in 798 with reference to the attempts of Offa to diminish the rights of Canterbury by converting Lichfield into a metropolitan see for Mercia.

## CHAPTER 30.

This chapter is not in the AS. vers., nor is the heading in the Capitula.

*quam studiose . . . inuigilauerit*] Cf. ii. 1, p. 79: 'tam sedulam erga salutem nostrae gentis curam gesserit;' cf. App. I. § 9.

p. 65. *quid diu mecum . . . tractavi*] There is an interesting letter of Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, to St. Boniface, advising him how to argue with his Gentile hearers, 'non insultando uel irritando eos, sed placide et magna moderatione;' Mon. Mog. pp. 71-74; H. & S. iii. 304-306. Bede himself, in his Exposition of the Acts, has some excellent remarks on the treatment of heathenism by Christian preachers. Commenting on St. Paul's speech at Athens (Acts xvii. 16 ff.), he points out how wisely he sets out from the unity and omnipotence of the Creator, and thence deduces the unreasonableness of idolatry, instead of attacking it directly: 'nam si primo destruere uoluisset ceremonias idolorum, aures gentium respuissent.' He shows with what tact St. Paul adduces the authority of Aratus, an authority which his hearers recognised, 'de falsis ipsorum, quibus contradicere non poterant, sua uera confirmans,' instead of arguing from the prophets to those, 'qui pro-

Treatment of heathenism by Christian missionaries.

Contami-  
nation of  
Christi-  
anity by  
heathen-  
ism.

phetarum fidem non recipiebant.' 'Magnae quippe scientiae est, dare in tempore cibaria conseruis, et audientium considerare personas;' Opp. xii. 70-72. (The letter of Boniface V to Edwin, ii. 10, violates this wise rule in the most fatuous manner.) At the same time Bede, speaking of the circumcision of Timothy by St. Paul, Acts xvi. 1 ff., remarks truly that, though the Apostles often conformed to the 'umbræ legales, quasi a Domino aliquando constitutæ,' yet 'gentilis institutio, ut uere a Satana reperta, nunquam a sanctis est attacta'; ib. 67. The difficulty is one of the most serious that Christian missionaries have to solve. It is probable that they have erred more often on the side of compromise than of iconoclasm. The way in which heathen practices and modes of thought continue to subsist alongside of, and enter into composition with popular Christianity, is a most fruitful subject for study; cf. D. C. A. ii. 1542, and an interesting note in N. & K. pp. 315-318). The degree to which this is the case will depend very much on the period at which a people is converted, on the question whether their conversion is the result of individual conviction or of mere wholesale conformity, on the strength of the popular heathenism at the time, on the tact and courage of their teachers. Sometimes the heathen nature of these practices is dimly realised, and they are carefully kept out of view. Sometimes they are done openly, their real meaning having been utterly forgotten, or being veiled under a thin disguise of Christianity. (Thus the Council of Ratisbon in 742 complains of various ceremonies: 'quas stulti homines iuxta ecclesias ritu pagano faciunt, sub nomine sanctorum martyrum uel, confessorum;' H. & S. iii. 385; v. next note, and note on ii. 15.) It is usually assumed that this letter, sent after Mellitus had started, indicates that Gregory had radically changed his view since writing the letter to Ethelbert in c. 32, which Mellitus took with him. I do not think that this is certain. Gregory might well urge on Ethelbert the desirability of destruction, and on Augustine the need for caution and compromise. In Kent the final steps were taken by Ethelbert's grandson, Erconbert, iii. 8. On the need of royal assistance to put down idolatry, cf. St. Boniface to Daniel, bishop of Winchester: 'sine patrocinio principis Francorum nec . . . presbiteros . . . defendere possum, nec ipsos paganorum ritus et sacrilegia idolorum . . . sine illius mandato et timore prohibere ualeo;' H. & S. iii. 344; Mon. Mog. p. 159; cf. the procedure of Wilbrord, v. 11, note. In Northumbria the temples were destroyed, if we may judge from ii. 13, p. 113. A contrary instance, and one in conformity with Gregory's principles as stated here, would be the case of Ethelbert's idol fane outside the

walls of Canterbury, converted by Augustine into the Church of St. Pancras, if the Canterbury tradition may be trusted; Thorn, col. 1760; Elmham, pp. 79-81; Stanley, *Memorials of Canterbury*, pp. 37, 38. In this policy of compromise, papal Rome perhaps inherited something from heathen Rome, which readily equated the gods of other peoples with members of her own pantheon; cf. Scarth, *u. s. p.* 233.

*fana idolorum*] Nothing in the religious observances of the Jews Anglo-Saxon heathenism. struck the classical world with greater astonishment than the absence of any sculptured representation of the Deity (see Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüdischen Volkes*, ii. 551 ff.). Tacitus in a well-known passage, *Germ. c. 9*, attributes the same peculiarity to the Germans: 'ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem assimilare ex magnitudine caelestium arbitrantur; . . . deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud quod sola reuerentia uident.' (Cf. *Hdt. i. 131*, of the Persians.) Whatever may have been the case in Tacitus' time, this had certainly ceased to be true of our Saxon forefathers in the sixth century. We constantly hear of idols and idolatry in all the Saxon kingdoms—Kent, i. 30, 32; ii. 6; Essex, ii. 5; iii. 22, 30; Northumbria, ii. 10, 11, 13; iii. 1; East Anglia, ii. 15; Mercia, ii. 20; Sussex, iv. 13; v. 19; of the Saxons generally, ii. 1. We could have wished that Bede had told us more about these Saxon deities; but doubtless he would have thought it worse than idle to do so. In the *De Temp. Ratione*, c. 15, he does tell us of two Saxon goddesses, Rheda and Eostre, who gave their names to the months of March and April. Kent, as it was the first kingdom to be converted, so it was the first in which idolatry was forbidden by law under Erconbert, iii. 8. We hear of 'fana' or heathen temples, i. 30, 32; ii. 10, 11, 13, 15; iii. 30; of heathen sacrifices, i. 30; ii. 15. Ethelbert will not meet Augustine in a house for fear of magic arts, i. 25; the practice of augury is mentioned in ii. 10, 11, and charms and incantations in iv. 22, 27. Cf. the striking scene in Eddius, c. 13, where Wilfrid returning from Gaul after his consecration, is driven on to the coast of Sussex, and assailed by the heathen inhabitants: 'stans quoque princeps sacerdotum idolatriæ . . . in tumultu excelso . . . maledicere populum Dei, et suis magicis artibus manus eorum alligare nitebatur.' The evidence of the *Laws* and *Penitentials* shows how hard these customs died; some of them indeed have survived to our own day (see last note). The following references do not go beyond the eighth century, because later enactments may be concerned with heathen customs introduced by the Danes. Theodore's *Penitential* (668 × 690) forbids sacrifice to idols, and various forms of divination and augury;

H. & S. iii. 188-190. The Council of Clovesho (747) forbids: 'paganas obseruationes, id est diuinos, sortilegos, auguria, auspicia, fylacteria, incantationes, siue omnes spurcitas impiorum, gentiliumque errata,' ib. 364; cf. the very similar enactment of the Council of Ratisbon, held under St. Boniface in 742, ib. 385, cited above, p. 58. Among criminals who are never to be ordained, or if ordained are to be deposed, the dialogue of Egbert (732 x 766) enumerates 'idola . . . adorantes, per aruspices et . . . incantatores captiuos se diabolo tradentes,' ib. 410. Egbert's Penitential, in addition to sacrifice to idols, augury and divination, condemns 'emissores tempestatum,' ib. 420; and those 'qui . . . quarumcunque scripturarum inspectione futura promittunt, uel uotum uouerit in arbore, uel in qualibet re excepto ecclesiam; . . . uel V. feriam in honore Iouis, uel kalendas Ianuarias secundum paganam causam honora[uerit],' ib. 424. To much the same effect the legatine synod of 787, ib. 449, 458, 459. Kemble, Saxons, i. 523 ff., has collected some of the provisions of the secular law on this subject, but the only ones which fall within the limits named above are those of Witred of Kent, 696, against sacrifice to idols. On Saxon heathenism, cf. Kemble, *u. s.* pp. 327-444; and on witchcraft, &c. generally, Sir A. Lyall's interesting essay in his Asiatic Studies.

'Altare'  
and 'ara.'

altaria] Christian altars, as opposed to the heathen 'arae.' Bede always observes this distinction; thus 'arae' of heathen altars, i. 7, p. 19; ii. 13, *ad fin.*; iii. 30, *ad fin.*; 'altaria' of Christian altars, i. 15, *ad fin.* Only once is 'altaria' used of heathen altars, and then in the mouth of a heathen, ii. 13, *sub fin.* In ii. 15, the two things are instructively contrasted: 'altare ad sacrificium Christi, et arulam ad uictimas daemoniorum.'

Relics

reliquiae ponantur] On relics regarded as essential to the consecration of a church, cf. D. C. A. i. 431; ii. 1774, 1775. On relics generally, ib. 1768 ff. Relics were among the things sent by Gregory to Augustine by Mellitus, c. 29. Cf. the interesting parallel of Wilbrord in Frisia, v. 11, p. 301.

natalicii] v. Introduction, pp. lxvii, lxviii, *infra* v. 24, p. 359.

Religious  
syncret-  
ism.

sollemnitatem celebrent] Cf. an interesting passage in the De Temp. Rat. c. 12; Opp. vi. 174, where Bede distinctly approves of the conversion of the lustrations of the Lupercalia into the Candlemas ceremonies of the same month of February. So in Syria the cultus of the sun-god Ἡλῖος was transformed into that of the prophet Ἡλίας; Schürer, *u. s.* ii. 20, 21; and Welsh saints named Mabon are possibly only the Celtic Apollo Maponos in a Christian garb; Rhys, C. B. p. 302. On the transference of heathen myths and folk-tales to the ecclesiastical sphere, v. Introduction, p. lxiv.

*gradibus . . . non . . . saltibus*] This is a truth on which Bede is very fond of dwelling: 'paulatim deficere ad uitia, sicut et ad uirtutes proficere solet animus humanus,' Opp. viii. 133; 'nemo repente fit summus,' vii. 315; xi. 241; cf. ib. 188, and *fq.*

*se quidem innotuit*] 'siquidem' in H. H. p. 71. The change 'Innotesco' was probably made through not observing that *innotesco* is here used transitively. a sense noted by Salmasius, as cited in Andrewes' Dictionary.

*solebat*] i. e. 'populus,' though 'eis' has intervened.

*ipsa . . . ipsa*] = the same.

p. 66. *Iuliarum*] This word is omitted by two out of the four Date. oldest MSS., M and N, and is clearly wrong, as it would make this letter earlier, instead of later, than those which Mellitus took with him. Probably the scribe carelessly copied 'Iuliarum' from the date of one of the other letters, or ignorantly inserted it, finding the month omitted in his archetype. But unless we are prepared to give up the whole date, it is not true that 'there are no means of correcting it,' H. & S. iii. 38. The last day of the nineteenth year of Maurice was Aug. 12, 601. 'Augustarum' therefore is the only possible correction, a correction actually made by O., followed by O<sub>10</sub>; the true date is July 18, and the question of the indiction mercifully does not come in.

## CHAPTER 31.

This chapter is not in the AS. vers. nor in the Capitula.

*Quo in tempore misit*] i. e. the letter was sent with Mellitus, though it may have been written earlier. The Benedictine editors note that in some collections it is dated Jan. 1, but without any year or indiction. Bede only gives extracts from the letter. The whole is in H. & S. iii. 14-17. It begins and ends with the 'Gloria in excelsis,' and in the portions omitted by Bede, Gregory warns Augustine, firstly by the example of Moses, secondly by the fact that many who can say 'Domine . . . in tuo nomine multas uirtutes fecimus,' will hear at the last day the sentence 'recedite a me;' cf. iii. 25, p. 187. The true 'sign' is 'si dilectionem habueritis ad inuicem,' John xiii. 35. On Augustine's miracles, cf. *sup.* c. 26, p. 47, note; H. & S. iii. 36.

## CHAPTER 32.

P. 67. *Misit . . . eodem tempore*] i. e. with Mellitus. *exemplar*] The letter is omitted in the AS. vers.

'Quisquis'  
and 'quis-  
que.'

p. 68. *fanorum aedificia euerte*] v. note on c. 30.  
*quaeque uos ammonet*] 'Quisque' for 'quisquis' as commonly in the Latinity of this period; *e. g.* ii. 4, p. 88; iii. 11, p. 150; iii. 19, *ad fin.* The confusion probably arose in the first instance from the similarity of the plurals 'quaequae' and 'quaeque,' which in many MSS. would be indistinguishable, and then spread from the plural to the singular; 'quisquis' is, however, used quite correctly, v. 21, p. 334.

Belief in  
the ap-  
proaching  
end of the  
world.

p. 69. *adpropinquante . . . mundi termino*] So Gregory in a letter to the clergy of Milan, dated April, 593; Jaffé, R. P. p. 103; and in one to Venantius, Aug. 599, *ib.* 135. So Bede himself: 'huius mysteria lectionis et hodie . . . innumera per loca compleri uidemus et audimus; sed appropinquante mundi termino, crescentibus malorum cumulis, magis magisque complenda . . . tremula expectatione formidamus,' *Opp.* viii. 217; and on Luke xiv. 17, 'quid hora coenae nisi finis est mundi? in quo nimirum nos sumus,' xi. 199; cf. vii. 35; ix. 295; *Mon. Mog.* p. 307. Charters frequently begin with the words 'Appropinquante iam mundi termino,' or similar phrases; *e. g.* K. C. D. Nos. 11, 128, 672; Birch, Nos. 37, 205; spurious charters probably, but the phrase would not have been inserted had it not been characteristic of genuine documents. In the *Formulae Marculfi*, and in the *Formulae Veteres Sirmondicae*, the formula for the 'donatio ecclesiae' begins: 'mundi terminum adpropinquantem ruinis crebrescentibus iam certa signa manifestant. Idcirco, &c.,' Bouquet, iv. 487, 523; cf. H. H. p. xix. About the year 1000 A. D. the belief that the end of the world was near was very strong, it being thought that that year would mark the end of the thousand years of Rev. xx. 2, 3, 7; cf. Wulfstan's homilies, ed. Napier, pp. 18, 19, 25, 79, 91, 92, 95, 151, 156, 189, 191, 192, 202, 272, 297, and especially *ib.* 83, 243, where Rev. xx. 7 is expressly cited. For other references, cf. Napier's dissertation on Wulfstan, pp. 64, 65.

*immutationes aeris*] Cf. Vit. Pros. Cudb. c. 27, 'nonne uidetis . . . quam mire mutatus ac turbatus sit aer,' *Opp.* Min. p. 102, and iv. 3, pp. 210, 211.

*de animabus . . . praeparati*] How consonant this is to Bede's own cast of thought is shown in Introduction, pp. lxvi, lxvii.

*suspecti*] 'alert,' 'expectant,' cf. i. 15.

Presents  
sent by  
Gregory.

*parua . . . exenia*] The charter cited above, c. 29, professes to give a list of these presents, and says that Ethelbert gave them to the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul: 'missurium . . . argenteum, scapton aureum, . . . sellam cum fraeno, armilcaisia oloserica, camisiam ornatam, quod mihi xenium de domino papa Gregorio

... directum fuerat.' Here again a true tradition may be embodied, or it may be an invention based on c. 33: 'diuersis donis ditauit,' p. 70. With the list of presents, cf. ii. 10, 11, *ad fin.* pp. 104, 106. At the same time with this letter to Ethelbert, Gregory sent one to his wife Bertha, thanking her for her kindness to Augustine, of which he had heard from Laurentius and Peter, and saying that her good deeds had reached not only to the ears of the Romans, but even to the Emperor at Constantinople; H. & S. iii. 17, 18; Opp. Min. p. 251.

## CHAPTER 33.

P. 70. *ut praediximus*] c. 26, *ad fin.*

in nomine . . . sacrauit] This is Christ Church, Canterbury. According to MS. F of the Saxon Chr. s. a. 995, the dedication took place on the mass-day of SS. Primus and Felicianus, June 9, after the return of the emissaries who brought Gregory's responsa, c. 27. This MS. of the Chronicle is very late (twelfth century), but being a Canterbury book it may preserve a true tradition as to the date. If so, the dedication cannot be earlier than 602, as the messengers did not leave Rome till after June 22, 601: v. s. on c. 27. June 9 was a Sunday in 603, which might point to that year. The further story that Ethelbert sent special messengers of his own with those of Augustine, to consult Gregory as to whether the new church should be filled with clerks or monks, and that the pope, to his great joy, decided in favour of monks, bears too obviously the mark of later controversies to be worth anything. The statement that the Church was dedicated 'in the name of Christ and St. Mary,' may also be a later development. Cf. my edition of the Chron. I. xii. 128, 129, 285, 286. On the original Christ Church, Canterbury, cf. Stanley, Memorials, pp. 39 ff.; Bright, pp. 53, 54.

monasterium] This is the monastery better known by its later name of St. Augustine's. As being intended for a burial place it had to be outside the city. Elmham's work so often cited is a history of this monastery, to which he belonged; cf. especially pp. 77, 81, 83, 111, 115, 117, 118; Stanley, pp. 41-43; Bright, pp. 91, 92.

poni corpora possent. Quam . . . consecrauit] v. *inf.* on ii. 3, p. 86; v. 8, p. 294. There is a spurious bull professing to be addressed by Boniface IV to Ethelbert in 611 on this subject; H. & S. iii. 67-69; from Elmham, pp. 129-131; cf. the spurious charter, *ib.* p. 319.

Petrus presbiter] He had been one of Augustine's messengers Abbot to Gregory; c. 27, and notes. It was perhaps on some similar Peter.



errand that he met his death, which is said to have taken place in 607; Elmham, p. 126, who also gives his epitaph. There is a life of him by Eadmer in MS. C. C. C. 371, f. 416; Hardy, Cat. i. 206, 207. Elmham cites a life of Peter, probably Eadmer's, p. 111. His day is given as Jan. 6 in some authorities; in others as Dec. 30. AA. SS. Jan. i. 334; Mab. AA. SS. ii. 1.

Amble-  
teuse.

**Amfleat]** Ambleteuse, a little north of Boulogne. Here James II landed in 1689 on his flight from England.

Heavenly  
light.

p. 71. *lux caelestis*] Cf. the similar miracles in the case of Oswald, iii. 11, p. 148; and of the two Hewalds, v. 10, p. 300; cf. S. D. ii. 8. These legends are perhaps only an exaggeration of a natural phenomenon. Cf. Raine's Hexham, i. 40.

**Bononia]** Boulogne, in the Church of St. Mary; Elmham, p. 126.

## CHAPTER 34.

This fragment of Northumbrian history comes in rather awkwardly in the midst of the account of the conversion of South-Eastern Britain. It would have come in better before ii. 9, in connexion with the mission to Northumbria. But Bede no doubt wished to prepare the way for the connexion of Ethelfrid with the fulfilment of Augustine's prophecy in ii. 2, pp. 83-85.

Ethelfrid.

**Aedilfrid . . . Brettonum]** This character of Ethelfrid as a cruel enemy of the Britons has survived in a curious way in Welsh tradition. The Triads represent him as a cannibal. Cf. Rhŷs, Arthurian Legend, pp. 73, 74; D. C. B. ii. 222, 223. The pedigrees in Nennius, § 57, call him Ædelfred Flesaur, an epithet the meaning of which is unknown. Henry of Huntingdon speaks as if 'ferus,' 'the fierce,' had become his standing epithet; pp. 54, 78. Cf. W. M.'s rhetorical amplification of Bede, i. 46-48, and the character given of him in the twelfth-century life of St. Oswald; S. D. i. 362, 363. Mr. Skene, C. S. i. 236, 237, gives the extent of his dominions; but he cites no authority.

**tribunis]** 'aldormonna,' 'aldermen,' AS. vers.

Aedan mac  
Gabrain.

**Aedan . . . inhabitant]** i.e. Aedan mac Gabrain, King of the Dalriadic colony of Scots or Irish, which settled in Alba c. 500 A.D.; r.s. c. 1, note. About 560 the Scottish (Irish) colonists under Gabran, the father of Aedan, seem to have experienced a severe check at the hands of the Picts, Gabran himself apparently being slain; Tigh. *sub anno*. Aedan, who came to the throne in 574, re-established their power. He was the first of the Dalriadic princes of Alba who underwent a solemn ecclesiastical inauguration. This he received at the hands of Columba, Abbot of Iona;

a fact which illustrates the conventual and non-episcopal organisation of the Irish Church at this time (see on iii. 3, 4). Columba, it is said, acted in obedience to a direct revelation, being himself in favour of Eogan, Aedan's brother, whose death is mentioned by Tighernach, *sub anno* 595; *Rs. Ad.* pp. 197-199. He was also the first prince who made himself independent of the mother-country.

According to the traditional account preserved in the preface to the *Amra Coluimcille* (elegy on Columba), by Dallan mac Forgaill (in *LU. facs.* pp. 5 ff.; *Rawl. B.* 502, ff. 54a-56a, MSS. of the eleventh century, but made up of earlier materials), an arrangement was come to at the convention of Druim Cett in 574, partly through the mediation of Columba, by which the Dalriads in Alba were freed from tribute to the king of Ireland, but continued liable to military service; cf. *Rs. Ad.* pp. 37, 92. We find Aedan giving hostages to Baedan mac Carell, king of Ulster; *P. & S.* pp. 127-129. It is probably in consequence of these two facts, the ecclesiastical coronation and the emancipation from the mother-country, that some later authorities speak of Aedan as the first to establish a monarchy in Britain, e.g. *Vita Tripart.* p. 162; *P. & S.* p. cxii. He certainly is not the first who bears the title of king, as Dr. Reeves seems to imply; *Adamn.* p. 436; cf. *Tigh.*, *sub ann.* 505, 538, 560, 574. Aedan was evidently an enterprising and aggressive prince. We find him making an expedition to the Orkneys in 579 or 580, *Ann. Ult.*; to Man in 582 or 583; *Tigh.*, cf. *P. & S.* pp. 167, 345, 401. He fought a battle at Leithrig in 590, *Tigh.*, cf. *P. & S.* p. 345, the result of which is not stated, and the locality of which is not known; and one in Circhend, in 596, in which four of his sons were slain, and he himself defeated according to *Tigh.*; though *Adamnan* says that he was victorious, 'quamlibet infelix'; ed. Reeves, pp. 33-36 and notes; if the two accounts are rightly referred to the same event. On the importance of this struggle, v. *Rhŷs*, *Rhind Lectures*, pp. 62-64, 78, 86, 90, 91; cf. also *S. C. S.* i. 143, 160-163, 229, 239; *P. & S.* pp. cix-cxii; *Rhŷs*, *C. B.* p. 170. It was inevitable that Aedan should be alarmed at the growing power of Elthelfrid, and try to check it. But the result was disastrous to himself. His death is placed in 605 by the *Ann. Ult.*; in 606 by *Tigh.* and *Chron. Scottorum*; in 607 by *Ann. Camb.*; cf. *Rhŷs*, *Rhind Lectures*, pp. 84-87.

Aedan figures largely in Irish tradition. There is a curious Irish tale about his birth in *Rawl. B.* 502, f. 47 b, which exists, as far as I know, nowhere else. A lost tale called 'Echtra Aedain mic Gabrain,' 'The adventures of Aedan, son of Gabran,' is cited in an ancient list of tales printed by O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, p. 589. In

Welsh tradition he is known as 'Aeddan Fradwr o'r Gogledd,' 'Aedan the traitor of the North,' one of the three traitors (with Ethelfrid himself and the mythical Gwrgi) through whom the Cymry lost the crown of the Isle of Britain; *Triads*, iii. 45.

Battle of  
Degaстан.

*Degaстан*] Probably Dawston, in Liddesdale; S. C. S. i. 162, 163. Dalston near Carlisle has also been suggested, but philology is against this. (Cf. the form 'Daisastan' in some of the later MSS.) It is just possible that the name Degaстан may be due to the battle, and be a corruption of 'æt Egdanes stane,' 'at Aedan's stone'; cf. the form of the name in *Chron.* 603, MSS. B. C. 'æt Egesan stane.' Pearson, *Historical Maps*, suggests Theekstone, north of Ripon; and Mr. Bates, *Dissington*, north-west of New-castle; *History of Northumberland*, p. 53; cf. Bright, p. 85.

in qua . . . peremtus est] Tighernach's entry of the battle is as follows: 'Cath (praelium) Saxanum la (per) h-Ædan, ubi cecidit Eanfraich frater Etalfraich la Maeluma mac Baedain, in quo uictus erat'; s.a. 600. He evidently confuses Theodbald, Ethelfrid's brother (slain, as Bede relates), with Eanfrid, his eldest son; iii. 1, p. 127. The presence of Maeluma, evidently a son of the Baedan, king of Ulster, mentioned above (cf. F. M. 606; *Ann. Ult.* 609 for Maeluma's death; on his name cf. Rhys, *Rhind Lectures*, pp. 27, 28), shows that Aedan had help from the mother-country; and Degaстан was to some extent an anticipation of Brunanburh; especially if there is any truth in the tradition preserved by Fordun, iii. 30, that Aedan was allied with the Britons under a king Malgo [Maelgwn]. And it may have been Aedan's loss of this battle which caused him to be regarded in Welsh tradition as one of 'the three base traitors of the Isle of Britain'; *Triads*, v. s. Sig. Gembl. confuses this battle with that of Chester, and places it in 615. His entry, 'Edilfridus . . . regem Scottorum Ean . . . in bello extinguit,' is interesting for the phonetic writing of Aedan's name; Pertz, vi. 322.

Chronology  
of Ethel-  
frid's reign.

p. 72. quod . . . perfecit] If the battle took place in 603 in Ethelfrid's eleventh year, we must place his accession in 592 or 593, and his death in 616 or 617; ii. 14, p. 113, would place his death between April, 616, and April, 617; ii. 20, *ad init.*, taken strictly, would fix it to 616; 593 and 617 are the dates given in the *Sax. Chron. MS. E.*, which makes a curious addition to Bede's account of the battle; v. note a. l.

*Focatis*] Phocas succeeded Nov. 2, 601; Gibbon.

regum Scottorum] This must be interpreted strictly of the kings of the Dalriadic colony; v. c. 1, note. It would not, of course, be true of the kings of the Picts; v. *infra*, iv. 26.

Divisions  
of Books.

There does not seem any very natural reason for dividing the

books here. But as Bede says, twice quoting St. Augustine: 'Nescio quo enim modo, ut Augustinus ait, ita libri termino reficitur lectoris intentio, sicut labor uiatoris hospitio,' Opp. x. 374; xii. 341; cf. xi. 52: 'Historia quae tertii nostri . . . caput est libri, etsi ob laborem legentium minuendum a nouo inchoatur exordium, rerum tamen nectura secundi libri finem respicit'; and Dante, Conv. iv. 4, *ad fin.*: 'li lunghi capitoli sono nemici della memoria.'

## BOOK II. CHAPTER 1.

P. 73. His temporibus] On the date of Gregory's accession and Gregory's death see i. 23, p. 42, note. It is noteworthy that the *Annales Laureshamenses* and the *Chronicon Moissiacense* both make Gregory's death a date from which to reckon other dates; at 785 both have the entry: 'a transitu Gregorii Papae usque praesentem fiunt clxxx,' Pertz, i. 32, 297, which gives 605.

de quo nos conuenit] From here to 'grege numerari,' p. 78, is omitted by the AS. vera.

nostrum . . . apostolum] The Church of England long retained Gregory the apostle of the English. a grateful sense of what she owed to Gregory. Bede speaks of him as 'uigilantissimus, iuxta suum nomen, nostrae gentis apostolus.' Opp. x. 268. Aldhelm, Bede's contemporary, calls him 'peruigil pastor et paedagogus noster; noster inquam, qui nostris parentibus errorem tetrae gentilitatis abstulit, et regenerantis gratiae normam tradidit'; Opp. ed. Giles, pp. 74, 55, 160. In 747 the Council of Clovesho, repeating unconsciously a phrase of Bede's, Opp. ix. 388, ordered that the 'dies natalitius' of Gregory, 'Papa, et pater noster,' should be kept as a festival in the English Church; H. & S. iii. 368; cf. App. I. § 32. Archbishop Egbert, Bede's pupil, speaks of him in his dialogue as 'noster didascalus'; H. & S. iii. 411. Alcuin in a letter written 797-798 calls him 'praedicator noster'; H. & S. iii. 519; Mon. Alc. p. 367; and an episcopal profession of c. 800 quotes him as 'pater noster in Deo'; H. & S. iii. 530. Cf. Pertz, xii. 883, 911. And this personal gratitude of the English Church to Gregory resulted in a feeling of grateful devotion to the see over which he presided, which it took long years of oppression and plunder to obliterate from English minds. The author of the *Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium* speaks of 'Angli, qui maxime familiares apostolicae sedis semper existunt'; Pertz, ii. 289. Thietmar in his *Chronicle* calls the English 'tributarii Sancti Petri . . . et Sancti Gregorii spirituales filii,' and resents on that ground their payment of tribute to the Danes; Pertz, iii. 847, 848.

Cf. Jaffé, R. P. p. 312. The Chronicle two centuries later, 785 D. E., speaks of 'the peace which St. Gregory sent us through Augustine.'

primum . . . pontificatum] On Gregory's cares of office, cf. Gibbon, v. 355 ff.; Church's Essay. Writing to John, patriarch of Constantinople, on his election, he says: 'uetustam nauim, uehementerque confractam suscepi'; Oct. 590; Jaffé, R. P. p. 92.

erat autem, &c.] On the lives of Gregory v. Hardy, i. 202-206. His mother's name was Silvia, ib. 203; Sax. Chron. B.C. 606; App. I. § 1. In the notes to the Félice of Aengus, ed. Stokes, p. 63, there seems to be an attempt to give Gregory an Irish pedigree.

Felix] Felix III (or II), Bishop of Rome, 483-492. The term 'atauus' is not, however, to be taken strictly; Smith and Stev.

p. 74. mortem . . . ingressum uitae] Cf. Introd. pp. lxvii, lxviii.

Active and  
contempla-  
tive life.

defectum . . . per curam pastorem] Cf. the reluctance of Cuthbert to undertake the episcopal office, iv. 28, p. 272. Aldhelm's biographer Faricius says of him: 'is sane impeditus rebus saecularibus, in episcopio, ut mos est omnium, uti de B. Martino Turonensium praesule legitur, haud postea tantum ualuit in uirtutibus, quantum prius ualebat'; Opp. ed. Giles, p. 369; so St. Kentigern, N. & K. pp. 181, 182. There seems to us something unworthy in this tendency to depreciate and to decline the practical work of the Church; and the words of Synesius (the hunting bishop of Kingsley's Hypatia) have to our ears a healthier ring about them: 'Since God has laid upon me not what I sought, but what He willed, I pray that He . . . will guide me through the life He has assigned me. How shall I that have spent my youth in philosophical . . . contemplation . . . bear the continued pressure of anxiety? . . . How shall I still turn my thoughts to those intellectual beauties . . . without which life is no life to me? . . . I know not. But to God . . . all things are possible. . . . If He abandon me not, I shall realise that the episcopacy is not a descent from philosophy, but an ascent to a higher form of it'; D. C. B. iv. 776. But the superiority of the contemplative life (uita contemplatiua, theorica, speculatiua) over the practical life (uita actiua, actualis) was an accepted doctrine all through the Middle Ages. Bede himself holds it, Opp. vii. 229, 421-424; viii. 206; ix. 241, 250; x. 329; xii. 127, 443; though with his usual good sense he maintains that the two ought not to be dissevered. Commenting on Luke v. 16, he says: 'quod in urbe miracula facit, in deserto . . . orando pernoctat, utriusque uitae nobis, et actiuae . . . et contemplatiuae, documenta praemonstrat; ut nec contemplationis studio quis proximorum curam negligat, nec cura proximorum immoderatus obligatus, contemplationis studia derelinquat'; Opp. x. 398, cf. xi. 64,

and what he says below of Gregory: 'sed nos credere decet,' &c. The two lives are commonly figured by the two sisters, Mary and Martha, Opp. xi. 129, 131; occasionally by SS. John and Peter, v. 262, 263. The monastery offered to some extent a sphere for the contemplative life, but its full realisation was only reached by the anchorite, or the still more rigorous 'inclusus,' compared with whom the monk was regarded as belonging to the active life; 'uita diuinæ speculationis illos maxime recipit, qui post longa monasticae rudimenta uirtutis secreti ab hominibus degere norunt,' Opp. v. 263. And so when Cuthbert retired from the monastery of Lindisfarne to become an anchorite on Farne Island, Bede says that he rejoiced, 'quia de longa perfectione conuersationis actiuæ ad otium diuinæ speculationis iam mereretur ascendere'; Vita Cudb. Pros. c. 17; cf. Introduction, p. xxx, and Morison's St. Bernard, pp. 192 ff.

cum diacono suo Petro] Dial. i. prologus; cf. Ep. i. 6, 'Dum contemplationis dulcedinem alte describitis, ruinae meae mihi gemitum renouastis, quia audiui quid intus perdidit, dum foris ad culmen regiminis immeritus ascendi.'

domum . . . curauit] i.e. he organised his pontifical household on the monastic model; cf. this and what follows with his advice to Augustine, i. 27, p. 48.

p. 75. apocrisiarius] 'nuntius, legatus . . . Nomen inditum legatis 'Apocrisarius' quod *ἀποκρίσις* seu responsa principum deferrent,' Ducange. The Latin name is 'responsalis,' which is found as a gloss here in some MSS. In the case of the Roman see it meant a standing official, like the later nuncio, who represented the see at the court of Constantinople. The post was usually held by a deacon. Gregory held it both under Benedict I and Pelagius II. In the letter to Leander, bishop of Seville, prefixed to the Moralia, Gregory says: 'cum me in urbe Constantinopolitana sedis apostolicæ responsa constringerent.' On Gregory's sojourn at Constantinople, cf. the parallel passage, Opp. Min. pp. 192, 193.

regularis] i.e. monastic.

sicut ipse scribit] In the letter to Leander cited above.

hortati sunt eum] 'Rogatus maxime a Leandro . . . Hispalensi episcopo, qui pro causis Wisigothorum . . . eo tempore Constantinopolim aduenerat,' Paul. Diac. Vita Greg. c. 8. On Leander, cf. D. C. B. iii. 637 ff.; Werner, p. 17; Bede, Chron. Opp. Min. p. 193.

librum . . . Iob . . . mystica interpretatione] This is the famous Gregory's 'Moralia' of Gregory. In Irish sources he is sometimes called 'Grigoir moralium,' 'Gregory of the Moralia,' Lismore Lives of Saints, p. 299; Mart. Doneg. Nov. 12. He began it, as Bede says, at Constantinople, and finished it afterwards. For a curious legend

Leander,  
bishop of  
Seville.

Gregory's  
Moralia.

connected with the 'Moralia,' cf. D. C. A. ii. 986. On the allegorical interpretation of Scripture, v. Introd. § 14; Milman, Lat. Christ. Bk. iii. c. 7.

**Eutychius.** **Eutycius]** This passage occurs in almost identical words in the commentary on Lk. xxiv. 39, which Bede quotes here; Opp. xi. 384, 385; cf. vi. 322; and Ignat. ad Smyrn. c. 3, with Lightfoot's notes.

**Gregory's 'Cura Pastoralis.'** **p. 76. Pastoralis]** The 'Regula curae Pastoralis.' This is one of the works which Bede urges Archbishop Egbert to study, *infra* p. 406. Alcuin, writing in 796 to Eanbald II, one of Egbert's successors, says: 'quocunque uadas, liber Sancti Gregorii Pastoralis tecum pergat'; H. & S. iii. 505; Mon. Alc. p. 339. In 797 he urges its use on Hygbald, bp. of Lindisfarne, *ib.* 355. He recommends it to Arno of Salzburg, *ib.* 330, Calvinus, *ib.* 566, and an unnamed correspondent, *ib.* 882. Its study 'was enjoined upon all bishops at their ordination in France under Hincmar,' H. & S. u. s. Theganus in his 'Vita Hludowici Imp.' (i. e. Louis I, 'le Debonnaire,' †840), gives as one of the characteristics of bad prelates: 'librum Sancti Gregorii qui praetitulatur *Pastoralis* nolunt accipere'; Pertz, ii. 595. Alfred translated it into Anglo-Saxon; and in the preface which he prefixed to it he breaks into something like verse in praise of Gregory. He says that Augustine brought the book with him to Britain, which is likely enough; ed. Sweet, pp. 8, 9.

**Gregory's Dialogues.** **libros . . . Dialogorum]** Just as the Irish called him 'Gregory of the Moralia,' so the Euchologium Graecum calls him ὁ δουλός σου Γρηγόριος τοῦ Διαλόγου: cited Ltft. App. Ff. II. i. 6; and in the 'Liudprandi Legatio' he is quoted as 'Gregorius, qui a uobis appellatus est Dialogus'; Pertz, iii. 351. On the character of this work and its vogue in the Middle Ages, see Milman, u. s. This also was translated into Anglo-Saxon under Alfred, but the translation has not yet been printed; Earle, Anglo-Saxon Literature, pp. 193 ff.; Wülker, Grundriss, pp. 437 ff.

**ad exemplum uiuendi]** Cf. Pref. p. 1.

**excepto]** i. e. 'besides,' 'not counting.'

**inserentes]** i. 27.

**'Synodiens Libellus.'** **p. 77. libello . . . synodico]** 'Synodica epistola, quam Pontifices recens electi ad alios Pontifices mittebant, in qua fidei suae rationem exponebant,' Ducange; cf. Greg. Epp. i. 4, 26. Gregory's synodical epistle is given at the beginning of the second book of his life by John the Deacon; Opp. iv. 46, 47, Editio Benedictina.

**Gregory a scribe.** **tanta condere uolumina]** Gregory, among his other accomplishments, seems to have been a great scribe: 'Papa Innocentius [1203] . . . bibliothecam [= bible] beati Gregorii manu scriptam episcopo Lyuoniensi mittit'; Pertz, xxiii. 247.

**crebris . . . doloribus]** Cf. Jaffé, R. P. pp. 137, 142 : 'mei molem corporis in tantam podagrae dolor ariditatem redegit' ; ib. 150 : 'ego in tanto gemitu et occupationibus uiuo, ut ad dies quos ago me peruenisse poeniteat, solaue mihi consolatio sit mortis expectatio.' See on i. 27, p. 48.

**scriptura teste]** Cf. the account of Bede's own death, Introduction, pp. lxxv, clxii.

**dare pauperibus]** On Gregory's charities, cf. Bright, pp. 35, 36 ; His Church, Misc. Essays ; Stanley, Memorials, p. 22 : 'The long marble table is still shown at Rome where he used to feed twelve beggars every day. There is a legend that on one occasion a thirteenth appeared among them, an unbidden guest, an angel whom he had thus entertained unawares.'

**p. 78. ipse dicit]** *Moralia*, xxvii. 11. That this really refers to Augustine's success, and not to the Hallelujah victory under Germanus more than a century and a half previously, i. 20, as Ussher thought, is clear. Whatever may be the exact date at which Gregory finished the '*Moralia*,' *v. s.*, such a passage might easily have been added after the news of Augustine's success had reached Rome. It is quoted in this sense by both of Gregory's biographers, Paul. Diac. c. 21 ; Iohan. Diac. ii. 39. So Aimon of Fleury, Bouquet, iii. 104 ; cf. ib. 253. And the words '*clarescentibus miraculis*' seem, as Bede remarks, to allude to Augustine's miracles, i. 26, 31 ; cf. Elmham, p. 107, who also notices the frequent references to the mission of Augustine in Gregory's letters.

**alleluia resonare]** In fulfilment of his own prophecy, *infr.* p. 80.

**tria uerba . . . superadiceit]** This addition to the Canon of the Mass was part of Gregory's revision of the Gelasian Sacramentary. Greg. Opp. iii. 3, 285 ; Palmer, Orig. Liturg. c. 1, § 6 ; cf. Sax. Chron. E. 591 ; *supr.* i. 27, p. 49, note.

**p. 79. secretarium]** This 'was a Roman law-term for the justice-room of a magistrate. . . Ecclesiastically, the word has two senses : (1) a room where bishops received the greetings of their people, transacted business, held meetings of clergy, or sat in synod.' (Wilfrid's first appeal to Rome was heard in the 'secretarium' of St. John Lateran ; Eddius, c. 29 *ad fin.*) (2) 'a vestry or sacristy' ; Bright, p. 293, who gives many illustrations. It is in the latter sense that it is used here, and in iii. 14, 26, pp. 154, 190. Bede uses the word metaphorically in the former sense of the courts of heaven : '*coelestium mansionum secretaria*,' '*secretarium laudis aeternae*' ; Opp. ix. 327 ; xii. 363. The AS. vers. has here '*beforan þam husul portice*.' Cf. D. C. A. s. v.

His ill-  
nesses.

His charities.

Allusion to  
Augustine's  
success.

Addition  
to the  
Canon of  
the Mass.

'Secreta-  
rium.'



- quarto Id. Mart.] March 12.  
 Gregory's epitaph.] 'byrgenleoð,' AS. vers., which, contrary to its usual practice, translates the epitaph. It is printed in the Appendix to Avitus' Works; M. H. G. Auct. Ant. VI. ii. 190; cf. Gruteri Inscriptt. n. 1175; Liber Pontif. i. 313, 314; Dei Rossi, Inscr. Christ. Urbis Romae, ii. 52, 78, 79, 112, 209. Two small fragments of the epitaph have been discovered in recent times. Cf. ib. for the fate of Gregory's tomb.  
 implebatque actu, &c.] Cf. Introduction, p. xxxvi.  
 magistra] -ri; Avitus, u. s.  
 hisque Dei] H. H. p. 77, gives the last two lines thus:  
 'Sic Consul Domini factus, laetare, Gregori;  
 Namque triumphalis iam tibi laurus adest.'  
 Travelling merchants. aduenientibus... mercatoribus, &c.] Cf. the quaint story in the Monk of St. Gallen's Gesta Caroli, i. 1: 'contigit duos Scottos de Hibernia cum mercatoribus Brittannis ad litus Galliae deuenire, uiros et in saecularibus et in sacris scripturis incomparabiliter eruditos. Qui cum nihil ostenderent uenale, ad conuenientes emendi gratia turbas clamare solebant: si quis sapientiae cupidus est, ueniat ad nos et accipiat eam; nam uenalis est apud nos.' Pertz, ii. 731; Mon. Carol. p. 631.  
 Date of the incident of the slave-boys. pueros uenales] Canterbury tradition fixed the number to three; Thorn, col. 1757. 'The date... is fixed to 585 x 588 by the fact that after his long stay at Constantinople he returned to Rome in 585 or 586... On the other hand, Ælla, whom the slaves owned as their king, died in 588'; Green, M. E. p. 216. Bede, in a rather condensed passage in his Chron., seems to speak as if Ælle was still alive at the time of Augustine's mission; Opp. Min. p. 193. Bede is the first to represent the fair-haired strangers as slaves. The old life, App. I. § 9, does not call them so.  
 p. 80. candidi corpora] 'niger Aethiops et Saxo candidus.' Opp. viii. 29.  
 Anglus Angelus Angulus. angelicam... faciem] Thietmar Chron. 1016 A.D.: 'Angli, ab angelica facie, ... siue quod in angulo istius terrae siti sunt, dicti'; Pertz, iii. 847, a passage copied by the Saxon Annalist, ib. vi. 669. Cf. *sup.* note on i. 15, p. 31.  
 The Deiri. Deiri] On the relations of Bernicia and Deira, v. iii. 1, note. In the Chron. Monast. Watinensis (Watten between Calais and St. Omer) we find the phrase 'Britannia Deirorum insula'; Pertz, xiv. 164. It is curious to find this tribal name surviving in such prominence in an eleventh-century Chronicle.  
 Aelli] v. notes on Sax. Chron. *ad ann.* 560.  
 at ille adludens, &c.] The AS. vers. is here very quaint and

beautiful : 'ond þa plegode he mid his wordum to þæm noman,' Anglo-Saxon Version.  
'and then he played with his words upon the name.'

ad pontificem] Paul the Deacon says the pope was Pelagius II (578-590); John the Deacon (following App. I. § 10) makes him Benedict I (574-578). Of course, if the note cited above from Green is correct, it must be Pelagius.

concedere . . . uoluit] The AS. vers. here distinctly perverts the meaning of the original : 'þa ne wolde se papa þæt þafian, ne þa burgware þon ma, þætte swa sæðele wer, 7 swa geþungen, 7 swa gælæred, swa feor fram him gewite,' 'Then would not the pope permit that, much less the citizens, that so noble a man and so capable, and so learned, should depart so far from them.' Did the translator misread 'noluit' for 'uoluit'?

p. 81. adiuvans] 'to Godes willan 7 to ræde Ongolecynne,' 'to God's will and the profit of the English race,' adds the AS. vers.

## CHAPTER 2.

Interea] After and probably in consequence of the reception Date. of Gregory's 'responsa,' perhaps in 602 or 603. It is most unsafe to argue from the order of Bede's chapters that it must have been after the battle of Degsastan in 603; i. 34. The object of that chapter is to lead up, not to this conference, but to the battle of Chester. See note on i. 34, *ad init.*

adiutorio . . . regis] So Ethelbert's supremacy would seem to Ethelbert's have extended not only over the Saxon kingdoms, but over the supremacy. Britons also. Palgrave remarked this long ago, E. C. p. 454. Mr. Green sees traces of a political revival of the Britons about this time; M. E. pp. 229 ff.

colloquium . . . prouinciæ] We must distinguish between this Con- preliminary conference at Augustine's Oak, at which only bishops ferences of and teachers (siue=et, as constantly in Bede; v. note on c. 4) of the Augustine with the 'nearest province of the Britons' were present, and the later con- British ference, p. 82, the place of which is not mentioned, at which a much bishops. greater portion of the British Church, including the northern monastery of Bangor, was represented. It is commonly assumed that by 'proxima prouincia' is meant what we call South Wales, though up till a much later time than the present the whole of modern Wales was included in the territory of the North Welsh, the term South or West Welsh being applied to the Britons of Cornwall. It is a question whether the latter may not have been represented at one or both of these conferences, though the possibility does not seem to have occurred to those who have written on the subject, and it would much upset their learned speculations

as to who the seven British bishops were who attended the second conference. The advance of the West Saxons had by this time broken the territorial continuity of the North and the West or South Welsh; see map in F. N. C. i. 34.

Position of  
Augustine's  
Oak.

in loco . . . appellatur] We have nothing to guide us to the position of 'Augustine's Oak,' except the vague statement of Bede that it was on the border of the West Saxons and the Hwiccas, as that border existed in his day. Aust, on the Severn, opposite Chepstow, has been most commonly suggested, and it suits Bede's description and the conditions of the case fairly well; H. & S. iii. 40, 41: 'Aust itself probably derives its name from Traiectus Augusti.' It is, however, 'called æt Austin in a charter of 691 or 692; K. C. D. No. 32' (= Birch No. 75); H. & S. u. s. So that it is possible that two totally different series of events may have combined to preserve the name; cf. D. C. A. i. 152. Mr. Green, however, would place it somewhere near Malmesbury; M. E. pp. 224, 225; and Mr. Moberly kindly sends me the following note: 'Perhaps the spot called "The Oak" in Down Ampney, near Cricklade. This would be on the border-line between the Hwiccas and Wessex; about a mile north of the Thames, at the south-east corner of the Hwiccas; at their nearest point to Kent, from which Augustine came. Close by is a spring still thought to be curative of weak eyes (cf. Augustine's miracle in the text).' Smith, *a. l.*, speaks of two letters on the subject as existing among Fulman's Collectanea, but I cannot find them.

The  
Hwiccas.

Huiccolorum] On the Hwiccas see Green, M. E. pp. 129, 130; D. C. B. iii. 181, 182.

paschae] On the Paschal question, v. Excursus.

alia plurima] v. note *infra*.

suas . . . uniuersis] This is a common form of argument on this question; cf. c. 19, p. 122; iii. 25, pp. 181, 184, 188; v. 15, p. 315. But how would it have worked *e. g.* in the Arian controversy, when it was 'Athanasius contra mundum,' and 'ingemuit totus orbis et Arianum se esse miratus est'? (Jerome).

habitare . . . domu] This is a favourite text with Bede; *e. g.* Opp. viii. 377. It is not the Vulgate version, which has 'qui inhabitare facit unius moris in domo,' but it is that of the so-called Roman Psalter; see on v. 19, p. 323.

Place of  
the second  
Conference.

p. 82. uenerunt] Some time would be required to make known the result of the first conference, and to arrange the second. Nothing is said as to the place of the latter. The impression is given that it was at the same place as the first, and this is commonly assumed, *e. g.* D. C. A. i. 152.

VII *Brettonum episcopi*] Much has been written on the question who these seven bishops were, and what sees existed in Wales at this time; H. & S. i. 121-123, 142-149; Bright, pp. 75, 76, and *reff.* But it is all in the highest degree uncertain, and rests largely upon the statements of lives of saints written in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which are quite valueless as evidence for the state of things existing in the sixth and seventh centuries. Bede himself only gives the number seven as traditional, 'ut perhibent.' We do not know the extent of the district from which they came; whether *e.g.* it included the West Welsh (*v.s.*), and what was the eastern boundary of the North Welsh at this time. The statement of H. H. p. 78, and Sig. Gembl. *s.a.* 602, that Scots and Picts were present at the conference deserves no credence. Bede would certainly have mentioned their presence had it been a fact, and he always carefully distinguishes them from the Britons, *e.g.* ii. 4, p. 87. The power of Ethelfrid of Northumbria would have effectually barred their coming. Representatives of the Strathclyde Britons might be included under the term '*Brettonum episcopi.*' They were not at this time cut off from the North Welsh. That was the result of the battle of Chester and the events which followed it; cf. Rhys, *Celt. Britain*, pp. 126 ff. On the whole, the conclusion of H. & S. iii. 41, is the only safe one: 'there is no trustworthy evidence to show who these bishops were.'

*Bancornaburg*] This is perhaps a contraction of '*Bancorwarena-burg*,' i. e. the 'burg' of the inhabitants of Bancor, *v. infra*, p. 84, i. e. Bangor-is-coed in Flint, about twelve miles south of Chester. Nothing seems to be known of the subsequent history of the monastery; Dugdale, *Monast.* vi. 1628. Possibly it never recovered from this blow.

*Dinoot*] A document exists in Welsh which professes to contain the substance of his answer to Augustine, but it is clearly spurious, and posterior to the time of Geoffrey of Monmouth; H. & S. i. 122, 149. His name is the Latin *Donatus*; Rhys, *C. B.* p. 304.

*anachoreticam . . . uitam*] See on c. 1, above p. 69.

p. 83. in multis] Cf. '*alia plurima*,' *supra*. Among these points would be the tonsure, v. 22, p. 347; consecration of bishops by a single bishop, and certain peculiarities of ritual in the Mass and in the Ordinal which have been traced in the British Church; H. & S. i. 102, 112, 113, 140, 141, 154, 155. But Gregory's *responsa*, Nos. 2 and 6, would warrant Augustine in treating these as unessential.

*conpleat*] What the defect of the British Church was in the matter of baptism has never been made out. The suggestions made are: (1) Single instead of trine immersion. But Gregory him-

Seven  
British  
bishops.

Bangor-is-coed.

Peculiarities of the British Church.

Defective Baptism.

self leaves this an open question ; Epp. i. 43, cited above on. i. 27, p. 49. (2) The omission of chrism, or of confirmation. The argument against this view from Patrick's Epistle to Coroticus in H. & S. i. 154 is of doubtful value, for that letter resembles closely some of the spurious Patrician documents ; v. Zimmer, Kelt. Beiträge, iii. 76 ff. ; Vita Tripartita, p. c. (3) The points suggested by Dr. Rock, cited H. & S. II. xxii, come so obviously under Gregory's permissible variations of ritual as not to be worth discussing. The use of the word 'conpleatis' here, and the fact that confirmation was distinctly regarded as a completion of the rite of baptism (see note on Ep. ad Egb. § 8) inclines me to think that the omission of confirmation is what is hinted at.

Failure of the Britons to convert the English.

[genti Anglorum . . . prædicetis] This was of course a question not of ecclesiastical discipline, but of religious policy. Bede is very strong on this neglect of the British Church to convert her conquerors ; v. 22, p. 347. And 'it is remarkable that while Scots (Irish) were the missionaries *par excellence* of nearly all Europe north of the Alps, and in particular of all Saxon England north of the Thames, not one Cumbrian, Welsh, or Cornish missionary to any non-Celtic nation is mentioned anywhere. . . . The same remark applies also to the Armorican Britons' ; H. & S. i. 154. Nynias is, however, a notable exception, iii. 4, and some others are mentioned ; Rhys, C. B. pp. 172, 173. For 'genti Anglorum,' Elmham has 'nationi A.' p. 105 ; so Bede below.

Augustine rejected by the British Church.

[neque illum . . . habituros] Bede does not record any formal discussion on this point, but it lay at the root of the whole situation ; and these words show that Augustine's claim, whether formally or informally raised, was emphatically rejected, and with it the authority of the Roman see on which that claim rested.

Augustine's prophecy.

[fertur . . . prædixisse] The fact that the battle of Chester took place 'multo tempore' after Augustine's death is sufficient to refute the absurd charge that he had anything to do with the fulfilment of his own prophecy ; Milman, Bk. iv. ch. 3 ; Stanley, p. 53 ; to say nothing of the fact that he could have had no relations with the heathen Ethelfrid. It required no great gift of prophecy to perceive that the Saxons were gaining upon the Britons, and that the best chance of improving the relations between them lay in the conversion of the invaders. And as a fact the character of the conflict was greatly changed by the conversion of the Saxons, v. F. N. C. i. 32-34 ; though the exterminatory character of even the earlier contests has been very much exaggerated by Mr. Freeman and his school ; cf. Rhys, C. B. pp. 110, 111.

[post hæc] Beyond this and the fact that it was 'multo tempore'

after Augustine's death, Bede gives us no means of dating the battle of Chester. The date 605 in Sax. Chron. E. is a mere inference, and a wrong one, from the order of Bede's narrative. Tighernach and Ann. Camb. date it 613. The former says: '*Cath Caire Legion ubi sancti occisi sunt, et cecidit Solon mac Conain Rex Bretannorum et Cetula rex cecidit. Etalfraid uictor erat, qui post statim obit.*' The former prince appears in Ann. Camb. as '*Selim filius Cinan.*' He was apparently king of North Wales. Who Cetula was I am unable to say. Now, as we have seen, p. 66, Tighernach antedates the battle of Degsastan by three years. It is probable that the same is the case here, and that the true date is 616. With this agrees his statement that Ethelfrid died immediately after the battle; for, as we have seen from the data in i. 34, Ethelfrid's death must be placed in 616 or 617. And this will allow a sufficient interval from the death of Augustine, which probably occurred in 604 or 605. For the possible cause of the battle see notes to c. 9. The result of it was the separation of the North Welsh from the Britons of Strathclyde. H. H. has some reason to call it '*bellum bellorum maximum*,' p. 55; Rhys, C. B. pp. 115, 126-129; Green, M. E. pp. 204, 243.

p. 84. *ciuitatem Legionum*] '*Legionum ciuitas, quae nunc simpliciter Cestra uocatur, . . . ad id temporis a Britannis possessa*,' W. M. i. 47 (speaking of this battle). '*Cestra legionum ciuitas dicitur, quod ibi emeriti legionum Iuliarum resedere. Collimitatur aquilonalibus Britannis. Regio farris et maxime tritici, ut pleraque Aquilonalium, ieiuna et inops, pecorum et piscium ferax. Incolae lac et butirum delitias habent; qui ditiores sunt carnibus uiuunt, panem ordeitium et siligineum pro magno amplectuntur. Transmittitur a Cestra Hiberniam, reuehanturque ciuitati necessaria, ut, quod minus natura soli habet, labor negotiantium apportet;*' G. P. p. 308. On the long desolation of Chester after this battle, cf. Green, M. E. p. 142; Sax. Chron. 894 *ad fin.*

*perfidiae*] i. e. 'heretical,' see note on i. 7, p. 18; so '*perfidi*' at end of the chapter.

*tantus . . . numerus monachorum*] For the size of some of the Irish monasteries, cf. Rs. Ad. p. 336. Of the Bangor monks, W. M. (i. 47) says: '*Quorum incredibilem nostra aetate numerum fuisse indicio sunt in uicino coenobio tot semirutri parietes ecclesiarum, tot anfractus porticuum, tanta turba rudorum, quantum uix alibi cernas; uocatur locus ille Bancor, tunc monachorum famosum receptaculum, nunc mutatus in episcopium*' (cf. G. P. p. 326); 'confounding possibly the ruins of a Roman town, Bouium (Smith, *ad loc.*), . . . and certainly Bangor near Chester, with the bishop's see.

Date of the battle of Chester.

Chester.

Size of Celtic Monasteries.

Leland (Itin. v. 30, ed. 2) testifies that the ruins [rather, foundations] of Bangor-is-coed were partially visible in his time; H. & S. i. 37, 38.

[de labore manuum] On manual labour in monasteries, v. Introduction, p. xxv.

Three days' fast. [ieiunio triduo] From this comes the Irish expression *tridenus* for a three days' fast; so it was evidently a well-known institution in the Celtic churches; cf. iv. 14, 25. It was of Jewish origin; Esther iv. 16.

Brochvael. [Brocmailum] The Saxon Chron. F. Lat. calls him Scrogmagil, a. Scrocmail, E. Scromail, s. a. 605. Professor Rhys tells me that he no longer holds the view which he put forward in Celtic Britain, p. 127, as to this Brocmail, or Brochvael. It is noteworthy that these passages which reflect so severely on Brochvael, 'Erant autem plurimi . . . protegeret,' 'Brocmail ad primum . . . reliquit,' are omitted in the AS. vers. Dr. T. Miller, the latest editor of that version, remarks (I. lvii ff.) on the way in which the translator omits passages in the original which seem to reflect on the Irish missionaries from Iona, while he preserves Bede's bitter language against the Britons; and he says, 'we must look for the seat of such feelings, not in the royal court of Alfred, but in one of the Mercian monasteries.' The omissions in the present chapter confirm the supposition. The monastery may have been near the Welsh border, and may have had various reasons for wishing to conciliate Brochvael's descendants. The statement cited by Stevenson that a Cornish prince fought on the British side at Chester rests only on Geoffrey of Monmouth.

Bede's prejudices. [nefandae militiae] 'pore mánfullan þeode,' AS. vers. It shows Bede's national and ecclesiastical prejudices that he should apply such an epithet to men who were only defending their own country against attack.

[quamuis . . . sublato] Omitted by AS. vers. but in all the Latin MSS. Some have tried to bolster up the charge against Augustine by representing these words on the authority of the AS. vers. as a later insertion.

### CHAPTER 3.

Mellitus. P. 85. Mellitum] He was not one of the original companions of Augustine, though Bede seems to say so, Opp. Min. p. 193; but, with Justus, formed part of the second mission sent by Gregory in 601, i. 29. To him Gregory addressed the letter in i. 30. He became missionary bishop to the East Saxons in 604; joined with

Laurentius and Justus in writing to the prelates of Ireland about the Paschal controversy, ii. 4; went to Rome to consult Boniface IV on the affairs of the English Church, where he was present at a council held Feb. 27, 610, and brought back its decrees and letters of the pope to Britain, ib.; was expelled from his see on the death of Sæbert, and retired with Justus to Gaul, ii. 5. They returned after a year, but Mellitus failed to obtain restitution of his see, ii. 6. He became archbishop of Canterbury in succession to Laurentius, Feb. 3, 619, and died April 24, 624; ii. 7. For the later lives of him, v. Hardy, Cat. i. 219, 220. Neither Laurentius nor Mellitus seem to have received the pallium, and perhaps for this reason they abstained from consecrating suffragans; D. C. B. iii. 593. Bede, however, distinctly calls Mellitus and Laurentius 'archiepiscopus,' c. 6 *ad fin.*; c. 7 *ad init.*, p. 93; while the pope himself addresses Laurentius as 'dilectus archiepiscopus,' c. 4, p. 88.

Iustum] See last note. On his return from Gaul he was restored Justus to Rochester, ii. 6; succeeded Mellitus as archbishop of Canterbury, 624, ii. 8; received the pallium, ib.; consecrated Paulinus, 625, ii. 9; and died (probably in 627), ii. 18; cf. D. C. B. iii. 592, 593. He is not called a monk by Bede. On the later lives of him, cf. Hardy, u. s. pp. 222, 223.

quorum metropolis Lundonia . . . est] So in iv. 6, p. 218, London. London belongs to the East Saxons. On the early history of London, cf. Green, M. E. pp. 98-113. There is no record how or when it came into possession of the Saxons. Cf. Lappenberg, i. 114; E. T. i. 112.

Saberet . . . Rícula] His father's name was Sleda according Sæbert. to the pedigrees in Fl. Wig. i. 250; H. H. p. 49. Cf. W. M. i. 98. There is no pedigree of the East Saxon kings in Sax. Chron. or in Nennius. Ethelwerd calls him 'Sigbyrht,' M. H. B. p. 505; and in v. 24, p. 353, several MSS. read 'Sigbercto' for 'Sabercto.' This is possibly due to a confusion with later East Saxon kings of that name, iii. 22. R. W. has the converse mistake, i. 203.

sub potestate . . . Aedilberoti] Some of the old regnal lists actually make Ethelbert king of the East Saxons; S. D. ii. 379, 380.

Dorubreui] The foundation of a separate see at Rochester has been thought to point to a previously existing kingdom of the West Kentings, for the boundaries of the earliest bishoprics were, as a rule, coincident with those of the kingdoms. See on iii. 21, and cf. v. 23, p. 350, where Bede speaks of Canterbury and Rochester jointly as 'ecclesiae Cantuariorum.' Kemble enumerates the later instances of divided sovereignty in Kent, Saxons, i. 148, 149; but it is hardly safe to argue from them to earlier times, and the theory must be pronounced to be very doubtful; D. C. B. iii. 602.

Theory of  
two king-  
doms in  
Kent.



Rochester. *Hrofescæstre*] In iv. 5, p. 215, it is called 'Castellum Cantuariorum quod dicitur Hrofescæstir.' 'Rofa est oppidum situ nimium angustum, sed quia in edito locatum, fluuio uiolentissimo alluitur, hostibus sine periculo non accessibile,' G. P. p. 133. Yet it was sacked by Ethelred of Mercia in 676, iv. 12, p. 228; cf. the name of the place called 'Hrofesbreta,' also near the Medway, K. C. D. iii. 386; Birch, i. 364.

St. Andrew's at Rochester. *beati Andreae*] 'cuius honorem illa sedes adorat,' G. P. p. 134. 'Perhaps after Gregory's monastery at Rome,' Stev. In the sacristy, 'secretarium' (v. s.) of this church Paulinus was buried, iii. 14, p. 154.

*territoria*] 'bocland,' 'book-lands,' AS. version. The *Textus Roffensis* (twelfth cent.) says: 'Anno . . . DC. rex Ethelbertus fundauit ecclesiam S. Andreae Apostoli Roff; et dedit ei Prestefeld, et omnem terram quae est ad Meduwaie usque ad Orientalem portam ciuitatis in australi parte, et alias terras extra murum ciuitatis uersus partem aquilonalem;' Ang. Sac. i. 333. The date is certainly wrong. Rochester tradition may have preserved the facts about the lands. There is a charter of Ethelbert's to Rochester, dated 604, which Kemble believes to be genuine; K. C. D. No. 1; Birch, No. 3.

p. 86. *cuius supra meminimus*] i. 33, p. 70.

*dedicata*] By Laurentius, ib. The translation took place on Sept. 13; Ang. Sac. i. 52.

'Porticus.' *porticu*] Here, as often, porticus means a side chapel. 'Haec porticus erat in ueteri ecclesia ubi nunc est capella beatæ uirginis;' Thorn, col. 1765. Cf. Dunstan's buildings at Glastonbury: 'ut latitudo longitudini conuadret, alas uel porticus quas uocant adiecit;' Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 271.

Cuthbert the first archbishop buried in Christ Church. *in qua . . . tumultata*] Cuthbert (740-758) was the first archbishop who was buried in Christ Church, Canterbury, and not at St. Augustine's; and this, according to the angry Augustinians, was only effected by the device of concealing his death until after the interment had taken place; Elmham, pp. 317, 318. Cf. Ang. Sac. i. 3, 83, 85. Cuthbert had obtained a papal privilege to this effect; Mon. Angl. i. 82, 128.

*habet hæc*] i. e. the 'porticus'; and so it is understood by Thorn, u. s., though the AS. vers. takes it of the 'ecclesia': 'in middre þære miclan cirican,' 'in the middle of the mickle church.' *per omne sabbatum*] 'æghwylce Sæternes dæge,' 'every Saturday,' AS. vers.

'Agendæ.' *agendæ eorum . . . celebrantur*] 'heora gemynde 7 forðfore mid mæssesonge mæssode syndon,' 'their commemoration and obits

are celebrated with mass'; 'eorum,' i.e. of the archbishops. 'Agenda,' from the phrase 'agere missas,' means a mass; 'agenda mortuorum,' or, as here, 'agenda' simply, signifies the 'missa pro defunctis;' v. Ducange.

VII Kal. Iun.] i.e. May 26. Cf. Martyrology, Opp. iv. 72, at this Date of An-  
day: 'Depositio S. Augustini primi Anglorum episcopi.' Neither gustine's  
in the epitaph nor in the text of Bede is the year given. It cannot death.  
be earlier than 604, nor later than 610; v. s. p. 85; inf. c. 4, p. 88.  
The death of Augustine is not mentioned in the Sax. Chron. except  
in F. (twelfth cent.), which puts it at the impossible date of 614,  
which may be a mistake for 604 (though Thorn, col. 1765, says that  
some placed A.'s death in 613), and would confirm that date,  
which is adopted by H. & S. iii. 4, and Wharton, Ang. Sac. i. 91,  
from Fl. Wig. Other authorities give 605, which is adopted by  
Smith, *ad loc.*, and Bright, p. 92. R. W. says 608; i. 109. In the  
Félie of Aengus his day is wrongly given as May 24. In the notes  
he is called 'Augustinus librorum,' which is possibly due to a con-  
fusion with the great St. Augustine. The Council of Clovesho, 747,  
ordered that May 26th 'dies depositionis Sancti Augustini, . . . qui  
genti Anglorum . . . scientiam fidei . . . primus adtulit, . . . feriatius  
habeatur, nomenque eiusdem . . . doctoris nostri . . . in Laetaniae  
decantatione, post Sancti Gregorii uocationem semper dicatur;' H. & S. iii. 368. It was 'on Sc<sup>e</sup> Agustinus massédæg' in 946 that  
King Edmund was murdered; Sax. Chron. D. *ad ann.* and notes  
*ad loc.* On the translation of Augustine's relics in 1091, v. Hardy,  
Cat. i. 195-197. Gocelin wrote an account of it, which is cited by  
W. M. ii. 389.

## CHAPTER 4.

Laurentius] He was one of Augustine's original companions, Laurentius.  
and had carried his questions to Gregory, and brought back the  
responsa in 601; i. 27, and notes. His consecration as Augustine's  
successor, letters to the Celtic churches, mission of Mellitus to  
Rome, are related in the present chapter; his intended flight from  
England on the death of Ethelbert and the outbreak of persecution  
under Eadbald, and his miraculous detention, in c. 6; his death in  
c. 7. On the later lives of him, v. Hardy, Cat. i. 217-219. One of  
these is by Gocelin, whose lives of Augustine, Laurentius, Mellitus,  
and Justus are alluded to by William of Malmesbury; G. P. p. 6. In  
G. R. ii. 389 he gives an account of him, and calls him, as a writer,  
'nulli post Bedam secundus,' a praise which is ill-deserved.  
Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus are all named in the 'Commemo-  
ratio pro defunctis' in the Stowe Missal, Justus being the latest

saint there mentioned; v. MacCarthy, *Stowe Missal*, pp. 165, 217. 'The growth of the church under Laurentius seems to have been very slow, his aim, like that of Augustine, being probably to reconcile the British Christians before attempting any great mission among the heathen kingdoms;' D. C. B. iii. 362.

Uncanon-  
ical Con-  
secration.

adhuc uiuens ordinauerat] Strictly speaking this was uncanonical; cf. Bright, pp. 92, 93. One of the acts of a synod held under Pope Hilarius in Nov. 465 was: 'interdicunt episcopis ne successores suos designent;' Jaffé, R. P. p. 49. Pope Zacharias in 743 refused, with some emphasis, a request of St. Boniface that he might be allowed to do this: 'Te autem ut tibi successorem constituere dixisti et te uiuente in tuo loco eligatur episcopus, hoc nulla ratione concedi patimur; quia contra omnem aeclesiasticam regulam uel instituta patrum esse monstratur;' Mon. Mog. p. 119.

Tradition  
about  
St. Peter.

exemplum . . . Petri] The tradition that St. Peter consecrated Clement as his successor during his own lifetime comes ultimately from the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions; Ltft. App. Ff. I. i. 64, 158. As, however, in some of the early lists of Roman bishops, Clement appears in the fourth place, Linus and Cletus (= Anacletus) being interposed between him and St. Peter, a tradition grew up, based on a suggestion of Epiphanius (ib. 169, 310, 329) that St. Peter had consecrated Linus and Cletus to act as suffragans under him; Clement being consecrated to succeed him at his death. This is the view of Rufinus, Praef. in Recognitiones, ib. 67, 175; and of the Liber Pontificalis, ib. 191, 192 (cf. ib. 76, 163). Just as here Bede quotes the case of Clement to justify Augustine in consecrating Laurentius in his own lifetime; so in Hist. Abb. § 7 he quotes the case of Linus and Cletus to justify Benedict Biscop in appointing Eosterwine and Ceolfrid as abbots respectively of Wearmouth and Jarrow under himself. He probably took the story from Lib. Pont. (v. ed. Duchesne, I. xxxiv f., cii, cxv) which he certainly used both in his H.E. i. 4; ii. 1, 4; pp. 16, 73, 74, 78, 79; and in his Chronicle; and quotes, Opp. iv. 105 (= Lib. Pont. i. 171), x. 251 (= Lib. Pont. i. 155), under the title 'Gesta Pontificalia'; v. s. on i. 4.

The Scots  
of Ireland.

p. 87. Scottorum qui Hiberniam . . . incolunt] As opposed to the Dalriadic colony in Alba, the 'Scotti qui Britanniam inhabitant,' i. 34; ii. 5; iv. 26; pp. 70, 71, 90, 267; cf. on i. 1, p. 13.

in . . . ipsorum patria] See on i. 1, p. 13.

cuius uidelicet] From here to 'satagit,' p. 88, is omitted in the A.S. vers.

'Vel' and  
'siue.'

fratribus episcopis uel abbatibus] 'Brethren whether bishops or abbots.' From use in such passages, 'uel' and 'siue' come practically to mean 'and.'

**Scotiam]** Ireland; see on i. 1, p. 13; H. & S. think that Iona is *Scottia*, included in the term, ii. 108. This would be quite in accordance with Bede's usage. See on iii. 24, p. 179. It certainly does not include the Scots on the mainland of Britain.

**Dum nos, &c.]** This passage is wrongly punctuated in all the editions, which put no stop after 'introisse,' and a colon after 'cognosceremus.' But the 'antequam cognosceremus' is clearly contrasted with 'sed cognoscentes' below. The general sense is this: 'Being sent by the apostolic see, and having chanced to come to Britain; before we had any experience, believing that both Britons and Scots walked canonically, we venerated them both equally; but on coming to know the Britons, we concluded that the Scots were better. However, we found the Scots very like the Britons.' Whether this exordium was likely to conciliate the persons to whom it was addressed may be doubted.

**p. 88. Daganum]** He has been identified with bishop Dagan, Dagan. of Inbher Daeile (now Ennereilly), county Wicklow, whose death is given by the F. M. and Chron. Scot. under the year 639, and who is commemorated at Sept. 13 in the Féilire and Martyrology of Donegal. He is also commemorated at March 12, which Colgan thought to be the day of his translation. The Bollandists mention him at March 12, A.A.SS. Mart. ii. 104; cf. ib. 286, and note, where he is mentioned in the Life of St. Mochaemoc; and a reference given to Sept. 13. When however they reached that date they decided to omit him, partly on account of the uncertainty in which his life is involved, partly on account of his paschal errors.

**Columbanum]** The Apostle of Burgundy, the founder of Luxeuil, Columban. and afterwards of Bobbio, and of the monastic rule which bears his name. He went to Gaul 585 × 590. He was a strong upholder of the Celtic Easter, tonsure, &c., against the Gallican clergy. Mellitus and Justus may well have heard of the controversy as they passed through Gaul in 601. In 602 a synod was held on this subject. In 610 he was expelled from Burgundy, and ultimately settled at Bobbio, where he died in 615; v. Hardy, Cat. i. 210-214; Greith, Altirische Kirche, bk. iv; D. C. B.; Bright, pp. 96-98. His life by Jonas of Bobbio has been often printed. It is printed as if it were the production of Bede, in the Cologne edition of his works, iii. 199.

**misit . . . sacerdotibus]** Later legends represent Laurentius as Relations cultivating good relations with the Celtic churches, but this is with the diametrically contrary to all that Bede tells us; H. & S. iii. 61, 62. British Church.

**sed quantum . . . declarant]** There is 'something of condensed bitterness' in this remark; Bright, p. 98. On the relations between

the English and Celtic churches, v. Excursus on the Easter and tonsure controversies.

Date of  
Mellitus'  
mission.

his temporibus] I can find nothing to fix the date of Mellitus leaving Britain; Bright, p. 99, says 608, but he gives no authority. Elmham gives 611, which is impossible; see below. He also says that the object of Mellitus' going to Rome was to obtain papal privileges for St. Augustine's, pp. 128-131.

Roman  
Council.

Bonifatio] Boniface IV, 608-615.  
synodum] Jaffé, R. P. p. 155, seems to know no other authority for this Council beyond these words of Bede.

de uita . . . ordinaturus] What purports to be the decree of the Council on this subject exists in two forms, but they are both admittedly spurious; H. & S. iii. 62-64.

anno . . . Martiarum] Both the regnal year and the indiction agree in giving the date Feb. 27, 610.

subscribens confirmaret] 'mid Cristes rodetacne wrat 7 fæst-node,' 'wrote and confirmed with the sign of Christ's rood,' AS. vers.

Malmes-  
bury's  
forged  
documents.

epistulis . . . direxit] The letter to Laurentius is lost. What purports to be the letter to Ethelbert is given in G. P. pp. 46, 47, with the wrong date of 615. It is the first of a series of documents given by Malmesbury, which lie under the gravest suspicion of having been forged in support of the claims of Canterbury to superiority over York. They were first produced by Lanfranc at the Council of London in 1072. It is to be hoped that he had nothing to do with their composition. The arguments against their authenticity are well stated, H. & S. iii. 65, 66. The conclusion there come to, that 'the genuineness of the Malmesbury series' is 'exceedingly questionable,' errs, if at all, on the side of leniency. The statement of Elmham, p. 134, that Mellitus went to Rome a second time in 615 is probably a mere inference from the erroneous date in G. P. After 'direxit' the AS. vers. inserts 'to frofre 7 to trymnisse rihtes lifes,' 'to comfort them and confirm them in right living.'

The  
Pantheon.

Pantheon] To the same effect in the Chron., Opp. Min. p. 194: 'ut ubi quondam omnium non deorum, sed daemoniorum cultus agebatur, ibi deinceps omnium fieret memoria sanctorum.' This was a striking instance of that policy which Gregory I recommended to Augustine, i. 30; cf. Gregorovius, Gesch. d. Stadt Rom, ii. 102-109. This passage is omitted by the AS. vers. The account is partly taken from Lib. Pontif. i. 317, and some of the words ought to have been printed in italics. See Corrigenda to vol. i.

## CHAPTER 5.

**P. 89. annus XXI . . . missus est]** This is probably correct, especially if the first sending of Augustine, before he turned back to Gregory, i. 23. p. 42, be meant; but it is certainly incorrect when Bede below, p. 90, says that Ethelbert died: 'post XX et unum annos acceptae fidei,' for Augustine did not reach Britain till 597.

**L et VI annis]** This would place his accession early in 560 or even in 559. The Sax. Chron. E. *ad ann.* 616 copies Bede's statement, but yet places his accession in 565, and there says that he reigned fifty-three years. MS. F. places his accession and death in the same years as E., and says in both places that he reigned fifty-three years. W. M. i. 13 notes this discrepancy between Bede and the Chron. We may adopt his conclusion: 'uiderit lector quomodo hanc dissonantiam componat; nam nos eam, quia admonuisse suffecerit, in medio relinquimus.' It may be that VI has been misread into III.

**gaudia subiit]** Elmham gives his epitaph, p. 142.

**imperium huiusmodi]** The Sax. Chron. at 827 repeats this list of seven kings, and adds to them another, Egbert; 'and he was the eighth king that was Bretwalda.' The nature of the authority exercised by these kings has been much discussed. Palgrave saw in it a shadow of Roman influence, an idea which Mr. Freeman vehemently contested. It is safe to say that it indicates no definite constitution, but only a *de facto* hegemony. See notes to Sax. Chron. *ad loc. cit.*; Palgrave, E. C. i. 562-568; Kemble, Saxons, ii. 8-22; Lappenberg, i. 127-130; E. T. i. 125-128; F. N. C. i. 27, 28, 134-139, 542-556.

**Aelli]** On him see Sax. Chron. *ad ann.* 477, 485, 491, 827, and notes.

**lingua ipsorum]** Note that Bede here takes account of differences of dialect. The Northumbrian form, Caelin, occurs twice in iii. 23, pp. 175, 176.

**Ceaulin]** For him see Sax. Chron. *ad ann.* 556, 560, 568, 577, 584, 592, 593, 827, and notes; Green, M. E. pp. 202, 206-210.

**tertius . . . Cantuariorum]** For the rise of Kent on the temporary ruin of Wessex, cf. Green, M. E. pp. 211-214. Mr. Green's view, however, *ib.* pp. 214, 308, that Ethelbert's supremacy is to be limited to the Anglian as opposed to the Saxon tribes south of the Humber, seems to me quite untenable. The phrase 'gens Anglorum' above is a general one, including, not excluding, the Saxon (and Jutish) tribes.

**Reduald]** On him, see c. 12, p. 107. 'Raduald . . . illam super Redwald. Anglos regnandi potentiam quartus accepit, ut sub nutu eius alii

Anglorum reges regnarent,' Sig. Gembl. *ad ann.* 616; Pertz, vi. 322.

qui etiam . . . praebebat] 'Who even during Ethelbert's life was gaining the leadership for that same race of his,' viz. the East Angles. The decline in the power of Kent became still more obvious after Ethelbert's death, v. c. 6 *ad fin.* p. 93. Elmham, in connexion with this passage, gives a curious account of the strenuousness of the East Anglians in his own day, which won them the name of '*Stout-heris*, quod lingua Germanica *magni domini*, sonat,' p. 140. '*Orientalis . . . insulae pars, quae usque hodie lingua Anglorum Estangle dicitur*;' Lib. Eli. p. 12.

Edwin.

Aedui] On the extent of his power, cf. c. 9, p. 97, and notes. 'Eduinus post Radoaldum potentius caeteris super Anglos principatur,' Sig. Gembl. u. s. *ad ann.* 628; Alcuin [eighth cent.] says of Edwin, De Sanctis Ebor. vv. 120-124 :

'Imperioque suo gentes superaddidit omnes,  
Finibus atque plagis qua tenditur insula longe.  
Iamque iugum regis prona ceruice subibant  
Saxonum populus, Pictus, Scotusque, Britannus.'

And W. M. adds to Bede's list of his dominions, 'Scotti, Picti, sed et insulae Orchadum,' i. 49, 50. Bede just below seems to assert that Oswy was the first to reduce the Picts and Scots, and this is probably correct; v. S. C. S. i. 252. But in iii. 6, p. 138, he says of Oswald, 'omnes nationes . . . Britanniae, . . . id est Bretonum, Pictorum, Scottorum, et Anglorum . . . in dicione accepit,' a statement which is copied by Sig. Gembl. u. s. *ad ann.* 635, p. 323; Adamnan calls Oswald 'totius Britanniae imperator,' Vit. Col. i. 1.

Oswald.

Oswald] See last note.

'Rex Christianissimus.'

rex Christianissimus] An interesting anticipation of what became, at any rate from the time of Charles V (1364-1380), a formal and hereditary title of the French kings, though much earlier instances of its use occur; v. Ducange, s. v. 'Christianitas.' The title is used (also of Oswald) in iii. 9 *ad init.*, while in Eddius, c. 17, it is applied to Egfrid and Elfwin, H. Y. i. 25; and in App. I, § 16, to Edwin. Isidore gives it to Sisebut, King of the Goths, D. C. B. iii. 310.

Oswy.

Oswiu] See last note but two, and next note.

'Imperium' and 'Regnum.'

Oswiu . . . regnum] Note that all through this passage Bede carefully distinguishes between the immediate dominions or 'regnum' of any king, and the 'imperium' or overlordship which he might exercise over other Saxon kingdoms or Celtic tribes. Edwin, Oswald, and Oswy were equal in respect of their 'regnum.' Oswy had the widest 'imperium'; cf. iv. 3, p. 206, and see notes on iii. 24.

p. 90. *iudiciorum*] 'doma,' 'dooms,' AS. vers. which is the 'Dooms,' word which Bede doubtless had in his mind. It is the genuine native name for 'laws,' 'lagu' being due to Scandinavian influence. This is another indication that in early times the distinction between general rules and individual decisions, between laws and judgments, was not felt (v. Maine's *Ancient Law*, c. 1). Ethelbert's 'Dooms' are printed in Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, i. 2-25; Schmid, *Gesetze*, pp. 2-10; H. & S. iii. 42-50.

*iuxta exempla Romanorum*] This shows that the reduction of Roman native custom to writing was, like so much else, the result of the influence. introduction of Christianity bringing Roman civilisation in its train. 'It was long before the rival states followed the example of Kent. There is nothing to warrant us in believing that written law reached Wessex before Ine, or Mercia before Offa, or that it ever reached Northumbria at all.' Green, *C. E.* p. 20.

*cum consilio sapientium*] The first recorded instance of the Witenam legislative action of the witenagemót; cf. Kemble, ii. 205, 206, 241. gemót. Yet the AS. vers. does not use the technical phrase 'witan,' or 'witenagemót,' but the vague 'mid snotera geþeahte,' 'with the counsel of prudent men.'

*quæ . . . hactenus . . . ab ea*] 'þa nu gena oð þis mid him hæfde Ethelbert's 7 haldne syndon;' 'which now still to this day are held and observed Laws. among them,' AS. vers. As the translator nearly always alters anything in his original which he considers as applying only to Bede's own time, he apparently regards Ethelbert's legislation as still in force in his day. W. M. commends it as 'nihil super aliquo negotio in futurum relinquens ambiguum' (!); i. 13.

*primitus posuit*] This is the first of Ethelbert's dooms. It orders church property to be restored twelvefold, bishop's elevenfold, priest's ninefold, deacon's sixfold, clerk's threefold. In this respect the priest is on a level with the king, No. 4; and the clerk with the freeman, No. 9, or theft from a dwelling, No. 28. Cf. on i. 27, pp. 49, 50.

*erat autem*] For the Kentish pedigree, cf. Nenn. § 58; Fl. Wig. Ethelbert's i. 248; W. M. i. 12. The last follows Bede; the two first agree in descent. reversing the order of the two generations between Hengist and Eormenric. Eormenric was a name in the Gothic royal house: 'Ermanrici regis Gothorum . . . occisio,' Ann. Quedlinburg. Pertz, iii. 31; cf. ib. v. 81. MS. F. of the Chron. places Ethelbert's birth in 552, which would make him only eight years old at his accession in 560, which is hardly likely. In 568 he was defeated by Ceawlin of Wessex (Sax. Chron. *ad ann.*), which is probably the foundation of W. M.'s remark that in his early years as king: 'adeo uicinis



regibus fuit ridiculo, ut uno et altero pulsus praelio uix suos terminos tutaretur,' i. 13. On the later lives of him, cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 214-216.

Saxon  
patronymic  
in '-ing.'

Oiscingas] The Saxon termination -ing (pl. -ingas) indicates descent or derivation; cf. 'Uuffingas,' c. 15, p. 116, of the East-Anglian kings. W. M. notes that this termination is common also to the Franks as shown e. g. by the name Merouingi, i. 70.

Eadbald.

supra] i. 15, pp. 31, 32, though Oisc is not mentioned there.

recipere noluerat] It is common to speak of Eadbald 'apostatizing,' 'relapsing,' &c., but this shows that he had never become Christian; though like the sons of Sæbert (*infra*) he may have conformed more or less during his father's life. His conversion and baptism are related in c. 6.

Marriage  
with step-  
mother.

uxorem patris] Ethelbert's second wife, as Bertha seems to have died before him, *supra*, though the Saxon life of St. Mildred makes 'Byrhte' the name of Eadbald's wife, Hardy, Cat. i. 382; Cott. Calig. A. xiv. After the dissolution of his incestuous marriage he married Emma, daughter of the king of the Franks, W. M. i. 15, whose name occurs in a spurious charter of Eadbald's, K. C. D. No. 6; Birch, i. 20; H. & S. iii. 70. It is certainly not true that marriage with a stepmother was 'inter gentes inaudita'; in some tribes it was the regular rule; v. F. N. C. i. 558; cf. *supra*, i. 27, pp. 50, 51, note. At a later time it was one of the evil customs which St. Margaret put down in Scotland; H. & S. ii. 158; Pinkerton, Lives of Scottish Saints, ii. 170.

Date of  
Sæbert's  
death.

p. 91. mors Saceroti] The date may be fixed within a year or two. Mellitus became Archbishop of Canterbury in Feb. 619, c. 7; prior to this he had been a year in Gaul, c. 6. Therefore his expulsion cannot be later than Jan. 618. The death of Sæbert must be earlier than that date, and Bede's words 'auxit procellam' seem to imply that it was subsequent to the death of Ethelbert, Feb. 616. Therefore Sæbert died in 616 or 617.

His heirs.

tres . . . filios . . . heredes] H. H. p. 57, says: 'duo filii eius successerunt in regnum,' and W. M. i. 98, and the pedigree in Fl. Wig. i. 250, 262, give their names as Sexred and Seward, though in the text, i. 13, Fl. follows Bede.

celebratis . . . sollemnitis] i. e. when the celebrant had communicated, and the distribution of the elements to the laity was commencing; Bright, p. 101.

Saba . . . consuerant] Cf. 'Edwine, qui et Eda dictus est.' S. D. ii. 65. There is a paper by Kemble on these shortened names, Proceedings of the Archaeological Soc. 1845.

p. 92. gentem Geuissorum] 'a West Saxonibus,' W. M. i. 98;

The  
Gewissi.

'wið West Seaxna þeode,' 'against the people of the West Saxons,' AS. vers., which never uses the term 'Gewissas.' Nor does it occur in any Saxon source. It seems to have been antiquated even in Bede's time; cf. iii. 7 *ad init*: 'Occidentales Saxones, qui antiquitus Geuissas uocabantur.' It survives in Celtic sources both Welsh and Irish, e.g. Ann. Camb. 900: 'Albrit (Alfred) rex Giuoys moritur'; so Brut y Tywysogion: 'Alvryt brenhin Iwys'; Ann. Ult. 1040: 'Aralt ri Saxan Giuais moritur,' 'Harold (Harefoot) king of the Gewis Saxons.' It is found in charters both spurious and genuine, K. C. D. Nos. 115, 1033, 1035; Birch, Nos. 200, 389, 390. It is probably connected with the 'visi-' of 'Visigoths,' meaning 'west,' and hence would indicate the western confederation of Saxon tribes. This derivation was suggested by Smith on iii. 7, and is confirmed by modern philology; cf. Kluge's Dictionary, s. v. 'West.' Asser derives the name from a certain 'Gewis' (who occurs in the West-Saxon pedigrees, Sax. Chron. B. C. S. A. 552, and Preface to MS. A); 'Gewis a quo Britones totam illam gentem Gegwis nominant,' M. H. B. p. 468. (Note that this is regarded as a specially British appellation of the West Saxons, which illustrates the passages given above from Celtic sources.) The two names are no doubt connected, but 'Gewis' is probably an eponymous hero manufactured out of the tribe name. The West Saxons were at this time under Cynegils and Cwichelm; cf. H. H. p. 57. The battle does not seem to be mentioned in the Sax. Chron.

## CHAPTER 6.

stratum parari] 'þæt he hine gerestan meahte,' 'that he might repose himself,' inserts AS. vers. This story is quoted in the spurious charter cited above and below, and by Alcuin in his letter to Archbishop Ethelhard reproaching him for having deserted his see of Canterbury during the usurpation of Eadbert Praen; H. & S. iii. 519; Mon. Alc. p. 367. Bede himself cites the case of Jerome being scourged in a vision for his devotion to classical literature, Opp. viii. 59; Bright, p. 104, quotes from Eusebius, v. 28, the story of Natalius, who 'having become a bishop among heretics was scourged all night long by angels, and showed his bruises next day to the orthodox Roman bishop and church.' This, as Bright remarks, may have helped to shape the tradition about Laurentius. Cf. the story of St. Columba being scourged by an angel, Ra. Ad. p. 198. Other instances, D. C. A. ii. 1774; Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. 30, 31, 57, 97, 243; App. I, § 19.

p. 93. ecclesiae rebus] W. M. i. 14 speaks of his benefactions to

St. Augustine's (SS. Peter and Paul), as does the spurious charter, K. C. D. No. 6; Birch, i. 19, 20, cited above.

*post annum*] On the date, cf. *supra*.

Decline of  
Kent.

*non enim . . . reddere*] On the decline of Kentish power already beginning under Ethelbert, v. s. c. 5, p. 89, note. The AS. vers. renders very freely: 'Ond heo Eadbaldes . . . worda ne gemdon, forðon his rice ne wæs ofer heo swa swa his fæder hæfde,' 'but they paid no heed to Eadbald's words, for his power over them was not such as his father had.' W. M. represents this as the result of a regular rebellion against him: 'regulis quos pater sub iugum miserat rebellantibus, regni mutilatus dispendio,' i. 14. But this is merely 'his own heightened and telling way of putting things.'

Church of  
the Virgin.

*ecclesiam . . . fecit*] It was to the east of the church built by Ethelbert, the monastic cemetery coming in between. Subsequent extensions united the two churches, Elmham, p. 144.

## CHAPTER 7.

Papal  
letters.

**P. 94. scripta exhortatoria**] These have not been preserved; see however note to c. 8. As Bede uses a similar term, 'exhortatorias litteras' of the letter of Gregory encouraging the companions of Augustine to proceed, i. 23, p. 43, it is probable that the object of these letters was to encourage Mellitus and Justus to persevere in the face of the difficulties that beset them, and that they had nothing to do with the question of the location of the primacy, as some have thought, H. & S. iii. 71, which indeed was not a practical question at this time, v. note to c. 8. It is not clear whether Bede means by 619 to indicate the date of the letters, or of Boniface V's accession. Anyhow the letters must be 619 × 624, ib.

**Bonifatio . . . Deusdedit**] Deusdedit died Nov. 618. Boniface V was not consecrated till Dec. 619; cf. R. P. pp. 155, 156; H. & S. iii. 71.

Mellitus.

**Mellitus . . . podagra grauat**] And this is, no doubt, the reason why in Gocelin's life of him, the miracles wrought at his tomb are specially concerned with the cure of this disease; Hardy, Cat. i. 219.

Nobility of  
birth and  
nobility of  
mind.

**erat . . . nobilior**] Bede is very fond of this contrast; iii. 19, p. 164, of St. Fursa (though the words there are partly taken from the life of Fursa); iv. 9, p. 222, of a nun at Barking; iv. 20, p. 248, of Ethelthryth; iv. 23, p. 252, of Hild; Hist. Abb. § 1, of Benedict Biscop, p. 364; ib. § 8, of Easterwine, p. 371; Vita Cudb. Proa. c. 23, of Elfled, 'regalis stemmata nobilitatis potiori nobilitate summae uirtutis accumulabat;' Opp. Min. p. 94. So of Joseph of

*Arimathea*: 'magnae . . . dignitatis ad saeculum, sed maioris apud Deum meriti, Opp. x. 251; xi. 371. Contrast, 'Reduald natu nobilis, quamlibet actu ignobilis,' *infra* ii. 15, p. 116.

per culpam incuriae] The same phrase occurs iii. 17, p. 160, of Fires miraculously quenched. the royal vill in which Aidan died; iv. 25, p. 262, of the destruction of Coldingham. Similar stories are told of St. Cuthbert, Vit. Proa. c. 14; Vit. Anon. § 20; and of Alcuin, Vita Alc. in Mon. Alc. pp. 26, 27. On the frequency of fires in these times, see note on ii. 14, p. 114.

confidens, &c.] Cf. on i. 14, p. 29.

martyrium] 'Martyria uocabantur ecclesiae, quae in honore Mar- aliquorum Martyrum fiebant,' Walafridus Strabo in Ducange. tyrium.' 'Martyria' also means the tomb, relics, &c. of martyrs. In Irish 'martra' simply means relics generally; e.g. 'martra na noem,' 'relics of saints.'

IIII Coronatorum] In the Martyrology at Nov. 8, we find: 'vi. 'Quatuor Idus. Romae sanctorum quatuor Coronatorum. Claudii, Nicostrati, Coronati.' Symphoriani, Castorii, et Simplicii.' To this one MS. of Florus' additions to the martyrology adds: 'Quatuor Cor. nomina haec sunt: Seuerus, Seuerianus, Victorianus et Carpophorus; quorum dies natalis per incuriam neglectus minime reperiri poterat; ideo statutum est ut in eorum ecclesia horum quinque [i.e. Claudii, &c. u. s.] sanctorum qui in missa recitantur natalis celebretur, ut cum istis eorum quoque memoria pariter fiat,' Opp. iv. 250, 251; cf. Lftf. App. Ff. I. i. 251; H. Y. i. 463. Their church at Rome on the Caelian Hill is mentioned as early as the time of Gregory I, but was entirely rebuilt by Honorius I (625-638), Gregorovius, Gesch. d. Stadt Rom, ii. 120, 121. Another rebuilding of it is recorded under the year 847; Pertz, xxiv. 144; cf. ib. 117; D. C. A. i. 461, 462.

tempestates . . . aeriæ] 'stormas 7 hreoniase para werigra gasta,' 'storms and tempests of the evil spirits,' AS. vers.; cf. Eph. ii. 2.

p. 95. die . . . Malarum] April 24, 624.

## CHAPTER 8.

The AS. vers. appends the first words of this chapter as far as 'Bonifatio' to the preceding chapter, and omits the remainder here, and the heading from the capitula.

ista est forma] In G.P. pp. 47-49, is a spurious letter of Boniface Parallel to Justus (the second of the Malmesbury series, v. s. on ii. 4, p. 88), spurious document. parallel to this genuine one given by Bede. That it is parallel, and not a later letter, genuine or spurious, is proved by the fact

that the former part of that letter is obviously modelled on the corresponding part of this. The latter part is totally different, and consists of a false assertion that Gregory had fixed the primacy at Canterbury: 'ubi caput totius gentis Anglorum a diebus paganorum habetur,' and decreeing that: 'in Doribernia ciuitate semper in posterum metropolitanus totius Britanniae locus habeatur, omnesque prouintiae regni Anglorum prefati loci metropolitanae ecclesiae subitiantur.' Now apart from the fact that there was no 'regnum Anglorum' at this time, the location of the primacy was not a practical question. London had relapsed into Paganism, and Northumbria had not been attacked. Roman Christianity in Britain was confined to Kent with its two sees of Canterbury and Rochester.

'Fastigium.'

fastigiorum uestrorum] 'Fastigium' seems to be used here as a title, 'your sublimities.' This sense is not noted by Ducange. The Durham MS. reads 'uestigiorum' (on an erasure) which is certainly a very ingenious emendation.

Text corrupt.

dum . . . praeparauit] The sentence seems corrupt, and can hardly be construed as it stands. It would improve it somewhat to read 'quod ei resignare' for 'ei quod signare'; 'while by bestowing an abundant return on the exercise of your faithful trafficking with the talents committed to you, he prepared that which ye might render to him with multiplied interest'; cf. c. 11, p. 106: 'ut fructum . . . creditorum tibi beneficiorum Redemptori tuo multiplicem resignares.' It is noteworthy that the composer of the spurious letter seems to have found a difficulty here; for while he follows his original very closely as far as 'mysterium,' he omits 'magno . . . expectastis,' and continues: 'Ut enim proficerent, uestris meritis est eorum saluatio procurata, Domino dicente,' &c., after which he diverges entirely.

Two letters possibly conjoined.

p. 96. Adulualdi] This is meant for Eadbald. pallium] v. on i. 27, p. 52; ii. 3, p. 85. At this point in the letter there is a curious transition from the plural pronouns, 'uos,' 'uester,' to the singular 'tu,' 'tuus.' It may be that in the earlier part of the letter Romanus is intended to be included, whereas the part about the pallium would concern Justus exclusively. It may perhaps be allowable to make a bolder suggestion, viz. that parts of two different letters have been conjoined, and that the former part is really the 'scripta exhortatoria' addressed to Mellitus and Justus, c. 7, p. 94. To this description it answers very well, and the congratulations on the conversion of Eadbald would certainly come more appropriately in 619 than in 624, some six years after the event. If the scribe who copied the letters from the papal or archi-

episcopal registers accidentally turned over two leaves, he might easily join the beginning of one letter to the end of another. The original heading may have been : ' dilectiss. fratr. Mellito et Iusto.'

## CHAPTER 9.

P. 97. Aeduno] Aelle of Deira, the father of Edwin, the king Edwin mentioned in ii. 1, p. 80, died in 588, Sax. Chron.; and Ethelric of Bernicia, the father of Ethelfrid, annexed his kingdom. (The twelfth century life of Oswald says that Ethelric was the slayer of Aelle; but I have found no earlier authority for this; S. D. i. 363.) Edwin was then only three years old, having been born in 585; c. 20, p. 124. He took refuge subsequently, according to Welsh tradition, with Cadvan, King of Gwynedd; and it is possible that this was the cause of the battle of Chester. Cf. Lappenberg, i. 144; E. T. i. 145; Rhys, C. B. p. 128. The life of Oswald has preserved this residence of Edwin at the court of Cadvan, though it places it wrongly after the battle of Chester: 'Postea Cadwanus eis Humbram regnans, Edwinum . . . nutriuit cum Cadwallone filio suo,' S. D. i. 345. After that battle Edwin fled to Redwald king of the East Angles; and, in conjunction with him, defeated and slew Ethelfrid on the Idle in 616 or 617, v. i. 34; ii. 20. He in his turn took possession of the whole of Northumbria, expelling Ethelfrid's sons; v. *infra*, c. 12, note.

Paulino, cuius supra meminimus] i. e. i. 29, p. 63, where he is Paulinus mentioned as one of those sent by Gregory in 601 with the second mission. Since then we have heard nothing of him. But the story of Edwin's interview with the mysterious stranger at the court of Redwald, c. 12, pp. 108, 109 *infra*, is best explained by supposing that Paulinus had been sent on a mission to East Anglia. He may have gone thither with Redwald, after the latter's baptism in Kent, and left it again after he relapsed more or less into idolatry, ii. 15, p. 116; cf. App. I, § 16 *ad fin.*, which strongly supports this view. Hence his knowledge of Edwin would be a reason for choosing him for the Northumbrian mission, and hence both he and Edwin would be interested in the conversion of East Anglia; though ultimately it was due mainly to the Burgundian bishop, Felix, *ib.* Paulinus' work in Northumbria is narrated in cc. 9, 10, 12-14; his preaching in Lindsey, c. 16; his reception of the pallium, c. 17; his consecration of Honorius as Archbishop of Canterbury, c. 18; his retirement to Rochester after the defeat and death of Edwin in c. 20; and his death there, Oct. 10, 644, iii. 14, p. 154. 'Huius laudem semper hao-

Extent of  
Edwin's  
power.

tenus prae se tulit antiquitas, et in immensum extulit,' G. P. p. 134. On the later lives of Paulinus, v. Hardy, Cat. i. 229, 230.

quod nemo Anglorum ante eum] Cf. the prophecy of the stranger to the exiled Edwin, 'ut . . . omnes, qui ante te reges in gente Anglorum fuerant, potestate transcendas'; c. 12, p. 109, Bede's Chron. Opp. Min. p. 195; and App. I, § 12.

omnes Britanniæ fines] 'praeter Cantuariis tantum,' c. 5 *supra*, p. 89.

prouinciæ habitabant] A curious phrase.

Meuaniæ  
insulae.

Meuaniæ insulae] *i.e.* Man and Anglesey. It is commonly thought that it was from this conquest that the latter got its name. Above, c. 5, p. 89, they are called 'Brettonum insulae.' In the AS. version both here and c. 5, we have 'Monige Bretta ealond,' where 'Monige' as well as 'ealond' is plural (= 'Monae insulae'), a fact which has escaped the editor, Dr. Miller; the singular would be 'Monig, Mona insula.' Curiously enough W. M. i. 50 gives the name Anglesey to both: 'Insulae Meuaniarum quas nunc Anglesei, id est, Anglorum insulas dicunt.' I have found no other authority for applying this name to Man. This passage of W. M. shows that the explanation of Anglesey as 'Anglorum insula' is very old, though Mr. Henry Bradley objects that in that case we ought to have 'Engla-ig,' Academy, June 2, 1894. The Icelandic name is 'Öngula-ey,' *i.e.* 'anguli insula,' Orkneyingá Saga, pp. 70, 73. For Man, cf. M. H. B. p. xix.

situ amplior] This is correct; Anglesey is rather the larger of the two; see above, pp. 40, 41. The AS. version omits 'quarum prior . . . tenet.'

familiarum] See on i. 25, p. 45.

Witenag-  
emót.

p. 98. examinata a prudentibus] Here again we seem to have a glimpse of the witenagemót; and here the AS. version has 'wise witan' for 'prudentes.' The actual deliberation on the point is recorded in c. 13, where see notes. Cf. Bede on Ezra v. 5: 'Dux iste Syriae, qui regem de opere domus Dei non accusando instigat, sed consulendo interrogat, eorum recte imaginem exprimit, qui adhuc in gentilitate positi, fidem et opera mirantur ecclesiae; nec se credituros abnegant, si hanc ueram esse ac iustam diuinitatis culturam intelligere possint'; Opp. ix. 414, 415.

Spread of  
Christian-  
ity by  
royal  
marriages.

Paulinus, qui cum illa ueniret] His position would at first be like that of Liudhard at the court of Kent, i. 25, p. 45. Other instances of the spread of Christianity by royal marriages are: Peada and Alchfléd, iii. 21, pp. 169, 170; and to some extent Ethelbert and Bertha, i. 25, p. 45.

die XII Kal. Aug.] July 21; this was a Sunday in 625.

p. 99. Cwichelmo] In iii. 7 *ad inil.*, we find Cynegils king of the Cwichelmo West Saxons. He and Cwichelmo seem to have reigned conjointly, and are mentioned together, Sax. Chron. s. a. 614, 628. W. M. says: 'regni infulas aequa lance induerunt,' i. 21. He makes them however brothers, instead of father and son, as do the Chron. A. B. C, 648, and Fl. Wig. i. 256. H. H. is inconsistent, pp. 55, 58. He associates Cynegils with Cwichelmo's treachery, p. 57. Cwichelmo probably wished to recover for his house the hegemony which Ceawlin had held. W. M. thinks that he might shield himself under Coroebus' maxim, Aen. ii. 390, 'Dolus an uirtus quis in hoste requirat,' i. 22. Cwichelmo was baptized in 636, a year after Cynegils, and died the same year. Cynegils evidently survived him some time, iii. 7 *ad inil.* Cwichelmo's name still survives in Scutchamfly Barrow, Berkshire; the 'Cwichelmeshlæw' of the Chron. 1006. Westminster's statement (following R. W. i. 126), that Edwin slew Cwichelmo there is a mere inference from the name, and a wrong one, for Cwichelmo outlived Edwin.

sicam] 'hand-seax,' AS. vers.

primo die paschae] In 626 Easter-day fell on April 20.

uilla regalis] Various conjectures have been made as to its position; but I do not see that there are any data for determining it.

minister regi amicissimus] 'se cyninges þegn him se holdesta,' Comitatus. 'the king's most loyal thane,' AS. vers. On the 'comitatus' and the devotion of its members to their lord, cf. iii. 14, p. 155, note.

die sancto pentecostes] Whit Sunday in 626 was on June 8. Strictly speaking the baptism was on the eve: 'in sabbato pentecostes,' as Bede himself says, v. 24, p. 353; cf. Bright, p. 113.

Easter and Pentecost were from early times regarded as specially suitable seasons for the administration of baptism. Tertullian at the end of the second century mentions this custom, though he adds that no time is unsuitable for baptism. And some of the early fathers urge their readers not to delay their baptism unnecessarily under pretence of waiting for one of these seasons. In the East, and in those churches of the West which came under Eastern influences, Epiphany was also a favourite time. (See note on iv. 19.) Christmas was also observed in some churches, including those of Scandinavia. It is with reference to baptisms at Christmas that an Icelandic proverb is quoted in Laxdæla Saga (p. 176, ed. 1826): 'hátiðir eru til heilla betztar,' 'high seasons are most auspicious.' The Roman Church from the fourth century onwards tried to limit the administration of baptism to Easter and Pentecost. Siricius in 385 complains that men rush to baptism at Christmas, Epiphany and other seasons. Except in the case of infants, or

Baptisms at Easter and Pentecost.



when necessity is urgent, they are to be restricted to Easter and Pentecost, unless they give in their names forty days before; Labbé, ii. 1018. And this gives us a clue to the motive of the restriction, viz. that regular courses of instruction might be provided for adult catechumens (cf. Gregory I in R. P. p. 124). Wherever Christianity was a missionary religion, these would be the most numerous class. With the establishment of Christianity the necessity for the restriction passed away, and it has been generally abandoned both in East and West. Leo I in 447 writes much to the same effect as Siricius, grounding the limitation to those festivals on the correspondence between the trine immersion in baptism, and the three days' burial in the tomb, and on the baptism of 3000 on the first Christian Pentecost, Acts ii. 41; Labbé, iii. 1297 ff. So, too, Gelasius I, 492-496; R. P. p. 60. Bede alludes to the custom; Opp. v. 75, 281; vi. 257. In vi. 233, he quotes from Pachasinus, Bishop of Lilybæum in the fifth century, a legend of a certain font which was miraculously filled with water every Easter Eve, and thus determined the true Easter. In ii. 14 we find Edwin, and in v. 7 Cædwalla, baptized at Easter. Many of the references given on the latter passage to illustrate the use of 'white weeds' in baptism, illustrate this custom also.

Edwin's  
campaign  
against the  
West  
Saxons.

p. 100. *aduersus gentem Occidentalium Saxonum*] The Sax. Chron. E. says that Edwin slew five kings (cf. on iv. 12) and much people. But whereas the Chron. makes the West Saxon campaign precede the baptism of Eanflæd, the latter being the result of it, Bede makes the baptism of Eanflæd precede the campaign, Edwin's own cessation from idolatry being the result of his success, though he still hesitated some time before formally adopting Christianity. Apart from the earlier authority of Bede, there would hardly be time for a campaign to be undertaken and completed between Easter and Pentecost 626.

## CHAPTER 10.

The AS. vers. gives the heading of this chapter among the capitula, but in the text only gives the first few words, omitting the letter; c. 11 is omitted wholly; c. 12 is given in the text; but there is no fresh heading for it in the capitula, and it seems to be treated as part of c. 10.

Date.

*litteras*] There is a difficulty about the date of this letter and the one to Ethelberg in the next chapter, which Dr. Bright has pointed out, p. 114. Paulinus was consecrated July 21, 625.

Boniface V died October 25, 625. Yet in the letter to Ethelberg the Pope speaks of Edwin's delay, 'distulerit,' p. 105, to obey the voice of the preachers. Considering the time required for Paulinus to reach Northumbria, and for messengers to reach Rome, there is little margin for 'delay' left out of three months. Dr. Bright suggests that these letters should be assigned to Honorius, the successor of Boniface. To this there is the objection that in c. 11, p. 104, the writer seems to speak of himself as the Pope who had received the news of Eadbald's conversion. This might be Boniface V, who succeeded 619, but could hardly be Honorius. We might, however, take the 'nos' in that passage as meaning simply 'the papal see.'

quia . . . infundit] There seems some corruption here; 'pro-Text fert' for 'proferetur' would be an improvement; 'since His corrupt. humanity having opened, &c. . . mercifully pours into the minds of men by secret inspiration the things which it brings forth from itself,' or 'which it reveals concerning itself.'

p. 101. inserentes . . . propinentur] An impossible construction; we should probably read 'propinemus.' For 'propino' in this sense, 'to give or furnish,' cf. c. 8, p. 96; 'remedia' = 'means.' The two words recur c. 11, *ad init.*

eius . . . subdi] There is some corruption here, which I do not see how to mend. Mansi, x. 551, reads 'dilatandae subsidiis' for 'dilatandi subdi,' which is not much clearer.

gentibus . . . subpositis] The sense requires 'gentium subpositarum,' and so Mansi, u. s., or 'gentis subpositae,' as in c. 11, p. 104.

p. 102. eorum, quos colunt] 'eorum qui eam (or eas) colunt' would be rather better.

p. 103. qui . . . invidus] sc. 'Diabolus,' supplied from 'diabolicae.'

habuit . . . potuit] The sense requires 'habuerunt,' 'potuerunt.' constructioni] seems corrupt; 'constructione' would yield a certain sense. So H., and Mansi, x. 552. On the argument of this letter, see i. 30, note.

## CHAPTER 11.

P. 104. multae] 'multa' would be slightly preferable.

innotescens] 'making known'; cf. i. 30, p. 65.

in uestri] 'uestra' seems required. The corruption may be due to 'uestri' in the next line.

p. 105. pars corporis uestri] Cf. c. 10, p. 101.

p. 106. *conuersatione*] 'conuersione,' the reading of C, seems certainly preferable.

*releuetis*] Here again the reading of C. 'reueletis' is preferable. Unfortunately it reads 'reueletur' two lines below, where 'releuetur' is certainly right. But the two words were very likely to be confused.

## CHAPTER 12.

Bede's explanation of the facts.

P. 107. *ut uerisimile uidetur*] Note that Bede only puts this forward as his own way of accounting for the facts; viz. that Paulinus received a special revelation of the nature of the mysterious occurrence which befell Edwin in East Anglia. Perhaps the analogy of St. Paul and Ananias in Acts ix. 10 ff., may have been present to Bede's mind. A less miraculous theory is given above, c. 9, p. 97, note. According to a later tradition, the stranger who appeared to Edwin was St. Peter; S. D. i. 206. Cf. on this chapter App. I. § 16.

*per diuersa . . . regna . . . uagaretur*] See above on c. 9, and *infra* on c. 14.

Construction of 'peto.'

*quæ petebatur*] 'The things which he was asked;' 'peto' construed with double accusative, of which the accusative of the thing remains in the passive construction; so iii. 5, *ad fm.* p. 137; v. 21 *ad init.*: 'misit architectos, quos petebatur,' 'which he was asked for;' Opp. vi. 317: 'petiti auxilia Romani,' 'the Romans being asked for help.' In iii. 23, p. 176, the accusative of the thing is replaced by an infinitive: 'petiit . . . Cynibillum . . . complere,' 'he asked C. to complete.'

p. 108. *fidiissimus . . . illius*] 'Sum cyninges þegn his freond se getreowesta,' 'a king's thane a most faithful friend of his,' AS. vers.

*ille . . . magis quam ignobilior quisque*] Cf. c. 15, p. 116: 'Reduald natu nobilis, quamlibet actu ignobilis.' 'Quisque' for 'quisquam.'

*tot annorum*] Since 588, *v.s.* If I am right in placing the battle of Chester in 616, this must have taken place in 616 or 617. Anyhow it must be 613 × 617.

*caeco . . . igni*] 'Vulnus alit uenis, et caeco carpitur igni,' Verg. Aen. iv. 2.

p. 109. *omnes . . . transcendas*] Cf. *sup.* on c. 9, p. 97.

*ut ferunt*] Note how careful Bede is not to give this as more than a tradition.

p. 110. *nulla ratione . . . uendere*] Cf. the stories in Eddius, cc. 27, 28.

The Idle.

Idle] The Idle is a tributary of the Trent. We have seen above,

on i. 34, that this battle was fought before April 12, 617, c. 14 *ad init.* H. H. p. 56, has preserved, as he often does, an English proverb with reference to this battle: 'Amnis Idle Anglorum sanguine sorduit.' But when he professes to give an account of the manœuvres by which the battle was lost and won, he is simply drawing on his own imagination; and such things should not be quoted as history.

*successit*] He in his turn expelled the sons of Ethelfrid. The Sax. Chron. E. 617, gives their names, Eanfrid, Oswald, Oswiu, Oslac, Oswudu, Oslaf, and Offa. Nennius, § 57, pedigrees, gives the same list, except that for Oslac he gives Osguid (Oswith). They took refuge with the Picts and Scots, iii. 1. Oswald certainly spent part of the time of his exile at Iona, iii. 3; perhaps also in Ireland; cf. Zimmer, Kelt. Beiträge, i. 207; iii. 13. Of him and Oswiu (Oswy) we shall hear more. For Eanfrid, v. iii. 1.

Henry of Huntingdon.

Ethelfrid's sons.

## CHAPTER 13.

P. 111. *cum amicis . . . esse*] 'jæt he wolde mid his freondum 7 mid his wytum gesprec 7 geþeant habban,' 'that he would have speech and counsel with his friends and wise men;' so below 'habito . . . consilio,' 'þa hæfde he gesprec 7 geþeant mid his witum,' AS. vers.

Debate in the Witenagemót.

*primus pontificum*] 'ealdorbisceop,' 'chief bishop,' AS. vers.

*nullus . . . tuorum*] 'nænig þinra þegna,' 'none of thy thanes,' AS. vers. The gross materialism of Coifi's counsel should be noted as throwing light on the subsequent apostasy after the defeat of Edwin at Hatfield, 633, *infra* c. 20, iii. 1. Those who adopted a religion with the idea of gaining material advantages would naturally abandon it in the hour of adversity. Thus the coming of the plague caused part of Essex to apostatise, iii. 30; cf. iv. 27. It is disappointing to find Bede applying the term 'uerba prudentia' to such a speech as Coifi's. Is it accidental that the AS. vers. omits the laudatory epithet? In iii. 3 *ad init.* Bede seems to regard success in war as at any rate a witness to spiritual truth; cf. iii. 7, p. 141. The same idea underlies the whole system of ordeals, trials 'by wager of battle,' &c. War is only an ordeal on a larger scale.

Materialistic arguments.

p. 112. *alius optimatum*] 'oþer cyninges wita 7 ealdormann,' 'another royal counsellor (wise man) and alderman,' AS. vers. The spiritualism of this counsellor, his sense of the deep mystery of human existence, is in strong and dramatic contrast with the materialism of the last speaker.

Seeking after God.

*talis . . . uita . . . praesens*] 'Nota pulcram comparisonem de breuitate uitae,' marginal note in O<sub>1</sub>.

*cum ducibus ac ministris tuis*] 'mid þinum ealdormannum 7 þegnum,' 'with thy aldermen and thanes,' AS. vers.

*prorsus ignoramus*] Cf. 'a philosophis . . . caeterisque gentium magistris, quia nil certae beatitudinis in futurum sciunt promittere, et hi quos habuere separantur, uidelicet conuersi ad fidem, spemque dominicae promissionis certissimam,' Opp. ix. 124. 'Populus gentium . . . habuit doctores, qui . . . huius solum uitae gaudia nouerant, de aeternis nihil certum dicebant,' ib. 435.

*merito esse sequenda*] Cf. Bede on Cant. iii. 3: 'Dixit gentilitas, quae in sponsam Christi erat . . . permutanda, *num quem dilexit anima mea uidistis*, cum uenientibus ad se doctoribus libentissime auditum accommodabat, et inhiante, an ueritatis esset uia quam praedicabant, dignoscere curabat,' Opp. ix. 254.

Age and  
office.

*ceteri . . . consiliarii*] 'oþre aldormen 7 þæs cynynges geþeahteras,' 'other aldermen and royal counsellors,' AS. vers. The idea of age as a necessary qualification for office and counsel comes out in both languages. Cf. such words as *γερουσία*, *senatus*, *senator*, *sieur* (= senior), *seigneur* (= seniore), *signore*, *señor*, &c.; cf. F. N. C. i. 582.

*diuinitus admoniti*] Omitted AS. vers.

*altaria*] See note on i. 30, p. 65.

Destruction of  
pagan  
temples, &c.

p. 113. *destruere . . . fanum*] Cf. on i. 30, 32.

'O nimium tanti felix audacia facti!'

exclaims Alcuin of Coifi's exploit, *De Sanctis Ebor.* v. 186.

*cum omnibus septis*] The *τέμενος* or sacred enclosure.

*Godmunddingaham*] Goodmanham, near Market Weighton; cf. Greenwell, *British Barrows*, pp. 286-331. Dr. Greenwell says: 'the whole district is replete with archaeological interest.'

*aras*] 'Vidi Hecubam, . . . Priamumque per aras

*Sanguine foedantem, quos ipse sacrauerat ignes.'*

Verg. *Aen.* ii. 501, 502.

## CHAPTER 14.

*nobilibus*] 'æþelingum,' 'ethelings,' AS. vers.

p. 114. *circiter*] r. note on i. 15, p. 30.

Baptism of  
Edwin.

*baptizatus est*] Cf. Bede, *Chron.* Opp. Min. p. 195. The *Ann. Camb.* under 626 say: 'Etguin baptizatus est, et Run filius Urbgen baptizauit eum.' The story is repeated in (an evident gloss in) *Nenn.* § 63, 'Si quis scire uoluerit quis eos [*sc.* Eadguin . . . et xii millia hominum cum eo] baptizauit, Rum map Urbgen baptizauit eos.'

To which two MSS. add the further gloss 'sicut mihi Renchidus episcopus et Elbodus episcoporum sanctissimus tradiderunt, . . . i. e. Paulinus Eboracensis archiepiscopus eos baptizauit,' ed. Stevenson, p. 54 and note. This last idea is a desperate attempt to reconcile what the scribe rightly felt to be irreconcilable, the account of Bede and that of Nennius. The whole story may be dismissed as a fable intended to claim for the British Church a principal share in the evangelisation of Northumbria. The Irish annals know nothing of it; and it is negatived, not only by the narrative of Bede, but by the whole attitude of the British Church towards the Saxons and Angles. I cannot agree with Skene, C. S. ii. 199, that 'the tradition seems to indicate that the Cumbrian Church did play a part in the conversion of their Anglie neighbours.' A very unlikely suggestion is made by Raine, H. Y. I. xix, whose description of York at this time is, however, of great interest.

die . . . paschae] Here again the eve is meant, Bright, p. 118; v. s. on c. 9, p. 99.

de ligno . . . de lapide] Building in stone was largely due, like Building so much else, to Roman influence. Thus Naiton, King of the Picts, materials. 'architectos sibi mitti petiit, qui iuxta morem Romanorum ecclesiam de lapide in gente ipsius facerent,' v. 21, p. 333. So Benedict Biscop got from Gaul 'cementarios qui lapideam sibi aeccliam [at Wearmouth] iuxta Romanorum, quem semper amabat, morem facerent,' Hist. Abb. § 5, p. 368. Candida Casa [Hwiton] got its name, 'eo quod ibi ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Brettonibus more, fecerit,' iii. 4, p. 133. We hear of stone churches at Lincoln, c. 17, p. 117; at Lastingham (replacing an earlier church of wood), iii. 23, p. 176. That wood was the ordinary building material of the Saxons is shown by the fact that their word for 'to build' is 'getimbrian'; cf. Anglo-Saxon Glossaries, ed. Wülker, i. 126. Aldhelm died in a wooden church at Doultling, Somerset, which was afterwards replaced by a stone one, G. P. p. 382; cf. ib. 153; a similar instance, W. M. i. 265. At Glastonbury, a stone church and a wooden church existed side by side, Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 271. A wooden church at Chester-le-Street continued to the eleventh century, S. D. i. 92; another at Wilton, F. N. C. ii. 509. One at Greenstead in Essex survived to our own day, Lingard's Anglo-Saxon Church, ii. 338, cited by M. & L. p. 269. Wooden buildings were also characteristic of the Celts both British and Irish. Cf. the passage from iii. 4 cited above. So in the life of St. Kentigern: 'More Britonum ecclesiam . . . de lignis leuigatis . . . edificare . . . inchoabant; quum de lapide construere nondum poterant, nec usum habebant,' N. & K. p. 203. Thus Finan at

Lindisfarne 'fecit ecclesiam . . . more Scottorum, non de lapide, sed de robore secto totam composuit, atque harundine textit,' iii. 25, p. 181; i.e. not only the roof but the walls were covered with a rush thatch. This is shown by what follows: 'Sed episcopus . . . Eadbert, ablata harundine, plumbi lamminis eam totam, hoc est, et tectum, et ipsos quoque parietes eius, cooperire curavit.' Skins were sometimes used for the same purpose, Vita Cudb. c. 46; Opp. Min. pp. 135, 136.

The Welsh word for to build, 'adeiladu,' indicates a yet earlier stage of the art of construction, meaning literally 'to weave,' and referring originally to the primitive mode of constructing buildings by wattling. A temporary church of this kind seems mentioned in i. 20, p. 38: 'ecclesia . . . frondibus contexta componitur,' cf. H. & S. i. 37. So in 995 a temporary church of this kind was made at Durham to receive St. Cuthbert's relics: 'facta citissime de uirgis ecclesiola,' S.D. i. 179. For dwelling houses it continued to be used, iii. 10, 16 (where see the AS. vers. cited in the note). At the end of the eleventh century, Benedict Biscop's monastery of Wearmouth was so utterly ruined, that some monks whom Bishop Walcher settled there, are represented as 'de uirgis facientes habitacula.' On buildings of wood and wattle among the Celts, both British and Irish, see much curious information collected by Dr. Reeves in his Adamnan, pp. 106, 177, 178; Petrie, Round Towers, pp. 125-160. Duleek, in Ireland, obtained its name 'Daim-liag,' 'the house of stone,' from the fact that there, as at Candida Casa, this was a previously unknown phenomenon.

Frequency  
of fires.

From this use of wood, &c., resulted the frequency of fires, e.g. i. 19; ii. 7; iii. 10, 17; iv. 25; Opp. Min. p. 75. The church at Campodonum, *infra*, was evidently of wood. When burnt by the pagan Mercians after Hatfield: 'euasit . . . ignem altare, quia lapideum erat,' p. 115. After the flight of Paulinus in 633, and the location of the Northumbrian see at Lindisfarne, the church of York fell into decay. Wilfrid, on gaining possession of his see in 669, restored it magnificently, Eddius, c. 16. Though of stone it was burnt down in 741, Sax. Chron. D.E. *ad ann.* S.D. ii. 38. It was rebuilt by Archbishop Ethelbert, 766-780, the works being superintended by Eanbald, who succeeded him, and Alcuin. On the site of Edwin's baptism an altar was erected, covered with silver, and adorned with gold and silver, and dedicated to St. Paul, 'doctor Mundi'; De Sanctis Ebor. vv. 1487-1519. The cathedral was burnt again in 1069, restored by Archbishop Thomas I (1070-1100); burnt once more in 1137, and rebuilt in its present form in the reign of Edward I. Smith, a. l.

Church of  
York.

*impia nece*] v. c. 20; 'impious' as often = 'pitiless.'

*in quibus . . . Merciorum*] This implies that Edwin during his exile had resided at the court of Mercia. As Osfrid, a son by this marriage, had a son Yffl, who was baptized before 633 (*infra*), though probably not much before, as he died 'in infantia' after the battle of Hatfield, *infra* c. 20, Osfrid himself can hardly have been born later than 612, which proves that Edwin's Mercian sojourn must have preceded the battle of Chester. Whether or not it preceded Edwin's sojourn at the court of Cadvan of Gwynedd, c. 9, note, I do not find any evidence to show.

Considering the subsequent alliance of Penda and Cædwalla against Edwin, it is not impossible that the kings of Mercia and North Wales may have been allied in his favour. If so, it may be safely assumed that their object was less to help him, than to check the growing power of Northumbria under Ethelfrid. On the subsequent fate of these sons, Osfrid and Eadfrid, v. c. 20, pp. 124, 125.

*Cearl regis Merciorum*] He does not appear in the pedigrees, *Cearl of Sax. Chron.* 626 (MSS. B. C.); Fl. Wig. i. 251, 252, 264; S. D. ii. 369. According to Fl. Wig. i. 268, Qwenburg was the daughter of Creoda, the grandfather of Penda, which would identify Cearl and Creoda. But considering that Penda was born about 575, ten years before Edwin, it is extremely unlikely that Edwin should have married his aunt. Hen. Hunt. p. 54, makes 'Cherlus, the cousin and successor of Penda's father, which is certainly more probable on genealogical grounds; and this interruption of the direct line of succession would account for the mature age of Penda at his accession. Cf. on all this, c. 20, and notes.

*albatl*] 'under crismán,' 'under chrism,' AS. vers. So v. 7, 'In albis.' p. 292, for 'in albis adhuc positus,' where see note.

*Unscfrea . . . Yffl*] on their fate, v. c. 20, pp. 125, 126.

*alii . . . uiri*] 'monige ætelingas þæs cynecynnes,' 'many ethelings of the royal race,' AS. vers. Among these was Edwin's cousin and successor in Deira, Osric. Bede does not mention him here, perhaps because of his subsequent apostasy; iii. 1, pp. 127, 128.

*in uillam regiam*] 'in þone cynelican tun,' 'to the royal township,' AS. vers. Below, of Campodonum, it translates the same words by 'cyninges bold,' 'king's residence.'

p. 115. *Adgefrin*] *Ad* is the preposition, as is shown by the form in the AS. vers., *Ætgefrin*. This practice of prefixing a local preposition so that it becomes part of the place-name, is very common in Anglo-Saxon, and occurs constantly in the charters. Sometimes the name thus formed is a descriptive phrase, as in *Noke*, which is for

Edwin's residence in Mercia.

Mercia.

Ethelings baptized.

Place-names compounded with prepositions.



Attenoke, corrupted from 'æt þám áce,' i. e. 'at the oak.' Atterbury probably is for 'æt þære byrig,' i. e. 'at the borough' (so that there was more than mere wit in Bishop Atterbury's remark, that if he went into the West country, he would be in danger of being called 'To-therbury'). But the usage is by no means confined to these cases. In Bede we have 'locus . . . uocatur Ad Candidam Casam,' iii. 4, p. 133 (when it refers to the church itself, it is 'Ecclesia . . . quae Candida Casa uocatur,' v. 23, p. 351); 'monasterium quod uocatur Ad Caprae Caput,' 'Æt Rægeheafde,' AS. vers., iii. 21, p. 170; 'in uico regis . . . qui uocatur Ad Murum,' 'Æt Walle,' ib.; 'locus qui dicitur Adbaruæ, id est Ad Nemus,' 'Æt Bearwe,' iv. 3, 6, pp. 207, 218; 'locus qui uocatur Ad Lapidem,' 'Æt Stane,' iv. 16, p. 237; 'locus qui dicitur Adtuifyrði,' 'Æt Twyfyrd,' iv. 28, p. 272. Sometimes the preposition is 'in,' and in these cases the second part of the name seems to be either a district as 'monasterium quod uocatur Inderauuda, id est In silua Derorum,' 'In Dera Wuda,' AS. vers., v. 2, 6, pp. 283, 292; or a tribal name, as is suggested by the frequent occurrence of the patronymic termination '-ing' in these names; 'locus qui dicitur Ingetlingum,' iii. 14, p. 155; so iii. 24, p. 179 (AS. vers. identical); 'in regione quae uocatur Infeppingum,' 'in þæm þeodlande, þe is nemned In Feppingum,' iii. 21, p. 171; 'in regione quae uocatur Incuneningum,' 'In Cununingum,' AS. vers., v. 12, p. 304. Bede's own monastery seems to be another case of this kind; it was 'in loco qui uocatur Ingyrum,' 'on Gyrwum,' AS. vers., v. 21, 24, pp. 332, 357. There certainly was a tribe of Gyrwas in the fen country; Bede's 'prouincia, regio Gyruiorum,' 'Gyrwa mægð, lond,' AS. vers., iii. 20, iv. 6, pp. 169, 218; cf. iv. 19, 'princeps . . . australium Gyruiorum,' 'Suðgyrwa aldormon,' AS. vers., p. 243. Here too may belong 'prouincia quae uocatur Inundalum,' 'in prouincia Undalum,' 'on Undalana mægðe,' AS. vers., v. 19, pp. 322, 330. The 'locus qui uocatur Inhrypum,' iii. 25, p. 183; v. 1. 19, pp. 281, 325 (AS. vers. identical), is probably not a tribal name, for when the AS. vers. wishes to express the people of the district, it suffices the termination '-sætan,' 'settlers,' translating 'Hrypensis ecclesia,' iv. 12 *ad fin.* by 'Hrypsetna cirice.' Of names outside Britain we have 'uicus . . . qui uocatur In Conpendio' (Compiègne), iii. 28, p. 194; 'insula . . . Hreni, quae lingua eorum uocatur In litore,' v. 11, p. 302.

For other instances see the index, *s.v.* 'ad' and 'in.'

The phenomenon occurs in later Greek: Istamboul, or 'Stamboul, the name of Constantinople, is a corruption of *ἐς τὴν πόλιν*; Standia of *ἐς τὴν Δίαν*; Stingo of *ἐς τὴν Κῶ*, &c.

ancient name of the river, which is now called the Beaumont Water, and is a tributary of the Till.

**confluentem . . . plebem]** These wholesale conversions seem to have been followed by no less wholesale apostasy, c. 20, and notes; cf. i. 26, note. On their effect in contaminating Christianity with heathenism, v. i. 30, note; D. C. A. ii. 1211. They are perhaps connected, as Lappenberg suggests, with the fact that in primitive society the individual counts for little, the family, the tribe for much, i. 182; cf. Maine, *Ancient Law*. It was Christianity which first fully recognised the true individuality of man.

**Maelmin]** Smith, following Camden, ii. 1097, ed. 1753, says Mill-Maelmin. field, near Wooler. Mr. Moberly in a private communication to me suggests Mindrum higher up the glen, on the borders of Northumberland and Roxburgh; while Mr. C. J. Bates thinks it was Kirknewton, where a church dedicated to St. Gregory suggests a connexion with the early missions. *History of Northumberland*, p. 55. Cf. Murray's *Durham and Northumberland* (1873), p. 313.

**Cataractam]** 'bi Cetrehtune,' AS. vers., though in c. 20 *ad fin.* it is Catterick. 'neah Cetrehtan,' and in iii. 14, p. 155, 'from Cetrehtweorþige.' The place meant is Catterick, five miles S. E. of Richmond, Yorkshire.

**in provincia Berniciorum]** Yet in spite of these successes of Christianity, no church, altar, or even cross was erected in Bernicia till after the battle of Hefenfelth, 634, iii. 2, p. 130. And in Deira, with the exception of York, which was unfinished at Edwin's death (v. a.), Campodonum, mentioned below, seems to be a solitary instance of a church built under Edwin. On the relations, political and geographical, of Bernicia and Deira, v. iii. 1, note; and on the names, the former of which is connected with the Brigantes, and the latter, probably, with the Welsh word 'deifr' = waters, see Rhys, C. B. pp. 90, 113, 114, 291.

**Campodono]** 'Donafeld,' AS. vers., where the latter part of the Saxon name evidently translates the former part of the Latin name. Various identifications have been proposed for this name; that most in favour is Slack near Huddersfield.

**fecit basilicam]** The context seems to suggest Paulinus as the nominative to 'fecit.' The AS. vers. says, 'het Eadwine þær cirican getimbran,' 'Edwin commanded a church to be built there.'

**Loidis]** The district of Leeds. The royal residence was at Oswin-thorp, Thoresby's Leeds, p. 108, ed. 1816.

**euasit . . . Elmete]** om. AS. vers.

**Elmete]** Elmet Wood near Leeds, Pearson, *Historical Maps*. On Elmet, this district and its incorporation in Northumbria, cf. Green, M. E. pp. 254-257.

## CHAPTER 15.

East  
Anglian  
chronology.

Earpualdo filio Redualdi] There is no evidence to show when Redwald died and Earpwald succeeded. The Sax. Chron. (A, B, C, E; D is defective here) places Earpwald's conversion in 632, and the mission of Felix in 636. But these dates are refuted by the following considerations. In iii. 20 Bede says that Felix was bishop for seventeen years, and Thomas his successor for five; and that Boniface, who succeeded Thomas, was consecrated by Archbishop Honorius, who died Sept. 30, 653. Therefore the coming of Felix and the accession of Sigbert cannot be later than 631. Nor can they be placed earlier than 630; for prior to them come the three years of 'error,' p. 116, which followed the murder of Earpwald, which event cannot be later than 628, nor earlier than 627; and his conversion, which was 'non multo tempore' before his death, must be placed either in 628, or in 627. It cannot be earlier than Easter, 627, the date of Edwin's own baptism. Cf. H. & S. iii. 89; Bright, p. 123; and Wharton's excellent note in Ang. Sac. i. 403.

sacramenta . . . sacramentis] 'gerynu,' 'mysteries,' AS. vers. v. Introduction, p. lvii.

p. 116. Reduald] v. s., cc. 9, 12.

Redwald's  
wife.

ab uxore sua] If she influenced him against Christianity, at least she kept him true to the dictates of faith and honour; v. c. 12, p. 110.

Religious  
syncretism.

ita ut . . . seruiebat] Cf. Bede on Ezra iv. 1, of the Samaritans 'qui . . . accepta Dei lege, et hanc ex parte seruabant et nihilominus eisdem quibus antea simulacris seruiebant,' Opp. viii. 404. So Gregory of Tours represents the ambassador sent by Leuvichild, King of the Goths, to Chilperic I, King of the Franks, as saying: 'sic enim uulgato sermone dicimus non esse noxium, si inter gentilium aras et Dei ecclesiam quis transiens, utraque ueneretur.' Hist. Franc. v. 43. So Landnámabók, iii. 12 (Íslendinga Sögur, i. 206, ed. 1843), 'Helgi var blandinn mjök í trú; hann trúði á Krist, en hét á þór til sjófara ok harðræða,' 'Helgi was very mixed in his belief; he believed on Christ, but made vows to Thor for sea-faring and doughty deeds.' Cf. on i. 30 for the contamination of Christianity with heathenism.

Aldwulf  
and East  
Anglian  
chronology.

Alduulf] His mother was Hereswith, the sister of St. Hild, iv. 23, p. 253. His father (though Bede does not mention the fact) was Ethelhere of East Anglia, who was killed on the Winwæd in 655, iii. 24. p. 178. He was succeeded by his brother Ethelwald, on whose death Aldwulf came to the throne, to be succeeded in turn by his brother Alfwold, Fl. Wig. i. 249, 261; W. M. i. 97; S. D. ii.

368. Alfwold died in 749, according to S. D. ii. 39. If so, he must have been over ninety at his death, his father having been slain in 655. Also, he could not be the son of Hereswith (though Fl. Wig. i. 261, makes him so), as she seems to have taken the veil before 647. See on iv. 23, p. 253. In that case he would only be half-brother to Aldwulf. Anyhow, both of them would be very young in 655, which accounts for their being passed over then. Aldwulf must have come to the throne in 663 or 664, as Bede says that the council of Hatfield, Sept. 680, was in the seventeenth year of his reign, iv. 17, p. 239; (Fl. Wig. i. 27 gives 664, but this may be only an inference from Bede). A group of foreign annals have preserved the date of his death, 713. Pertz, i. 7, 24, 25. Cf. Lappenberg, I. xlv. 237; E. T., I. xxxvi. 243. None of these East Anglian kings after Ethelhere are mentioned in the Sax. Chron., probably owing to these chronological obscurities.

Tytili . . . Uuffa] R. W. places the accession of Wuffa in 571, of Tytilus in 578; i. 84, 86.

frater . . . Sigberot] Cf. iii. 18: 'frater suus ex parte matris,' Succession through females.  
Fl. Wig. i. 260; 'frater eius ex matre,' W. M. i. 97. This succession through the mother, if a fact, is a very curious one. Perhaps there was some relationship between Redwald and his wife which, if known, would explain it. As Sigbert went into exile, 'inimicitias Redualdi fugiens,' iii. 18, he may have had claims which Redwald considered dangerous.

in Gallia] W. M., u. s., says of him 'omnem barbariem pro Francorum nutritura exutus'; and in i. 70, he says: 'eos quos nos Francos putamus, Galwalas antiquo uocabulo quasi Gallos nuncupant.' This is of course an error; the 'Galwealas' are the Celtic populations of Gaul whom the Franks conquered; though in the Sax. Chron. it is used as a synonym for the country, Gaul.

Felix episcopus] The whole tenor of Bede's narrative, both here, Bishop and still more in iii. 18, seems to imply that the coming of Felix Felix. was quite independent of Sigbert's accession. Fl. Wig. i. 17, followed almost verbally by G. P. p. 147, makes them become acquainted in Gaul (so H. & S. iii. 89), and come to Britain together (cf. Lib. Eliens. p. 13). The life of Felix, as cited by Hardy, Cat. i. 234, 235, goes further, and represents Felix as baptizing Sigbert in Gaul (so Alford, cited, A.A. SS. Mart. i. 781). It also represents him as consecrated bishop by Honorius, whereas Bede's words, 'episcopus,' 'ordinatus,' clearly imply that he was consecrated in Burgundy. Felix' coming to East Anglia seems to have been posterior to Sigbert's accession; cf. 'quem de Cantia acceperat,' iii. 18, q. r.

de Burgundiorum partibus] H. & S. suggest that he may have been connected with the Irish Burgundian mission of Columbanus. sacramentum] 'inner or mystic meaning;' v. Introduction, p. lvii.

East  
Anglian  
sees.

p. 117. Domnóc] Dunwich, on the coast of Suffolk, now a mere village. After the council of Hertford in 673, Bisi, the fourth Bishop of East Anglia, resigned on the ground of ill-health, and Theodore divided the diocese into two, the see of the northern 'folk' being at Elmham, that of the southern remaining at Dunwich; iv. 5 *ad fin.* In the second half of the ninth century both sees became extinct owing to the Danish ravages, and from 870 to c. 956 there was no bishop of East Anglia. From 956 the seat of the East Anglian bishopric was at Elmham. In 1075 it was removed by Herfast to Thetford, and in 1094 by Herbert Losinga to Norwich. Stubbs, *Episc. Succ.* pp. 21, 168, 169.

## CHAPTER 16.

Date of the  
mission to

Praedicabat] There is nothing to show the date of this mission except that it must be 627 x 631. The Sax. Chron. E. places it in 627, R. W. in 628, i. 128, but these may be only inferences from Bede; cf. c. 18 *ad init.*, note. The imperfect tense seems to indicate either that Paulinus was there more than once, or that he stayed there some time.

Lindsey.

Lindissi] Lindsey is still the name of the largest and most northerly of the three divisions of Lincolnshire, in which Lincoln itself is situated. The inhabitants are called 'Lindisfari,' iii. 24, p. 179; iv. 3. pp. 207, 212; iv. 12, p. 229; v. 23, p. 350. On the political oscillations of Lindsey between Northumbria and Mercia, see iii. 11, p. 148 note. At this time it was clearly Northumbrian. praefectum] 'gerefa,' 'reeve.' AS. vers.

Lincoln.

Lindocolinae ciuitatis] On Lincoln and Lindsey, see Freeman, *English Towns and Districts*, pp. 191-221; cf. H. H. pp. 86, 87: 'Urbs autem Lincoliae quae tunc Lindocolina uocabatur, et prouincia Lindisse ei adiacens, quae circumquaque clauditur uel fluuiis uel paludibus uel mari, ad Merce regnum pertinet. Urbs autem illa et situ splendida est, et prouincia rerum multarum locuples. Unde quidam: "Urbs in colle sita est, et collis uergit ad austrum." ' In a letter to the Academy of Oct. 21, 1893, Mr. H. Bradley endeavoured to upset the old derivation of Lincoln from 'Lindum Colonia.' He cannot be said to have established his point. The correspondence on the subject lasted into December.

cum domu sua] 'mid his heorode,' 'with his household,' AS. vers.; 'mid ealre his dugaðe,' 'with all his chief men,' Sax. Chron. E.

**culus . . . uidentur]** 'þære gen to dæge mæg mon geseon þa weallas stondan,' 'the walls of which one may still to-day see standing,' AS. vers. This implies that such was still the case in the translator's time; *v. s.*, c. 5 note.

**presbyter . . . Deda]** One of the 'uiri fideles' who supplied Bede Deda. with materials for the history of Lindsey, Pref. p. 7.

**abbas . . . Peartaneu]** 'abbud of Peortanea þæm ham,' 'abbot Partney. of the house of Partney,' AS. vers. Note how closely both the Latin 'de' and the AS. 'of' approach to their modern use in the Romance and English languages respectively, as mere signs of the genitive case. Partney in Lincolnshire, near Spilshy. Not to be confounded with Bardney, of which at a later time it became a cell; 'Gilbertus dedit . . . in . . . Partenay, ecclesiam cum suis pertinentiis.' Charter of 1125 to Bardney, in Dugdale, Mon. Angl. i. 630.

**Treonta]** The earliest form of the name is Trisantona; *v. Rhys*, The Trent. C. B. p. 80.

**iuxta . . . Tiouulfingacæstir]** 'bi Teolfinga ceastre,' AS. vers. Tiouul- I am sceptical as to the usual identification of this place with <sup>fiugacæ-</sup>stir. Torksey. In Sax. Chron. A, B, C, D, E, Torksey is 'Turcesig,' at the year 873, a date earlier than that at which the AS. vers. of Bede was made. Southwell, Newark, and Fiskerton have also been suggested. Mr. Moberly, in a note which he kindly sent me, argues that the place must be sought on that part of the Trent which borders Lindsey; that the termination 'Cæstir' points to a Roman station on a Roman road; consequently, that it must be identified with Littleborough, the ford where the Roman road from York to Lincoln crosses the Trent.

**Iacobum . . . uirum . . . nobilem]** His 'nobility' consisted partly James the in the fact that he remained steadfast at his post during the 'in- Deacon. faustus annus' which followed the death of Edwin; *infr.* c. 20, iii. 1, pp. 126-128.

p. 118. **sicut . . . dicitur]** om. AS. vers.

**caucos]** 'ceacas,' AS. vers., which is the same word; Irish *cuach*; Welsh, *cawg*. R. W. alters this into 'calamos,' i. 128.

**equitantes]** On the progresses of the Saxon kings, *v. Kemble*, Progresses of early ii. 58-61. One reason for these tours was economic; to consume on the spot the produce of the various royal estates. Palgrave, E. C. pp. 286, 287. Cf. Maine, Early Institutions, pp. 160, 161.

**inter . . . ministris]** 'betweoh his hamum oþþe be tunum mid his þegnum.' 'between his homesteads or by townships with his thanes,' AS. vers. omitting 'prouincias'). It also omits all about the 'tufa,' simply saying: 'him mon symle þæt tacn beforan bær,' 'the ensign was always borne before him.'

The 'Tufa.' *Romani tufam . . . appellant*] 'Tufa, genus uexilli apud Romanos ex confertis plumarum globis,' Ducange. This 'Roman standard borne before the sovereign' was one of the facts on which Palgrave relied in support of his theory that the Bretwaldadom was an imitation of Roman imperial sovereignty; E. C. i. 563, 564. See above on c. 5. *ad init.*

## CHAPTER 17.

Honorius. *Quo tempore*] Honorius I succeeded Oct. or Nov. 625, and was buried Oct. 12, 638; R. P. pp. 156, 159. He was implicated in the Monothelite heresy; D. C. B. iii. 151-153.

*ubi . . . didicit . . . misit . . . litteras*] The AS. vers. omits the letter. The date of the letter is fixed by that of the one in c. 18 to June 11, 634. Edwin was killed Oct. 12, 633, but his death may easily have been unknown at Rome in June 634.

p. 119. *sacerdotibus*] 'bishops'; a. i. 28, note.

*ordinanda*] We might suggest 'ordinandis'; cf. c. 18, 'pro archiepiscopo ordinando.'

## CHAPTER 18.

Date of  
Justus'  
death.

P. 120. *Hæc inter*] As in the case of Augustine, Bede gives the day but not the year of Justus' death. The Sax. Chron. E. places it in 627. If this be correct, and if Honorius succeeded without any interval as Bede seems to imply, then Paulinus' mission to Lindsey, c. 16, must be also fixed to 627, as it was that which caused him to be at Lincoln when Honorius came to be consecrated by him. And with this agrees the statement of G. P. p. 6, which gives three years to Justus, and twenty-six to Honorius; for the former certainly succeeded in 624, c. 7, p. 95, and the latter certainly died in 653, iii. 20, p. 169. But all this may be only an inference from Bede. Anyhow Honorius was certainly archbishop when Felix came to Britain, which was 631 at latest, v. s. Smith places the death of Justus in 630, and the consecration of Honorius in 631.

*quarto Id. Nou.*] Nov. 10.

Archbishop  
Honorius.

Honorius] For later lives of him cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 251, 252. He was 'unus ex discipulis beati Papæ Gregorii,' v. 19, p. 323; but whether one of the original companions of Augustine is not stated. We have seen his relation to the East-Anglian see, c. 15, note; iii. 20. He received Paulinus on his flight from Northumbria, assigned him to Rochester, c. 20, pp. 125, 126, and consecrated his successor Ithamar in 644, iii. 14, p. 154. In his later years Wilfrid studied for a time under him on his first journey

to Rome, 652 × 653, for Honorius was 'uir in rebus ecclesiasticis sublimiter institutus,' v. 19, *u.s.* He died in 653, *v.s.*; cf. D. C. B. iii. 153-155.

**ad Paulinum]** This 'was in accordance with the directions of Gregory, *supr.* i. 29 [rather, perhaps, of Honorius, ii. 17, p. 119] . . . but there was in fact no choice, . . . as . . . after the death of . . . Justus there was no other bishop in Saxon, England [? Britain] than Paulinus, . . . Romanus of Rochester having been drowned before Justus died': c. 20, p. 126; H. & S. iii. 82.

Conse-  
crated by  
Paulinus.

**sacerdotem]** 'biscop,' AS. *vers.*

**textum litterarum]** Parallel to this genuine letter comes the third of the Malmesbury series, G. P. pp. 49-51; H. & S. iii. 85, 86. Of the genuine letter it embodies from 'uestra adquisitio' to 'te constituam,' and four words 'gratuito animo' 'ulla dilatione' from the letter to Edwin, c. 17. It confirms the primacy to Canterbury, and subjects to it 'omnes Angliae ecclesias et regiones.' The use of this one word 'Anglia' is enough to stamp the document for what it is, an impudent forgery. See note on iii. 8, p. 142.

Spurious  
parallel  
document.

**illud . . . repraesentat]** An obscure and possibly corrupt sentence; 'quod' answering to 'illud' instead of 'quoties' would be an improvement. 'This also the graciously conferred richness of his mercy has bestowed, that by means of fraternal addresses (*i.e.* letters) he presents to their alternate view in a kind of contemplation their concordant love.'

Text cor-  
rupt.

**p. 121. filiorum . . . regum]** The plural shows that here, as in the case of the appointment of Wighard, iii. 29; iv. 1, pp. 195, 201, the kings of Northumbria and Kent combined to approach the Pope on the affairs of the English Church. The mission of Romanus to Rome by Justus, c. 20, p. 126, may have had reference to the same question.

Co-opera-  
tion of  
Kent and  
Northum-  
bria in  
ecclesias-  
tical  
affairs.

**ut nulla possit . . . iactura . . . prouenire; sed potius . . . deuotionem . . . propagare]** A very loose construction, but not perhaps corrupt; 'deuotio . . . propagari' would be better.

**p. 122. tertio Id. Iun.]** June 11.

**anno XX° IIII°]** Heraclius' succession was Oct. 5, 610; Gibbon, *Heraclius*, v. 389. His twenty-fourth year was from Oct. 5, 633 to Oct. 4, 634. This agrees both with the indiction and with the year A. D.

**Heraclio . . . Caesare]** This is Heracleonas, the younger son of Heraclius and half-brother of Constantine, who is mentioned above, and whom he succeeded as Emperor, May 641; Gibbon, vi. 72, 73. He had been made Caesar in 631 (Moberly). Hence Honorius speaks of 634 as his third year. Mansi reads 'tertio' for 'quarto,' x. 581.

Heracleo-  
nas.



## CHAPTER 19.

This chapter is not in the AS. vers., nor in the Capitula.

*paschae*] On the Paschal question, *v. Excursus*.

*paucitatem suam*] *v. s.* on c. 2, p. 81.

in *extremis . . . finibus*] The Irish themselves frequently speak of Ireland as 'iarthar domain,' 'the west or hinderpart of the world.'

*synodaliū . . . pontificiū*] I am not sure of the meaning of this expression. Perhaps it means pontiffs in synod.

John IV. *Iohannes . . . successit*] Honorius I was buried on Oct. 12, 638. Severinus was consecrated May 28, 640, and buried on Aug. 2, 640. John IV was consecrated on Dec. 25, 640. This letter must therefore have been written between Aug. and Dec. 640. It is cited Opp. Min. pp. 195, 196; *v. s. p.* 2. John was a staunch opponent of the Monothelites. Cf. D. C. B. iii. 391, 392.

in *Nicena synodo*] Cf. iii. 25, p. 186.

*Pelagiana heresi*] *v. i.* 17, notes. According to Lanigan, ii. 410, it had only made its appearance in Ireland a short time before the date of this letter.

Tomene of Armagh. p. 123. *Tomiano*] Tomene mac Ronain, Abbot and Bishop of Armagh. His death is placed in 660 by Ann. Ult. and F. M., in 661 by Tigh. This passage of Bede shows that he must have become bishop at least as early as 640. His day is Jan. 10; Mart. Don. p. 12. Cf. Colgan, AA. SS. pp. 53, 54.

Colman of Clonard. *Columbano*] Colman mac Ui Telduib, Abbot of Clonard, and a bishop. His death is placed by the F. M. in 652, by Ann. Ult. in 653, by Tigh. in 654. His day is Feb. 8; Mart. Don. p. 42; Féilire, note. Cf. Colgan, *u. s. p.* 17.

Cronan of Nendrum. *Cromano*] *Cronano C.* here and below.) Cronan Bec, 'the little,' Bishop of Nendrum or Inishmahee, in Strangford Lough, co. Down. He died Jan. 7, 642, F. M., Mart. Don. p. 8, Ann. Ult.; 643, Tigh. Cf. Colgan, *u. s. p.* 17.

Dima of Connor. *Dinnao*] Probably Dima Dubh, 'the black,' Bishop of Connor, who died Jan. 6, 658, F. M., Mart. Don. p. 6., Ann. Ult.; 659, Tigh. Cf. Colgan, *u. s.* pp. 16-18. There is another bishop Dima or Dimna, of unnamed locality, who died in 662, F. M., Ann. Ult.; 663, Tigh.

Baeithin of Bangor(?). *Baithano*] Colgan, *u. s. p.* 17, identifies this person with Baeithin Mór, 'the great,' Bishop of Tibohine (Tech-Baeithin) in Roscommon. This however is unlikely. Baeithin Mór was a contemporary of St. Columba, and attended the Convention of Druim

Cett in 574, *Ra. Ad.* pp. 37, 318. It is unlikely, though not impossible, that he survived till 640. Baeithin, Abbot of Bangor, who died 665, *F. M.*, may be meant; and, like Colman above, he may have been a bishop as well as abbot.

**Cromano**] Probably St. Cronan of Movilla (*Magh Bile*), co. **Cronan of**  
Down, who died Aug. 7, 649; *F. M.*; *Ann. Ult.*; *Mart. Don.* p. 212; **Movilla.**  
*Colgan, u. s.*; 650, *Tigh.* A later hand in *Mart. Don.* pp. 298, 396,  
identifies him with a certain Cronan, Abbot of Bangor, whose date  
I have been unable to discover.

**Erniano**] Probably St. Ernan, Abbot of Tory Island. *Ra. Ad.* **Ernan of**  
pp. 238, 279; 'floruit circa annum 650.' *Colgan, u. s.* **Tory**  
**Island.**

**Lastrano**] Commonly identified with Laisren, Abbot of Leighlin. **Laisren.**  
He died in 638 or 639; but his death might easily be unknown at  
Rome in 640. It is, however, against the identification that  
Leighlin is in Carlow, and all the other ecclesiastics to whom this  
letter is addressed belong to the North of Ireland; cf. *Ra. Ad.* p. 27.  
The South, largely owing to Laisren of Leighlin, adopted the Roman  
Easter, 630 x 633. *Colgan, u. s.* suggests Laisren Mac Nasca, Abbot of  
Ard mic Nasca (*Holywood on Belfast Lough*), whose day is Oct. 25;  
*Féire*; *Mart. Don.* *Colgan* says: 'floruit c. 650'; cf. *Lanigan, ii.* 363.

**Scellano**] Commonly identified with Sillan, Bishop of Devenish **Scellan.**  
(*Damianis*), in Lough Erne. He died 658, *F. M.*; his day is May 17,  
*Mart. Don.* *Lanigan, ii.* 415, suggests Scellan the Leper, of Armagh;  
*Mart. Don.* Sept. 1; *Colgan, u. s.*, suggests Stellan, Abbot of Inis  
Celtra.

**Segeno**] Seghine, Abbot of Iona, 623-652; *Ra. Ad.* pp. 373, 374. **Seghine,**  
*Adamnan* cites him more than once as his authority for statements **Abbot of**  
in the life of Columba, *ib.* 16, 26, 111. It was to him that Cum- **Iona (?)**  
mian addressed his letter on the Paschal question, *ib.* 260; *Migne*,  
*Pat. Lat.* lxxxvii. 969. It was during his abbacy that Aidan was  
sent to Northumbria, *iii.* 5, *ad init.* *Colgan* however, *u. s.*, followed  
by *Lanigan, u. s.*, prefers Seghine Mac Ua Cuinn, who died Sept. 10,  
662 or 663. *Three Fragments*, p. 62; *Mart. Don.* p. 242.

**Sarano**] Saran Ua Critain, who died 661; *F. M.*; *Ann. Ult.*; 662, **Saran Ua**  
*Tigh.* His day is given doubtfully as Jan. 20. *Mart. Don.*; *Colgan, u. s.* **Critain.**

*servans locum sanctorum sedis*] During a vacancy, or in the  
absence of the Pope, the arch-presbyter, the archdeacon, and the  
'primicerius notariorum' acted as vicegerents of the Roman see; *r.*  
*Liber Diurnus*, *Migne*, *Pat. Lat.* cv. 27 and note; cf. *ib.* 36-38.  
Two of these join in writing the present letter. I owe the reference  
to Mr. R. L. Poole.

**primicerius**] 'primus in ceram seu tabulam relatus.' Hence the 'Primice-  
first of any order: 'primicerius martyrum beatus Stephanus,' **rins.'**

K. C. D. No. 141; Birch, No. 239. Here it is the 'primicerius notariorum,' v. s. In cathedral churches and monasteries it was the name of an officer whose duty it was to instruct the clerks or monks especially in matters connected with the performance of divine service. Ducange, s. v.

scripta . . . siluerunt] A very loose construction. Perhaps some words have been lost.

Rome consulted on the Paschal question.

ea quæ postulata fuerant] Hence it would appear that these ecclesiastics, possibly assembled in synod, had consulted the Roman See on the Easter question. This was certainly the case in the South of Ireland. Lanigan, ii. 389; v. note on iii. 3, *infra*.

The Celts not quartodecimans.

XIII<sup>a</sup> luna] i. e. the writers charge the Irish with being quartodecimans. Hence 'nouam ex ueteri heresim renouare'; though the words 'cum Hebreis,' &c. might refer only to the fact that the Celts included instead of excluding the fourteenth of the moon as a possible day for Easter. And so Smith, *a. l.*: 'uetus hæresis fuit Pascha cum Hebreis semper celebrare; noua, aliquando tantum.' But I doubt this explanation. Aldhelm distinctly charges the Cornish Celts with being quartodecimans; Opp. p. 86; H. & S. iii. 271. Bede, better informed, or less prejudiced, expressly says that the Irish were not quartodecimans, iii. 4, p. 135. But even he in his Chron. *sub ann.* 640, allows himself to speak of Honorius as refuting 'errorem quartodecimanorum,' Opp. Min. p. 195; and the statement is copied by Marianus Scotus, who as an Irishman might have known better; in Fl. Wig. i. 15; cf. G. P. p. 211. But the name 'quartodeciman' was always a handy stick with which to beat the Celtic dog.

manifeste declaratur] Both these inferences seem to me very hazardous. The former, as Ussher points out, Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 486, is due to the fact that Bede takes 'nouam' absolutely, whereas 'nouam ex ueteri' should be taken closely together.

p. 124. ecce enim] This form of the text is midway between that on p. 66 and the Vulgate.

## CHAPTER 20.

X et VII] If this is to be taken strictly, it would fix Edwin's accession and the battle of the Idle definitely to 616; v. i. 34, note.

Christi regno militauit] See on iv. 11, p. 225.

Cadwallon of Gwynedd.

rebellauit . . . Caedwalla . . . Penda] Cædwalla is the Cadwallon of Welsh authorities, King of Gwynedd, the son of Edwin's harbourer Cadvan, with whom Edwin had been brought up according to a tradition already quoted, c. 14, note. He was the leader of the Welsh in their final struggle against the Angles, the most

dangerous rival of his former comrade. Edwin had reduced him to submission, obliging him, according to Welsh tradition, to take refuge in Ireland, perhaps at the time when Anglesey was conquered, Rhŷs, C. B. p. 131, which is probably also the time when Edwin besieged him 'in insula Glannaue,' i. e. Priestholme or Puffin Island off the coast of Anglesey; Ann. Camb. 629; cf. Rhŷs, Arthurian Legend, p. 325; *infra* iii. 9, p. 145, note. (The real year is probably 632, as Ann. Camb. puts the battle of Hatfield in 630.) We here find him 'rebelliŷ,' and making a fierce effort to throw off the yoke, contemplating nothing less than a reversal of the Anglian conquest: 'totum genus Anglorum Britanniae finibus erasurum se esse deliberana.' (Cf. W. M. i. 51; 'uir, ut ipse dictitabat, in exterminium Anglorum natus.') It should be noted that Penda, who to English eyes, and with our knowledge of the event, seems the larger figure of the two, is here spoken of merely as Cadwallon's assistant. And the life of St. Oswald, already cited, actually represents him as compelled to join Cadwallon by force: 'Deinde cum uterque regnaret uicit rex Adwinus Cadwallonem, et fugauit in Armoniacam [i. e. Arvon], Cadwallo tandem cum multis copiis reuertens uicit prius Pendam . . . et sibi uniuit,' S. D. i. 345; cf. Geof. Mon. xii. 8; though W. M. says: 'uelut coruus ad nidorem cadaueris . . . ultro Chedwallae in auxilium occurrit,' i. 77. For other forms of Cadwallon's name, cf. Rhŷs, in Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot. 1892, p. 330.

**Penda . . . praefuit]** The omission of 'ex' in MS. M, and edd. Penda, has made it appear as if Bede regarded the whole of Penda's reign as only twenty-two years. Twenty-two years from this battle is correct, as Penda fell in 655; v. 24, p. 354. Bede does not give the date of his accession; the Sax. Chron. places it in 626, Fl. Wig. in 627, and both (inconsistently) give him a reign of thirty years, putting his death rightly in 655. According to MSS. A, B, C, of the Chron. he was fifty years old at his accession. See on c. 14, p. 114. Of Penda, Mr. Freeman says: 'he came nearer to achieving the union of the whole English nation under one sceptre than any prince before the West-Saxon Egbert'; N. C. i. 36; cf. W. M. i. 96.

**uaria sorte]** As far as Bede's own narrative goes, Penda's career up to the last fatal battle of the Winwæd, would seem to have been one of uninterrupted success. It cannot refer to Penda's early struggles, as Bede expressly dates the 'uaria sors' from the battle of Hatfield, 'ex eo tempore.'

**Haethfelth]** Supposed to be Hatfield Chase, to the NE. of Hatfield. Doncaster. Robert Talbot, the sixteenth-century annotator of MS. C. of the Chron., says, 'in y<sup>e</sup> forest off Shyrwode.' Sherwood Forest is now to the south of Doncaster, but may formerly have extended

further north. Both Nenn. § 61, and Ann. Camb. 630, call this battle the battle of Meicen, and make both Edwin's sons fall in it. Tighernach 631 (?) says: 'Cath itir [praelium inter] Etuin mac Ailli regis Saxonum, qui totam Britanniam regnauit, in quo uictus est a Chon rege Britonum et Panta Saxono.' Ann. Ult. place the battle in 630. It will be seen that here again the Welsh and Irish authorities are two to three years behind in their chronology.

occisus est *Æduini*] Cf. Alc. De Sanctis Ebor. vv. 232, 233:

'Edwinus occubuit regum clarissimus ille,

Post quem non habuit praeclara Britannia talem.'

Edwin a  
martyr.

die IIII Id. Oct.] Oct. 12, 633. As having fallen against the heathen, he was in later times regarded as a martyr; 'martyrio coronatus,' Vita Osw. in S. & D. i. 341; cf. ib. 340; and Capgrave's life, Hardy, Cat. i. 225. His day in the Calendar is Oct. 4, a mistake perhaps due to the omission of 'id.' (iduum).

XL et VIII] 'seofon 7 feowertig,' AS. vers.

Osfrid . . . Eadfrid] Edwin's sons by his first wife; v. s. c. 14, p. 114. The statement that a king of the Orkneys was present in the battle rests only on Geoffrey of Monmouth, xii. 8.

Question  
of Oswald's  
complicity  
in Ead-  
frid's  
death.

p. 125. regnante Osualdo] Had Oswald anything to do with it? It is significant that Ethelberg, Edwin's widow, did not feel that his son and grandson were safe from Oswald, even at the court of her own brother Eadbald, v. *inf.* We know how Oswy treated Oswin, though Oswy was in other respects an admirable monarch. Mr. Green boldly says, 'at the pressure of Oswald he murdered Eadfrid,' and cites this passage as his authority, M. E. p. 291. But here as frequently Mr. Green goes beyond what his texts warrant.

Cadwallon.

Caedwalla . . . Christiani . . . barbarus] 'baptismo quidem regeneratus, sed male uiuendo paganissimus,' Lectiones de Sancto Oswino; MS. CCC Oxon. 134, f. 80. The life of Oswald in S. D. i. 346 says boldly, 'Cedwalla rex paganus fuit.'

Britons  
and  
Saxons.

usque hodie . . . Brettonum] 'swa gen to dæge Bretta þeaw is,' 'as yet at this day is the custom of Britons,' AS. vers. So that it seems to have continued to the translator's time. R. W. speaks of it as being still the case in his day; i. 94. On the ecclesiastical relations of the Saxons and Britons, v. Excursus on the Easter and Tonsure controversies.

Edwin's  
relics.

caput *Æduini*] From this it would seem that his enemies had decapitated his body. Cf. the stories of the treatment of Oswald's remains, *infra*, iii. 12. During the reign of Ethelred of Mercia, i. e. before 704, and while Elfled was abbess of Whitby, i. e. after 680, Edwin's body was translated thither; iii. 24, p. 179; App. I. § 18. uenit autem] At some time after her arrival in Kent she founded

the monastery of Liming in Kent : 'Ethelburga . . . monasterium Ethelberg, de Limninge fundauit, in uilla eodem nomine uocitata, quam Ead- founder of baldus frater eius, postquam . . . Cantiam est reuersa, eidem asse- Liming monasterium. ritur contulisse,' Elmham, p. 176 ; cf. Mon. Angl. i. 452, 453.

milite] 'cyninges þegn,' 'king's thegn,' AS. vers.

p. 126. metu . . . regum] It would seem from this that the alliance Alliance of of the royal families of Kent and Northumbria continued, though there Kent and Northumbria. was not any relationship between the kings as in the reign of Edwin.

Dægberecto . . . illius] He was her second cousin. Her maternal Dagobert. grandfather, Charibert, and his paternal grandfather, Chilperic, were brothers. See Table I in Kitchin's France, vol. i. It is possible that 'amicus,' 'freond,' AS. vers., may imply this, friendly Tie of relations in primitive times resting on kinship (Maine, Early kinship. Institutions, c. 3) or on fosterage. The Welsh for friend is 'cyfaill,' = Irish 'comalta,' 'a foster-brother,' while Icelandic 'frændi' means 'relative,' and nothing else. This use survives in Lowland Scotch : 'Ye'll no be ony *freen*' to John Heron ? 'I am his son' ; S. R. Crockett, 'The Raiders,' p. 186.

calicem . . . consecratum] Cf. the prayer 'ad calicem benedicendum' in the Gregorian Sacramentary ; Bright, p. 129.

quæ hæcenus, &c.] 'þa nu gen oð þis mæg mon sceawigan,' 'which may still to this day be seen,' AS. vers.

Romanus . . . maris] On the possible object of this mission, v. s. Mission of c. 18, p. 121, note ; cf. the fate of Abbot Peter, i. 33. 'Italici' (which the Romanus. AS. vers. omits) shows that he must have gone by sea from Provence. His episcopate must have been very short. Cf. D. C. B. iv. 553.

pallium] This, of course, being only sent in June, 634, v. s. c. 17, The archi- p. 118, note, would not reach him till after he had left Northumbria. episcopate of York in abeyance. He was therefore never *de facto* archbishop of York. Egbert, Bede's pupil, was the first archbishop of York 'de facto et de iure.' He received the pallium in 735, *infra* p. 361 : 'primus post Paulinum in archiepiscopatum confirmatus est' ; though Wilfrid loosely, and still more loosely John of Beverley, are often spoken of as archbishops ; Bright, p. 129 ; cf. additional critical note on p. 282. Eddius, c. 10, by a still more extraordinary abuse of terms, calls Colman, the Scotie bishop of Lindisfarne, 'Eboracæ ciuitatis episcopus metropolitanus.' The Hist. Anon. says quite correctly : 'caeteri episcopi inter Paulinum et Egbertum nihil altius quam simplicis episcopi uocabulo anhelarunt' ; Ang. Sac. i. 66.

reliquerat . . . Iacobum diaconum] Paulinus' conduct in flying James the has been criticised, Bright, pp. 128, 129, though Bede gives no hint Deacon. of blame. But there can be no question that James the Deacon was 'a really noble instance . . . of courageous stedfastness under excep-

tional trial,' *ib.* 130. On flight from persecution cf. *Ltft. App. Ff. II. iii.* 370.

cuius nomine . . . cognominatur] 'þone tun . . . geen tó dæge mon his noman cneodeð,' 'that village men still to-day call by his name,' *AS. vers.* The proposed identifications of this place are not satisfactory. In the *Phillipps MS. 9428*, the passage reads: 'uicus . . . habitare seynt Iemestret usque hodie cognominatur.' The scribe probably had local knowledge.

recuperata . . . pace, &c.] He continued to observe the Roman Easter, but he seems to have lived on good terms with those who followed the Irish use; *iii.* 25, p. 181.

Gregorian  
chanting.

cantionis . . . Cantuariorum] One very important matter which engaged the many-sided activity of Gregory the Great was the reform of the music of the Church, which had become much corrupted since the days of St. Ambrose, who may be regarded as in some sense the founder of Church music. *Iohannes Diac.* says of Gregory: 'scholas cantorum . . . in Romana ecclesia . . . constituit'; *Opp. Greg. iv.* 47, 197; on which cf. *D. C. A. ii.* 1844, 1845. The 'Cantus Romanus,' 'Cantus Gregorianus' gradually superseded the 'Cantus Ambrosianus' in all parts of western Europe except the Milanese. *Radulphus Tungrensis*, cited by *Ducange, s.v.* 'cantus,' characterises the Ambrosian chanting as 'solennis et fortis,' the Gregorian as 'dulcoratus et ordinatus'; cf. *S. D. ii.* 8: 'non hymnorum pulcherrimus Ambrosianus titulus, nec Gregorianum . . . dulcis armoniæ organum.' Into the technical differences between them it is impossible to enter here; cf. *Ducange, s.v.* 'cantus'; *D. C. A. s.rv.* 'Ambrosian Music,' 'Music.' *Pipin* and his son *Charles the Great* did much to extend the Gregorian use in Europe. In *Ademari Historiæ*, *Pertz, iv.* 117, 118, there is an interesting account of an argument held before *Charles* on this subject in the year 787; cf. the *Gesta Caroli*, *Pertz, ii.* 735; *Mon. Car. pp.* 639-641. When Gregory's missionaries came to Britain they naturally brought with them his mode of chanting; and this system would be adopted by those churches in Britain which were under the influence of *Canterbury*. *Putta*, Bishop of *Rochester*, after his expulsion from his see was instrumental in teaching this system in other parts of Britain; *iv.* 2, 12. Here we see *Paulinus'* deacon *James* practising it in Northumbria. But the reconversion of Northumbria by Irish missionaries seems to have introduced a different mode of chanting; and we are told that with the exception of *James the Deacon*, *Wilfrid's* chanter and biographer *Eddius* was the first to teach the Roman method in Northumbria; *iv.* 2; cf. *Eddius, c.* 47, where *Wilfrid* enumerates among his services the efforts he had made to promote

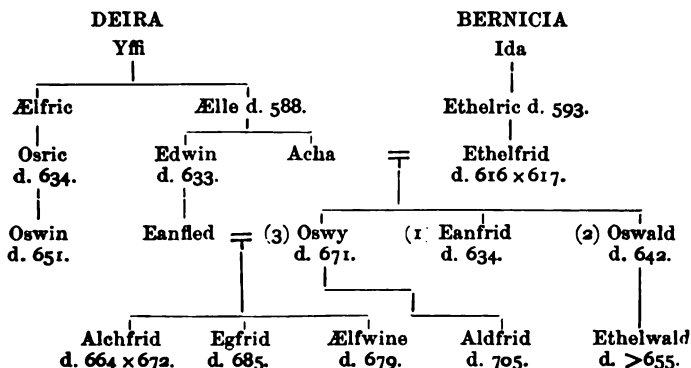
Church music; and we find a mention of Gregorian music at Ripon in 790, S. D. ii. 52. Benedict Biscop brought John the arch-chanter of St. Peter's, at Rome, to teach this method in his monastery of Wearmouth, whence the knowledge spread to other parts of Northumbria; iv. 18; Hist. Abb. § 6; Hist. Anon. Abb. § 10. Acca, when he became bishop of Hexham, brought in Maban, who had been trained in Kent, for the same purpose, v. 20. What the Irish system of chanting was, is unfortunately unknown. St. Columban wrote a work 'De Cantu,' but it is lost; Greith, *Altirische Kirche*, p. 252. Later Irish music is based on the Gregorian scales, but of their earlier music nothing is known. See an interesting essay on *Mediaeval Music* with special reference to Ireland in Sullivan's *Introduction to O'Curry's Lectures on the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*; i. 541-636; cf. Smith's *Bede*, pp. 719, 720.

## BOOK III. CHAPTER 1.

P. 127. in has duas prouincias . . . erat] It may be convenient to state briefly here the relations existing between Bernicia and Deira during the period covered by Bede's narrative.

The pedigrees (Sax. Chron. s. aa. 547, 560; Fl. Wig. i. 5, 6, 253-255, 267-271; S. D. ii. 14, 15, 374, 375) deduce the royal houses of Deira and Bernicia from two sons of Woden, Wægðæg, and Bældæg. The pedigrees differ somewhat among themselves; but we may begin in the former line with Yfi the father of Ælle, the first King of Deira, the king who is mentioned in the story of St. Gregory and the slave-boys; in the other line with Ida, the first King of Bernicia.

Starting from these, we have the following table:





On the death of Ælle, in 588, Ethelric of Bernicia seized his kingdom; and he and his son Ethelfrid retained both until the latter's death in 616 or 617; v. ii. 9, note; Fl. Wig. i. 6, 8. After this Edwin in his turn kept possession of both realms till his death in 633; v. ii. 12, note; after which they were for a short time separated, Deira going to Edwin's cousin Osric, Bernicia to Ethelfrid's son Eanfrid; iii. 1. Oswald in 634 re-united them till his death in 642; iii. 6; but Oswy, his brother and successor, was not at first strong enough to retain possession of Deira; and we find first Oswin, the son of Osric, 644-651, iii. 14; and then Oidilwald, or Ethelwald, the son of Oswald, ruling in Deira, iii. 23, until Oswy's triumph over Penda in the battle of the Winwæd in 655. After the death of Oswin no one of the male line of Yffi reigned in either Deira or Bernicia; so that Ida is rightly made the progenitor of the Northumbrian kings; v. 24, p. 353; Sax. Chron. s. a. 547; S. D. ii. 374; Fl. Wig. i. 5; cf. Nenn. § 61: 'de origine illius [Ædguini] nunquam iteratum est regnum.' Oswy seems to have governed Deira through his son Alchfrid as under-king, till the latter's rebellion in 664 x 672; iii. 28, p. 194, note. If the Liber Eliensis may be trusted, he was succeeded in this position by his brother Egfrid: 'Ægfridum uero iuniorem, quem intimo dilexerat affectu, sibi consortem regni super prouintiam Eboracam adhibuit [Oswius], quoniam corporis grauitate depressus, regni iura difficile protegebatur'; pp. 27, 28. Under Egfrid we find his brother Ælfwine bearing the title of king, so that he probably occupied a similar position; iv. 22, note. After his death in 679 we do not hear of any under-kings of Deira. Cf. on the relations of Bernicia and Deira, H. Y. I. xxv f. As to their boundaries, the twelfth-century life of Oswald says: 'Regnum Deirorum antiquitus erat de flumine Humber usque Tinæ principii alueum; Berniciorum . . . de Tinæ exordio usque in Scotwad, quod in Scottorum lingua Forth nominatur, dilatabat simul terminum et ambitum. Quicquid uero inter Tine uel Tesam flumina exstitit, sola heremi uastitudo tunc temporis fuit, et idcirco nullius ditioni seruiuit'; S. D. i. 339. This explains the fact that some authorities place the northern frontier of Deira at the Tees, others at the Tyne; v. Bright, p. 25, note.

The sons of Ethelfrid. siquidem . . . exulabant] On the sons of Ethelfrid, v. s. ii. 12, note. If Skene, P. & S. pp. cii, cxviii f., is right in identifying Eanfrid with the father of Talorg mac Anfrith, one of the Pictish kings, he must during his exile have married a Pictish princess, the son succeeding in right of his mother according to the Pictish custom; v. s. i. 1, notes.

p. 128. proxima aestate] Summer of 634.

in oppido municipio] 'in Municep pære byrig,' 'in the town York in Municep'; AS. vers. treating 'municipium' as a proper name. Cadwallon's hands. York is meant. It shows the extent of Cadwallon's victory that the capital of Deira should be in his hands.

anno integro] To be reckoned from the death of Edwin, not Date. from that of Osric; i. e. the death of Eanfrid is to be placed towards the end of 634; otherwise the 'infaustus annus' would be nearly two years long, viz. Oct. 633 to summer 635. This is further confirmed by the chronology of Aidan's life, whose mission cannot be placed later than June, 635; v. notes to c. 5.

Eanfridum . . . damnauit] Tigernach speaks as if there was Death of a regular battle between them: 'Cath la [praelium per] Cathlon Eanfrid. 7 Anfraith qui decollatus est'; cf. Ann. Ult. This may be true, and Eanfrid may have gone after the battle without adequate security to ask for terms, and been put to death in the way described: 'Quo [Eanfrido] . . . occiso, tam procerum quam episcoporum electione et auctoritate Sanctus Oswaldus in regem eligitur'; Vita Osw. in S. D. i. 365, 366.

cum XII lectis militibus] 'his weotena twelfa sum,' 'twelve of his witan or counsellors,' AS. vers.

unde cunctis, &c.] These words, and still more those used with Keeping of reference to the same matter in c. 9, 'neque aliquis regno eorum records. annus adnotari,' seem certainly to point to some system of keeping regnal and annalistic records prior to the time of Bede. See Introduction to Sax. Chron. So Elmham would include the time of the 'reges dubii et externi' in Kent (iv. 26 *ad fin.*) within the reign of Witred, the next legitimate king; pp. 287, 288.

quo . . . uocatur] It would seem from Bede's words that the Battle of battle took place very soon after Eanfrid's murder, and before the Denises-burn. end of 634. Owing to the 'annus infaustus' being reckoned as part of Oswald's reign, Bede has nowhere told us the exact date of his *de facto* accession, the 'mox ubi regnum suscepit' of iii. 3. *ad init.* The Sax. Chron. E. places it in 634; but it also places that of Osric and Eanfrid in the same year; cf. Bright, p. 131. The name of the battle both in Ann. Camb. 631 and in Nenn. § 63 is 'bellum Catescaul' (= cath-is-gwaul, 'the battle within the wall'). In Adamnan's life of Columba, i. 1 (ed. Reeves, pp. 15, 16), the battle is thus described: 'Osswaldus rex, . . . de castris ad bellum cum admodum pauciore exercitu contra millia numerosa progreditur; cui a Domino . . . felix et facilis est concessa uictoria, et rege trucidato Catlone, uictor post bellum reuersus, postea totius Britanniae imperator a Deo ordinatus est.' According to a story which Adamnan's predecessor Failbe heard Oswald himself tell to Seghine,

Abbot of Iona 623-652 (though the account is certainly partly based on the earlier life by Cuimene, c. 25; Pinkerton, i. 67, 68), Oswald the night before the battle had a dream, in which St. Columba appeared to him and promised him victory: 'Experrectus rex senatui congregato [=witan] hanc enarrat uisionem; qua confortati omnes, totus populus promittit se post reuersionem de bello crediturum et baptismum suscepturum; namque usque id temporis tota illa Saxonia gentilitatis . . . tenebris obscurata erat, excepto ipso rege Ossualdo, cum xii uiris'; ib. The last sentence contains an exaggeration, and seems inconsistent with Bede's words 'exercitu fide Christi munito.' But in the story of the vision regarded as a dream there is nothing unlikely. In view of the obvious sense of Bede, and the agreement of all authorities, it seems idle on the strength of a confused entry in Tighernach, and a vague Welsh tradition, due merely to a confusion of Cadwallon with Cædwalla of Wessex (see on v. 7), that Cadwallon survived till some years later (the life of Oswald, *u. s.*, S. D. i. 345 gives him a reign of forty-eight years), to suggest, as Skene does, that the 'Brettonum dux' (on the possible significance of which title *v. Rhŷa*, Celtic Britain, p. 136) slain by Oswald was a different person; P. & S. pp. xcii. f.; C. S. i. 245, 246. The death of their champion was a deadly blow to the Britons: 'Ut recte dictum sit, illum diem fuisse quo nunquam Britones tristior, nunquam Anglos afflasset hilarior'; W. M. i. 51. Hen. Hunt. here gives us one of his proverbs: 'Unde dicitur: Caedes Cædwalsensium Denisi cursus coereuit.' On Cadwallon, cf. *Rhŷa*, C. B. pp. 129-132, 134-139, 143. On the topography see the notes to the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 2.

Site of the  
battle.

*Ostenditur . . . locus ille*] There is an admirable account of the site of this struggle in Canon Raine's *Hexham*, I. xi, ff. 'Oswald . . . drew up his forces in a position of great natural strength some seven or eight miles to the north of Hexham. Here there is a plateau . . . which . . . presents the appearance of a vast fortified camp. . . . The place, which . . . has for centuries been called St. Oswald's, bore . . . the name of Heavenfield. . . . Across the upper end of this great natural fortification ran the Roman wall, but between it and the northern side of the plateau there is a space left on which a small army might be drawn up. . . . Oswald therefore . . . took up a position at the north-west corner of the plateau, behind the wall. In that angle, . . . probably on the mound

which the chapel now occupies, Oswald set up the famous wooden cross to be the standard of his men. . . . The troops of Cadwalla would break like a wave against the rock-bound corner in which the cross was standing; . . . and the fight . . . would go roaring eastwards. "There is a fame," as Leland tells us, "that Oswald won the batelle at Halydene, a two miles est from St. Oswalde's asche" [Itin. ed. 2, vii. 58]. There is a place called Hallington in the direction mentioned, and it was here probably that the battle was fully won. Cadwalla . . . hastened towards the south . . . through the Tyne, . . . and at a distance of eight or nine miles from the battle-field he was caught and killed at a little beck called Denisesburn, a tributary of the Rowley-water.' That 'Denisesburna' is not a corruption for 'Deuilesburna' or 'Deuisesburna,' as Camden (ii. 1084, ed. 1753) and Skene (C. S. i. 244, 245) thought, identifying it with the Devil's water, is clear from a charter cited by Raine, *u. s.*, Appendix, p. iv, in which the two are expressly distinguished: 'Dedit . . . archiepiscopus . . . xx acras terrae . . . in Ruleystal . . . inter Denisesburn, et Diuelis.' . . . 'In the fork between Rowley water and Devil's water is a place called the Steel. The name of Denisesburn is lost, but it is almost certain . . . that it is identical with Rowley water,' or a tributary of it, as Canon Raine suggests above. This chapter is cited in Amalarius Mettensis (ninth cent.); Migne, Pat. Lat. cv. 1029, 1030, quoted by M. & L. *a. l.*

*usque hodie*] 'gen to dæge,' 'still to day,' AS. vers. So *infra*, p. 129, l. 24.

p. 129. *citato opere*] So of Edwin's wooden church at York; Oswald's ii. 14, p. 114. Lappenberg says: 'Oswald's cross decided for ever the fate of Britain'; i. 153; E. T. i. 157.

*astulas*] 'splinters.'

*praesagio*] Another instance of a name with a 'sacramentum,' or mystic meaning; cf. *Introd.* p. lvii, and note.

*est autem . . . statueret*] om. AS. vers.

*Hagustaldensis ecclesiae*] Hexham; on the various forms of Hexham. the name, cf. Raine, *u. s.* pp. ix, f. 8. There is a 'Hægstaldescumb' in Somerset; Birch, i. 97.

*psalmorum*] v. note on c. 5, p. 136.

p. 130. *nullum . . . statueret*] v. note on ii. 14, p. 114. We can trace the progress of church building in Northumbria, c. 3. p. 132: building. 'construebantur . . . ecclesiae per loca'; and in Mercia, c. 22, p. 173: 'fecit [Cedd] per loca ecclesias'; cf. the passage from the life of Wilfrord, cited on v. 11, p. 301.

*qui . . . superest*] om. AS. vers. It is quite possible that this Bothelm.

Bothelm is the same as the one who was the hero of a story told in Eddius, Vita Wilfridi, c. 23.

Moss. ueteri musco] M. & L. a. l. refer to Cockayne, Saxon Leechdoms, ii. 344, where one of the ingredients of a prescription against 'elf-disease' is: 'gehalgodes Cristes mæles ragu,' 'moss from a hal-  
lowed cross.'

misit] 'put'; cf. French 'mettre.'

et dum . . . permanere] This shows that the monks slept in their habits; cf. Introduction, p. xxvi.

Infinitive of purpose. admota . . . requirere] Note the use of the infinitive to express a purpose after a verb of motion; cf. c. 9, p. 143; c. 22, p. 172; iv. 9 ad fin.; iv. 22, p. 250. M. & L. a. l. give other instances; but omit to notice that in all cases the infinitive follows a verb of motion. Later scribes not understanding the construction have altered it. See critical notes.

### CHAPTER 3.

P. 131. cuius . . . ceperat] v. note on ii. 13, p. 111.

maiores natu] 'aldormannum,' 'aldermen,' AS. vers.; v. note on ii. 13, p. 112.

Conversion of Ethel-  
frid's sons. baptismatis sacramenta] 'Sed progenitoribus fidei Christianis penitus ignaris, ille ut rosa de spinis effloruit, salutari . . . fonte Christo regeneratus,' S. D. i. 18; cf. ib. 344. The life of Oswald, however, represents his mother Acha as a Christian, and the sojourn among the Irish missionaries as only completing the good work which she had begun: 'occiso Ethelfrido filii ipsius una cum matre fugam inierunt, et apud Scotiam . . . latuerunt. Ubi Oswaldus . . . pia matris doctrinam suscepit . . . Ibi ergo peregrinationis tempore . . . fidei documenta, quae prius a matre Christiana perceperat, gentis illius credulae eruditione solidauit'; S. D. i. 341; cf. ib. 385. If Acha survived Ethelfrid and fled with her sons as here described, she may, like them, have been converted in exile; but as far as we can see, she had had no previous opportunity of becoming acquainted with Christianity.

Aidan. Aedanum] For the later lives of him, which are merely taken from Bede, v. Hardy, Cat. i. 246, 247.

habentemque zelum Dei] '7 he hæfde Godes ellenwodnisse, 7 his lufan micle,' 'and he had zeal for God and love to Him in large measure,' AS. vers.; which then, with equal good taste and feeling, omits the controversial passage which follows down to 'didicerunt'; cf. on c. 17, *infra*, p. 161. On the Paschal question, v. Excursus.

North and South of Ireland. septentrionalis Scottorum prouincia . . . gentes Scottorum . . . in australibus Hiberniae . . . partibus] The Irish themselves always

make a strong distinction between the North and South of Ireland; the former, Ulster, Connaught, and Meath, is named Leth Cuinn, i. e. Conn's Half, and was colonised, according to the legend, by Erem, the younger son of Miled, while the latter, Leinster and Munster, is named Leth Mogha, Mogh's half, and was colonised by Eber, the elder son. This distinction was to some extent obliterated by the Scandinavian invasions, which brought North and South nearer together; v. Z. K. B. iii. 36, 37; Rhys, Rhind Lectures, pp. 39, 40.

Anatoliis] See on c. 25, pp. 186, 187.

iamdudum . . . didicerunt] In 631 delegates from a South-Irish synod were at Rome, having been sent to consult the Roman Church on the Easter question. While there, they had an opportunity of seeing with their own eyes how widely their own use might diverge from that of the rest of the Western Church, for in that year there was a difference of a month between the Roman and Celtic Easters (see Excursus on Paschal controversy). On their return another synod was apparently held, and the Roman Easter adopted. The first synod, therefore, was probably held in 630, the second in 632 or 633. It has been commonly assumed that the letter of Pope Honorius mentioned in ii. 19, was connected with these South-Irish synoda. This is possible, though Bede does not say that the recipients of that letter were different from those to whom the letter of Pope John in the same chapter was addressed; and these certainly belonged to the North of Ireland. If Honorius' letter was addressed to the Southern Irish it may have preceded and occasioned the former synod, in which case its date would be c. 629; or it may have been sent by the Irish delegates in 631 or 632. Jaffé dates it c. 634, apparently assuming that it was sent with the letters to Edwin and Archbishop Honorius. But this, on the theory that it was addressed to the Southern Irish, is less likely. It illustrates this point that Tuda, bishop of Lindisfarne, who was brought up among the Southern Scoti, observed the Roman Easter and tonsure; iii. 26, p. 189.

p. 132. rex locum . . . tribuit] 'Oswaldus . . . fundator ecclesiae Lindisfarnensis, ex qua omnium eiusdem provinciae ecclesiarum manarunt primordia'; S. D. i. 20; cf. ib. 57: 'illam nobilem et primam in gente Berniciorum ecclesiam, in qua plurimorum fuerat conversatio sanctorum . . . barbaros fugiendo relinquunt' (875 A. D.).

in insula Lindisfarnensi] 'Lindisfarne est insula exigua, quae nunc a provincialibus Hali-eland uocatur, quam sanctissimus Aidanus, appetitor silentii et sanctae paupertatis in sedem episcopatus, spreta illa Eboracensis frequentiae pompa, elegit'; G. P.

The South-  
ern Irish  
adopt the  
Roman  
Easter.

Lindis-  
farne.

Love of the  
Irish mis-  
sionaries  
for remote  
sites.

Lindis-  
farne a  
peninsula.

Royal in-  
terpreters.

Irish mis-  
sionaries.

Irish  
bishops.

p. 266. Elsewhere Malmesbury is rather contemptuous of this fondness of the Irish missionaries for out-of-the-way sites: 'Scotti . . . magis in paludibus inglorii delitescere, quam in excelsis urbibus consuerant habitare,' p. 135. 'Scotti, Aidanus, Finanus, Colmanus, nec pallio nec urbis nobilitate uoluerunt attolli, in insula Lindisfarnensi delitescentes,' p. 211; cf. ib. 307, quoted below on iv. 3. 'Uocatur autem Lindisfarne a fluuiolo, scilicet Lindis, excurrente in mare, qui duorum pedum habens latitudinem non nisi cum recesserit mare uideri potest'; S. D. i. 51; cf. ii. 54. It is the association with Cuthbert, not with Aidan, which has given to Lindisfarne the name of Holy Island: 'locus cunctis in Britannia uenerabilior,' Alcuin to Ethelred of Northumbria, Mon. Alc. p. 181; H. & S. iii. 493. The Welsh name of Lindisfarne is Medcaut, the Irish Medgoet; S. D. places the foundation of Lindisfarne in 635.

qui uidelicet . . . redditur] Omit. AS. vers. Cf. a very similar passage in Vit. Cudb. Pros. c. 17; Opp. Min. p. 83. On the tide, 'quod Graeci rheuma uocant,' v. De Temp. Rat. c. 29; Opp. vi. 201. The Vit. Anon. Cudb. §§ 44, 46, shows that carts passed freely from the mainland to the island: 'in plaustro ad insulam nostram uehebat,' 'in plaustro deductus ad medicos . . . coenobii nostri'; Opp. Min. pp. 282, 283.

pulcherrimo . . . spectaculo] Bright, p. 141, cites the similar case of Gottschalk, King of the Wends in the eleventh century. This is what W. M., i. 51, 52, makes of Bede's simple and beautiful words: 'Si quando antistes Aidanus Scottice auditoribus facienda proponeret, et interpres deesset, confestim rex ipse, quamuis indutus chlamydem, uel auro rigentem, uel Tyrios murices aestuantem, id munus dignanter corripens, barbari sermonis inuolucrum patria lingua expediret.'

ducibus ac ministris] 'aldormonnum 7 þegnum,' 'aldermen and thanes,' AS. vers.

linguam . . . didicerat] So his brother Oswy was 'Scottorum lingua optime inbutus'; c. 25, p. 182.

de Scottorum regione uenire Britanniam] This need not imply that missionaries came direct from Ireland as well as from Iona; for though Iona 'ad ius . . . Britanniae pertinet' (*infra*), it formed a sort of stepping stone between the Scots of Ireland and Britain; and Bede often uses language which shows that he included it in Scotia; v. iii. 24, note.

quibus regnauit] 'Regnare' like 'imperare' with a dative; so c. 4, p. 133: 'regnante Pictis Bridio.'

sacerdotali] Probably 'episcopal'; v. s. i. 28, note. The Irish system of non-diocesan bishops attached to monasteries, would

enable them to send a number of these; and in this respect the Irish missionaries may have had an advantage over the Roman.

*ecclesiae*] v. s.

*confluebant*] Cf. iv. 27, pp. 269, 270; and the corresponding passage, c. 9, in the Life of Cuthbert.

*regularis*] 'regular,' i.e. monastic.

*Hii*] Iona. This latter name arose, as Dr. Reeves has shown, Origin of  
the name  
Iona Ad. pp. 258-262, 313, 314, from a misreading of the form employed by Adamnan, *Ioua insula*, where *ioua* is an adjectival form (like Bede's *Hiansis*, v. 15, 22, pp. 316, 347) agreeing with *insula*, and formed from the Irish name of the island which appears in the forms *I, Ii, Ia, Eo, h* being often prefixed, as is common in Irish under certain circumstances. The adjectives *eoā, eueā*, are also found. A passage in the eleventh-century life of St. Cadroe marks the transition from the adjectival to the substantival use of *Ioua*: '*Euea insula, quae nunc Ioua dicitur*,' P. & S. p. 108. When the mistake of Iona for Ioua was once made, it was stereotyped by the fancy which saw in Iona the Hebrew equivalent for the name Columba: '*quod Hebraice dicitur Iona, Graecitas uero ΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΡΑ uocitat, et Latina lingua Columba*,' Rs. Ad. p. 5; '*sic beatus Petrus propter eiusdem Spiritus gratiam Bar-Iona, id est, filius columbae uocatur*'; Opp. xii. 28. So Columbanus of himself: '*mihi Ionae Hebraice, Peristerae Graece, Columbae Latine*'; Migne, Pat. Lat. lxxx. 282.

*destinatus*] The old edd. joined this on to the preceding word making 'Hydestinatus' the name of the island. Bede uses this same word '*destinatus*' of the other bishops sent from Iona, Finan and Colman; iii. 17; iv. 4, pp. 160, 213; Rs. Ad. p. 259.

*culius monasterium . . . praerant*] v. c. 4, note.

*septentrionalium Scottorum*] i.e. the Scoti of the North of Ireland; Northern Irish. the '*septentrionalis Scottorum prouincia*' of the earlier part of the chapter.

*ad ius . . . discreta, sed*] om. AS. vers.

*donatione Pictorum*] on this, v. *inf.* on c. 4.

## CHAPTER 4.

This chapter is not in the AS. vers., nor in the Capitula.

P. 133. *Iustinus minor accepit*] Nov. 565, Gibbon.

*horrentibus montium iugis*] The mountain range often called The Mounth, which runs across Scotland from West to East, from Fort William almost to Aberdeen. In v. 9, p. 297, Bede calls these Northern Picts '*transmontani Picti*.'



Nynias or  
Ninian.

*ipsi australes Picti, &c.*] It is to be noted that Bede does not profess to give the account of St. Ninian as more than a tradition, 'ut perhibent'; and as Ninian lived more than three centuries earlier than Bede, this would necessarily be the case, unless he had access to documentary evidence. The date of Ninian cannot be fixed exactly. The dedication of his church at Whithorn must be subsequent to the death of St. Martin of Tours, 397 × 400; cf. N. & K. pp. xxvii, xxxviii, ff. 256, 266, 271-273. A later legend represents him as hearing of the death of St. Martin while the church was in progress. According to Ailred he obtained from St. Martin the masons who built the church; ib. 143, 144; cf. Hab. § 5, Haa. § 7. pp. 368, 390, and notes. He himself is said to have died Sept. 16, 432; Ussher, Brit. Eccl. p. 351, citing Bale, Cent. i. 43; but nothing that can be called authority has been produced for this date. From the location of his church in Galloway there is a tendency to think and speak of him as if he were only the apostle of the Galwegian or Niduari Picts ('Pictorum patria, que modo Galwiethia dicitur'; N. & K. p. 220; cf. Vit. Cudb. c. 11; Opp. Min. p. 71; Rhŷs, C. B. pp. 113, 150, 221). But Bede says distinctly that he preached to the Picts within, i. e. to the South of the Mounth. If, as seems probable, he was a Strathclyde Briton, he would have facilities of access to both; for the invading Brythons seem to have forced themselves in like a wedge between the Picts, much as the Anglo-Saxon conquest broke up the Britons themselves into three isolated divisions, or as the Magyar inroads cut off the Northern from the Southern Slavs. (See Map in Rhŷs. C. B., S. C. S. i. 228.)

Irish tradition or invention takes Nynias to Ireland towards the end of his life to found the church of Cluain Conaire in Leinster, and die there. And he is commemorated in the Irish calendars at Sept. 16, as Moinenn; i. e. 'my Nynias,' (or rather, 'my Nennius,' Nennius and Nynias being probably the same name); Féilre; Mart. Don.; Martyrology of Tamlaght; Irish life of Nynias cited by Ussher; u. s. p. 506. But as Bede distinctly says that his body was at Whithorn, this tradition is probably quite baseless, and due to a confusion of two distinct persons. On the fate of his relics, cf. N. & K. pp. xvii. f. On the later lives of him, of which the principal is by Ailred of Rievaulx, see Hardy, Cat. i. 44-46. They add nothing of value to the tradition recorded by Bede.

Ailred's life was edited by Bishop Forbes in Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern, and his notes and introduction are a great storehouse of learning on the subject. Ailred's life is said to have been based on an *English* original; N. & K. p. 255. On dedications to St. Ninian

in Scotland, v. ib. xiii-xvii. His name is found corrupted into 'Ringan,' 'Trinyon,' 'Triman,' 'Truyons;' ib. 256, 304. The form 'Trinian' occurs also in the Isle of Man, where too there is a 'Kill Lingan,' probably derived from the same source; Rhys, *Outlines of Manx Phonology*, p. 135.

**Romae]** Ailred represents him as remaining at Rome 'pluribus annis;' N. & K. p. 142.

**ipse . . . requiescit]** Alcuin in a letter to the monks of Candida His tomb. Casa, 782 x 804, says: 'Deprecor . . . ut intercedere pro mea paruitate dignemini in ecclesia sanctissimi patris nostri Nynia Episcopi, qui multis claruit uirtutibus, sicut mihi nuper delatum est per carmina, . . . quae nobis per fideles nostros discipulos Eboracensis ecclesiae scholasticos directa sunt . . . Direxi ad sancti . . . Nyniga corpus sagum olosericum ob memoriam nostri nominis;' Mon. Alc. pp. 838, 839, H. & S. ii. 8. Cited also G. P. pp. 256, 257. These poems on Nynias by the York scholars do not exist to my knowledge.

**ecclesia]** On the site of the original church, v. N. & K. pp. 268-271.

**Anglorum gens obtinet]** Probably they were among the Picts Galloway reduced by Oswy; ii. 5; iii. 24; iv. 3, pp. 89, 180, 206. From the present tense used by Bede it appears that Northumbria still retained its hold on this district; which was more than could be said of many of the conquests of Oswy; cf. v. 23, p. 351, where the bishopric of Whithorn is said to form part of 'prouincia Nordanhymbrorum.' As Bede there expressly contrasts this district with the 'natio Pictorum,' and nowhere (except in the *Vita Cudb. u. s.*) speaks of this district as Pictish, it had probably been a good deal anglicised by his time. On the Anglian bishopric of Whithorn, v. *infra* on v. 23, and cf. H. & S. i. 150; ii. 7; and on the subsequent history of Whithorn, see N. & K. pp. xli-lxii. It remained a favourite place of pilgrimage down to the Reformation; ib. 295 ff.; cf. Redgauntlet, ch. 9.

**Ad Candidam Casam]** On the form of the name v. s. ii. 14, Whithorn. note; cf. the numerous places in England called Whitchurch: 'Ecclesia . . . quae candida Ecclesia dicitur;' 'Ecclesia . . . quae alba ecclesia . . . nominatur,' of the church founded on the field of Maserfeld where Oswald fell; Vit. Osw. in S. D. i. 350, 352; cf. Leland, *Itin.* v. 37, ed. 2. In the lives of Irish saints of the second order Candida Casa is called 'Rosnat,' and 'Magnum Monasterium,' and is represented as a great centre of monastic discipline and learning where several of these saints receive their training; N. & K. pp. xlii, f.; S. C. S. ii. 46-48, 419; H. & S. i. 116, 120, 121.

Ptolemy's 'Leucopibia' is probably Whiteren; and if the form is correct, it looks as if the whiteness were anterior to Nynias' 'Candida Casa.' Müller, however, in his edition of Ptolemy reads Λουκοπιβία.

Stone  
Church.

de lapide . . . more] v. s. ii. 14, p. 114; 'nomen loco ex opere inditum quod ecclesiam ibi ex lapide polito Britonibus miraculo fecerit;' G. P. p. 256; 'ante quam nullam in Britannia de lapide dicunt esse constructam;' N. & K. p. 144.

Chrono-  
logy.

uenit . . . Britanniam . . . nono anno, &c.] The chronology of the Pictish kings may derive light from this passage. It is too dark to throw any light upon it. Bede says distinctly above that Columba came to Britain in 565, that it was in the year of the accession of Iustinus minor, which also gives 565. He says *infra* that the faulty Paschal cycle was observed in Iona for 150 years. The change was adopted in 715 or 716. The former is the date given here, the latter in v. 22, 24. See note on v. 22. This therefore gives 565 or 566 for the foundation of Iona. In v. 24, Bede gives 565 as the date both of the coming of Columba, and of the foundation of Iona. The Ann. Camb. and Ann. Ult. place the coming of Columba to Iona in 562, Tigh. in 563; and from these and other data furnished by the Irish chronicles and the Chron. Pict. (P. & S. p. 7) Dr. Reeves (Ad. pp. 150, 151) and Mr. Skene (C. S. ii. 105) place the coming of Columba to Iona in 563. But we have so often seen that these authorities are two or three years behind in their chronology as compared with Bede, that it seems rash on such grounds to set aside the explicit statements of the latter.

Columba.

Columba] The great store-house of learning on the subject of St. Columba is Dr. Reeves' monumental edition of his life by Adamnan, Abbot of Iona 679-704, the third book of which, and some chapters in the other two, are based on an earlier life by Cuimene Ailbe, Abbot of Iona 657-669; Pinkerton, i. 51-69, ed. 1889, where references are given to the corresponding chapters of Adamnan; cf. also Reeves, p. vi. Thus the earliest record of him is sixty years posterior to his death and is already full of legendary matter. (Hardy, Cat. i. 167, thinks that Cuimine abridged Adamnan; but Adamnan cites Cuimine, iii. 5, and an author would hardly cite an abridgement of himself.) The later lives, both Latin and Irish, simply run riot in the marvellous. For the various lives and MSS. of Lives of St. Columba, see Reeves, Ad. pp. v-xxxvi, which is both fuller and more correct than the account in Hardy, Cat. i. 166-174. The Irish life (Rs. pp. xxxii. f.) has been twice printed by Mr. Whitley Stokes, from the Lebar Brecc (pp. 29, 30 of the facsimile) in Three Middle Irish Homilies; from the Book of Lismore, in Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore. To these may be added

the Preface to Columba's Hymn, 'Altus Prosator,' printed by Dr. Todd in his (unfinished) edition of the *Liber Hymnorum*, pp. 201-251, and by Stokes, *Goidelica*, pp. 100-103; and the preface to the *Amra Coluim Cille*, which exists in three recensions: (a) In the *Liber Hymnorum*, printed by Stokes, *u. s.* pp. 156-158; (b) In the *Leabar na h-Uidri*, *facs.* pp. 5, 6, printed by J. O'Beirne Crowe; and (c) in *Rawl. B. 502*, ff. 54-56; the first being the shortest and the last much the longest of the three. These two prefaces are the earliest authorities in Irish for Columba. There are two fragments of Latin lives of Columba in *Codex Salmant. col. 221 ff. 845 ff.* It is not true that the latter 'differs little from that by Adamnan;' Hardy, *u. s.* p. 172.

It is curious that Bede does not seem to have known either Cuimene's or Adamnan's life of Columba; cf. *inf.* p. 134: 'de cuius uita . . . nonnulla . . . feruntur scripta haberi'; though he had probably as a lad conversed with Adamnan, *v. 15*, notes; and he certainly was acquainted with his work *de Locis Sanctis*, *ib.* For some account of Columba, *v. Reeves, u. s.* pp. lxxviii-lxxx; *S. C. S. ii.* 51-54, 79-84, 85 ff.; Greith, *Altirische Kirche*, bk. iii. ch. 1-3. They all rely perhaps too much on uncritical statements of the later lives. That Columba's was not the only attempt to christianise northern Britain from Ireland, *v. H. & S. i.* 116, 121; Reeves, *u. s.* pp. lxxiv, f.

*Bridio filio Mellochon, rege potentissimo*] Cf. Rhŷs, *Rhind Bruides*, Lectures, pp. 31, 74, 75; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* 1892, p. 344; C. B. <sup>son of</sup> *Maelchon*, p. 201. His power had been shown only a few years previously by the severe check which he had given to the Dalriadic Scots, *v. s.* According to *Chron. Pictorum*, P. & S. p. 7, copied mechanically by all later authorities, he reigned thirty years. Marcellinus Comes (on whom *v. s. i.* 13, p. 29, note) gives the date of his accession as 557: 'In Britannia Bridus Rex Pictorum efficitur;' Bouquet, *ii.* 20.

*unde . . . insulam ab eis . . . accepit*] Bede distinctly says that Columba received the island from the Picts; and the *Liber Hymnorum* (ninth or tenth century), p. 204, says: 'Bruidi . . . filius Melchon . . . immolauit Columbo Hi.' Tighernach, however, and Ann. Ult. in recording the death of Conall Mac Comgaill, King of the Dalriadic Scots in 574 and 573, respectively, say that he was the donor of Iona; and *H. & S. ii.* 107, say 'in any case the *Christian* king, i. e. Conall, must have been the original donor.' But Bede represents the donation as the result of Columba's success among the Picts: 'gentem . . . conuertit, unde . . . accepit,' &c.; cf. *c. 3, ad fin.*: 'eo quod illis praedicantibus fidem Christi perceperint,' so

Who gave  
Iona to  
Columba?

that this argument falls to the ground. There was an obvious motive why Irish writers should wish to represent Iona as the gift of an Irish prince to the great Irish saint; the fact that in spite of this the earliest Irish authority agrees with Bede is decisive in his favour (so Reeves, *Ad.* pp. 434, 435). As the island lay close to the dominions of both monarchs, Columba may have obtained a confirmation of his possession from both; *ib.* lxxvi, 151. Skene (*C. S.* ii. 34, 88), thinks that this was not the first establishment of Christianity in Iona; but the authorities for this opinion, a doubtful passage in the *Félire of Oengus*, and a passage in one of the Irish lives, are too late to be of much value. On this mission of Columba and the conversion of Northumbria under Aidan, &c., which sprang from it, some curious arguments were based in the controversy about the Scotch claims of Edward I; *P. & S.* pp. 249, 250, 273, 274; *cf. ib.* 200, 201.

Columba's  
relics.

*ubi et ipse sepultus est*] *Cf. infr.* 'in quo ipse requiescit corpore.' On the fate of St. Columba's relics, which is very obscure, see *Rs. Ad.* pp. 312-318. It seems certain that, like those of so many other saints, they were removed from fear of the Scandinavian invasions. Many places were anxious to claim the honour of possessing them, and more than one place may have obtained a share of them. Dunkeld, which became the head of the Columbite monasteries in Scotland, had an obvious motive for making the claim; *cf. Rs. Ad.* p. 297. It may be noted that the passage from the Book of Armagh, which Dr. Reeves cites, p. 313, and justly calls enigmatical, '*in ecclesia iuxta mare pro undecima*,' has been definitely cleared up by the late Mr. Bradshaw's palmary emendation of '*proxima*' for '*pro undecima*.' The scribe mistook the letters '*XIMA*' for the numeral *xi* with the adjective termination.

The obit of  
Columba.

p. 134. *post annos circiter XXX et duos*] Note that Bede does not profess to give the date of Columba's death exactly, and therefore we cannot argue confidently from his words. They are quite consistent with the date June 9, 597, for which Dr. Reeves decides, mainly on the evidence of Adamnan; *Rs. Ad.* pp. 309-312, 227 ff. There was a long correspondence in the Academy, Sept.-Dec. 1892, between Mr. Anscombe and Dr. MacCarthy, arising out of an article by the former in the *Engl. Hist. Review* for July, 1892. Mr. Anscombe has summed up his own case in a monograph, '*The Obit of St. Columba*.' He decides for 580; but this seems to me utterly inconsistent with the plainest statements of Bede. If 597 is correct, then Columba died in the very year in which Augustine set foot in Britain; *cf. D. C. B.* i. 604.

*priusquam . . . ueniret*] From an incidental remark of Adamnan,

Dr. Reeves argues that Durrow was founded after, not before, Columba settled at Iona; *Rs. Ad.* pp. 23, 24. The Irish Annals agree that the Prince of Tethba (Teffia), who granted Durrow to Columba, was Aed son of Brendan. (F. M. 585, is only an apparent exception, as the text there is clearly corrupt.) But there is some doubt as to when he succeeded. If in 553, as Dr. Reeves thinks, his father being passed over (and F. M. 573 is the only Irish authority which calls Brendan Prince of Tethba) then there is nothing in the Irish Annals inconsistent with Bede's statement, to which I feel disposed to adhere.

*Dearmach . . . hoc est campus roborum*] Adamnan calls it in Durrow. one place by its Irish name, Dairmagh, p. 23; elsewhere he latinises it 'Roboreti Campus'; pp. 58, 95, 215; 'Roboreus Campus,' p. 163; 'Roboris Campus,' p. 105. Now Durrow in King's County. For a list of monasteries and churches founded by or dedicated to St. Columba, *v. ib.* 289 ff.

*ex quo . . . esse subiecti*] The organisation of the Irish Church was not at this time based on diocesan episcopacy, but the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was in the hands of the abbots of the great monasteries who administered the districts ('prouincia,' Bede; 'diocesis,' *Rs. Ad.* p. 65; 'parochia,' *ib.* 336) subject to them, the bishops being merely members of the monastic bodies, and as such subject, even as regards the exercise of their episcopal functions, to the authority of the abbot, in virtue of the vow of monastic obedience. Of course this authority of the abbot extended only over bishops within the 'prouincia' of his own monastery; and Bede so limits it here. The *Sax. Chron.* 565 E, very absurdly misinterprets his words as meaning that all Irish bishops were subject to the Abbot of Iona. This did not imply any confusion between the *spiritual* functions of bishop and presbyter, or any claim on the side of the abbot-presbyter to discharge any part of the episcopal office. Ordinations, &c. were performed by the bishops, but under the direction of the abbot and convent; and the bishop, as such, had no voice in the affairs of the monastery, or the administration of the district; and when a bishop was sent forth to other parts it was by the authority of the convent; *iii.* 5, 17, 25; *iv.* 4. The episcopal function was often combined with very inferior monastic offices; *S. C. S.* *ii.* 44; *Rs. Ad.* p. 365. In some instances the abbot might be a bishop, and where this was the case the way would be paved for the introduction of diocesan episcopacy. Still he exercised his jurisdiction not as bishop but as abbot. (In the case of Cedd, *c.* 23, we have a bishop acting as abbot of a monastery not in his own diocese.) Bede speaks of this

Date of the  
foundation  
of

Organisa-  
tion of the  
Irish  
Church  
monastic,  
not dio-  
cesan

system as an 'ordo inusitatus'; and so to him it was. But it was the ordinary system of the Irish Church. It seems never to have existed among the British Celts; H. & S. i. 143. In later times this state of things was forgotten even in Ireland, and legends were invented to account for the fact that leading Irish saints, like Columba, were not in episcopal orders; e.g. Féilire, p. 51, and the passage cited below from Misc. Biogr. But that the system, though forgotten, was thoroughly ingrained in Irish thought and speech is shown by the fact that 'abb,' 'abdaine,' 'abbot,' 'abbacy,' are the regular words to express the highest ecclesiastical authority. The Popes are constantly called 'abbots of Rome'; and we find even 'abdaine 7 rige na cathrach nemda,' 'the abbacy and kingship of the heavenly city' ascribed to Christ; Lebar Breac, faca. p. 135b, 43. Lindisfarne in its ecclesiastical constitution, as in its physical conformation (Bright, p. 137), closely resembled Iona. Cf. Vit. Cudb. Pros. c. 16: 'Neque aliquis miretur, quod in eadem insula Lindisfarnea cum permodica sit, et supra episcopi, et nunc abbatis ac monachorum esse locum dixerimus; reuera enim ita est. Namque una eademque seruorum Dei habitatio utrosque simul tenet, imo omnes monachos tenet. Aidanus quippe, qui primus eiusdem loci episcopus fuit, monachus erat, et monachicam cum suis omnibus uitam semper agere solebat. Unde ab illo omnes loci ipsius antistites usque hodie sic episcopale exercent officium, ut regente monasterium abbate, quem ipsi cum consilio fratrum elegerint, omnes presbyteri, diaconi, cantores, lectores, ceterique gradus ecclesiastici, monachicam per omnia cum ipso episcopo regulam seruent.' Here, however, the bishop has acquired a higher position than in the Irish system, as he seems to have a prerogative voice in the election of the abbot. Bede is wrong (*ad loc.*) in comparing this to the plan recommended to Augustine by Gregory (i. 27, p. 48), as in that the offices of abbot and bishop are conjoined, which was not the case at Lindisfarne. Thus Eata was abbot of Lindisfarne sometime before he became bishop; iii. 20. (On the whole subject, v. Rs. Ad. pp. 65, 69, 70, 86, 87, 198, 199, 335, 339-341, 393; S. C. S. ii. 42-44, 94, 95, 158. Skene's account is mainly based on Reeves, but is well and clearly stated. The monastic bishop is found in exempt monasteries on the Continent; D. C. A. ii. 1271; cf. N. & K. p. 282. But here the institution is later than diocesan episcopacy, the object being to enable the monasteries to ordain their own members without invoking the aid of the diocesan.)

The 'Muintir Columcille.'

The monasteries which in Ireland or in Britain owed their origin immediately or mediately to St. Columba formed a federation of which Iona was the head: 'arcem, principatum tenebat;' cf. c. 3,

p. 132: 'Hii ubi plurimorum caput et arcem Scotti habuere coenobiorum,' c. 21, p. 171; 'insula primaria,' Rs. Ad. p. 12; 'Hii . . . cum his, quae sibi erant subdita monasteriis'; v. 22, p. 346; cf. v. 15, p. 315. These are the 'Columbae monasteria,' v. 9, p. 297, the 'muintir Coluimcille, or 'familia Columbae' of which we hear so frequently in Irish authorities; cf. Rs. Ad. p. 162; Vita Tripart. p. 314. They would be included in the 'province' or 'diocese' (v. a.) of which Iona was the head. Those in Ireland who were not included in the Columbite system are spoken of as 'ab Hiensium dominio liberi,' v. 15, p. 316. The position of Iona must have been much enhanced by the fact of Columba inaugurating Aedan mac Gabrain as Dalriadic monarch; Rs. Ad. p. 198. No later instance is quoted, but the ceremony was probably continued as an honorary function of the abbot; ib. 342, 198. The Scandinavian invaders at the beginning of the ninth century ravaged Iona and massacred most of the community. The headship of the Columbite monasteries in Ireland was transferred to Kells, of those in Britain to Dunkeld; S. C. S. ii. 304, 305. Hence the 'Libellus de Ortu St. Cuthb.' bravely by a double anachronism speaks of St. Columba as 'primus episcopus in Dunkel'; Biogr. Misc., Surtees Soc. p. 78. Thus both ecclesiastically and politically the Scandinavian invasions tended to cut off the Scoti of Britain from those of Ireland, and so helped to constitute Scotland in the modern sense. That Bede in all the passages quoted above speaks of the supremacy of Iona in the past tense, seems to show that it had already declined in his day; H. & S. ii. 115. Iona was restored by Queen Margaret the saintly wife of Malcolm Cennmor: 'Huense coenobium . . . tempestate praeliorum cum longa uetustate dirutum . . . fidelis regina reaedificauit, datisque sumptibus idoneis reparauit'; Ordericus Vital. iii. 398, 399, ed. Prevost.

qualiscumque fuerit ipse] Dr. Reeves (Ad. pp. lxxvii ff.) thinks Character that Bede may have in his mind some of the stories current about of Columba. Columba, which, if true, would imply the existence in the saint of a somewhat hasty and undisciplined temper. Bede may however only be alluding to the fact implied in the previous sentence, that he had no materials for his life before him.

successores] One of these, Adamnan, Bede probably had seen; v. s. permansit, &c.] v. s.

Eogbereto] On him, v. c. 27, pp. 192, 193.

exulauerat pro Christo] On this practice, cf. c. 19, p. 163, and note.

p. 135. correcti sunt] v. on v. 22.

ut quidam rebantur] See above on ii. 19, p. 123.



## CHAPTER 5.

Date of  
Aidan's  
mission.

*missus est Aedan*] Aidan died Aug. 31, 651; iii. 14 *ad fin.*, in the seventeenth year of his episcopate, c. 17. The synod of Whitby, which was held before July 664, H. & S. iii. 106, was in the thirtieth year of the 'episcopatus Scottorum,' c. 26 *ad init.* Therefore Aidan must have been consecrated before July 635. We have seen that Oswald's *de facto* accession cannot be placed much before the end of 634, c. 1, notes; and to allow time ('*aliquandiu . . . praedicans*') for the unsuccessful mission of Aidan's predecessor, *infra*, p. 137, we can hardly place his own mission earlier than April or May 635 (though Richard of Hexham places it in 634; Hexham, i. 10). Hence, when Bede says (c. 26) that Aidan was bishop for seventeen years, he is speaking inexactly. In c. 17 *ad init.*, 'completis annis episcopatus sui XVII' (B.C.) 'XVI' (M.N.) the reading is unfortunately doubtful. The argument is hardly affected if the mission of Aidan's predecessor be included in the 'episcopatus Scottorum.' But I do not think it is so included by Bede.

*Segeni*] On him see note to ii. 19, p. 123.

*unde, &c.*] Cf. the character given of him, c. 17 *ad fin.*, pp. 161, 162. *non aliter . . . docebat*] v. *Introductio* § 10.

*cuncta . . . gaudebat*] Cf. the story of the horse given him by Oswin; c. 14, pp. 156, 157.

*per . . . urbana et rustica loca*] 'ge þurh mynsterstowe, ge þurh folcestowe,' AS. vers.

Aidan  
walks, and  
does not  
ride.

*non equorum dorso*] Cf. c. 14 *u. s.* So his disciple Ceadda, c. 28 *ad fin.* 'non equitando, sed apostolorum more pedibus incedendo;' until Theodore with kindly compulsion placed him on horseback; iv. 3, p. 206. (We find however Ceadda's brother Cedd riding; c. 22, p. 174.) Cuthbert more often walked than rode on his preaching tours; iv. 27, pp. 269, 270. For an instance of his riding, cf. Vit. Anon. § 22; Opp. Min. p. 271. Some canons ascribed to Gildas inveigh against those 'qui carnem non edunt, . . . neque uehiculis equisque uehuntur, et pro his quasi superiores ceteris se putant.' The Irish character of these canons, if they are due to Gildas, would illustrate his connexion with Ireland; H. & S. i. 108, 109. So in the spurious life of Polycarp: *αὐτοῦργῶ ἐχρήτο τὰ πλείστα ὁδοιπορίᾳ*; App. Ff. II. iii. 458. So of St. Kentigern; N. & K. pp. 192, 193.

p. 136. *a nostri temporis segnitia*] Cf. *Introductio* p. xxxv.

*meditari*] to study. So iv. 8 *ad init.* of a little child learning its lessons.

*psalmis discendia*] The Psalter held a very large place in the Use of the devotions and studies of the mediæval church; cf. D. C. A. ii. Psalter, 1922. 'Canendis psalmis inuigilare,' is one of the duties prescribed by Gregory for the 'clerici extra sacros ordines constituti'; i. 27, p. 49. The Psalter was among the first things learnt by Wilfrid; v. 19, p. 323. Adamnan of Coldingham was 'occupatus noctu uigiliis et psalmis,' when he received the revelation of the doom which was to overtake his monastery; iv. 25, p. 264. The two Hewalds attracted the notice of the Saxons, because 'psalmis semper atque orationibus uacabant'; v. 10, p. 300. Ceolfrid for many years recited the whole Psalter twice daily, and thrice during the hundred and fourteen days of his journey to Langres; Haa. § 33. (Bede's account, Hab. § 22, is somewhat different.)

For the use of the Psalter at the canonical hours in the services at the Monastery, cf. *Introd.* §§ 2, 8. In the revived monastic life at Little Gidding 'the Psalter was in every four and twenty hours sung and read over from the first to the last verse'; Walton's *Life of George Herbert*, p. 336, ed. 1825. Canonical hours;

In the Irish Church the recitation of the Psalter had a prominent place. From the number of the Psalms it was called 'the three fifties,' 'na tri coicat'; on the symbolism of which number, see *Opp.* vii. 111. Among the Psalms the 118th (119th), called the 'biait,' from its first words 'Beati immaculati,' held a prerogative position; cf. *MS. Rawlinson*, B. 502, f. 44 a; *Lismore Lives*, pp. x, xii, 32, 144; and a story (not Irish) in *H. Y.* i. 442. It was one of the marks of Patrick's saintship: 'na tri coicat noscanad,' 'the three fifties he would sing'; *Fiacc's Hymn*; cf. *Lismore Lives*, pp. 32, 316. Fintan, another Irish saint, was nicknamed 'bél na psalm,' i. e. 'psalm-mouth.'

The recitation of the whole or a part of the Psalter, especially the seven Penitential Psalms, was frequently imposed or undertaken as a penance. Dante, *Letter v.*, speaks of 'il saltero della penitenza.' Thus Egbert vowed 'quia præter sollemnem canonici temporis psalmodiam, . . . cotidie psalterium totum . . . decantaret,' c. 27, p. 193 (cf. the case of Adamnan of Coldingham, iv. 25, p. 263: 'ieiuniis et psalmis, . . . quantum uales, insiste'). And this is constantly found in the Penitentials, English, Irish, and Continental; cf. *H. & S.* iii. 333, 334, 425-429; *Wasserschleben*, *Bussordnungen*, pp. 372, 395, 428, &c. A penitential in Irish, which occurs in *MS. Rawl. B 512 ff. 42 c-44 a*, is full of instances of this usage.

The Psalter or particular Psalms were also said, like masses, with a special 'intention,' as a form of intercession for the living or the dead. Thus Berengar, King of Italy in 898, makes certain special 'intention;'

grants to the Church of St. Martin at Tours 'ea conditione quod in feriis ad Matutinas, "Domine, ne in furore" (Ps. vi or xxxvii); ad Vesperas, "De Profundis" (Ps. cxix); ad Completorium, "Domine, exaudi" (Ps. ci or cxlii), pro se et pro suis successoribus dicerentur;' Chron. Turon. Bouquet. ix. 49. Charles the Simple in 901 makes grants to the same church 'ita quod pro eo, &c. . . dicerent in feriis "Ad Dominum cum tribularer" (Ps. cxix) et "De Profundis"' (Ps. cxix); ib. So in the letters of Frothar, Bishop of Toul, †846: 'Sciatis . . . pro uita et sanitate uestra Missas tantas et Psalteria tanta fratres nostros decantasse;' Bouquet, vi. 386; cf. ib. 388, 389; Morison's St. Bernard, p. 285; Hexham, I. cxxxviii: 'a priore et conuentu Augustaldensi CCC missas, et CCC psalteria.' Hence in Irish 'salm' comes to have almost the meaning of 'an intercessory prayer'; cf. MacCarthy, Stowe Missal, p. 163. Of the recitation of Psalms for the dead, we have had an instance in the case of Oswald, *supra*, c. 2. p. 129. So when the death of St. Hilda was revealed at Hackness, the nuns were bidden 'orationibus ac psalmis pro anima matris operam dare;' iv. 23, p. 257; cf. Hist. Abb. § 23. Of the reprobate brother whose death is told in v. 14, p. 314, Bede says: 'neque aliquis pro eo uel missas facere uel psalmos cantare . . . praesumebat.'

In the 'Iudicia ciuitatis Lundoniae' when any gild brother died, each surviving member is to sing or have sung for his soul 'one fifty': 'gesinge án fiftig,' 'cantet unum quinquagenarium psalmorum;' Thorpe, Ancient Laws, i. 236; ii. 499. On Lanfranc's obit, every priest belonging to the monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, was to sing a mass for him, 'et qui missam non cantat, 1 psalmos cantet;' Ang. Sac. i. 56. So for another Canterbury benefactor: 'æghwile mæssepriost gesinge fore his sawle twa messan, . . . 7 æghwile diacon arede twa *passione* fore his sawle . . . 7 æghwile Godes ðiow gesinge twa *fiftig* fore his sawle;' K. C. D. No. 226; Birch, No. 330. (The reading of a Passion with an intention I have not met with elsewhere.) But the most striking instance of this use of the Psalter is in the beautiful story of Beornstan, Bishop of Winchester 931-934, told in G. P. p. 163: 'Illum purissimae sanctitatis fuisse accepimus; cotidie . . . missam pro defunctorum requie cantitasse, noctibus, depulsa formidine, solum cimiteria circuire solitum, pro animarum salute psalmos frequentasse. Hoc cum quadam uice faceret, expletisque omnibus subiungeret: "Requiescant in pace"; uoces quasi exercitus infiniti e sepulcris audiuit respondentium: "Amen."' (A similar but inferior legend is given in M. & L. p. 247, from Hauréau.) The Council of Clovesho (A. D. 747) c. 27, regulates both the peni-

tential and the intercessory use of the Psalms which were : 'Sancto Spiritu iam olim ad solacium generi humano per os Prophetæ prolati ;' H. & S. iii. 372-374.

In the twelfth century the Psalter was the main staple of as an educational manual. education for high-born maidens ; cf. Ann. Stadenses : 'cum tamen nihil unquam didicerit, nisi solum psalterium, more nobilium puellarum ;' Pertz, xvi. 330 (of St. Hildegard). It was also one of the chief things which Alfred the Great had his children taught ; Aaser, M. H. B. p. 485.

operam dare] After this the AS. vers. inserts : 'oððe þridde on halgum gebedum standan,' 'or, thirdly, stand at holy prayers.'

religiosi] 'religious' in the technical sense of being under monastic rule.

remissione . . . paschalis] The period from Easter to Pentecost, The Paschal Quinquagesima. the most festal season of the year. The keeping this as a continuous festival goes back as far as Tertullian (early third century) ; cf. Epiphanius, De Fide, c. 22 : *δίχα μόνως τῆς Πεντεκοστῆς ἄλλης τῶν πενήκοντα ἡμερῶν, ἐν αἷς οὔτε γονυκλισίαί γίνονται, οὔτε νηστεία προσέταται* ; Migne, Pat. Graeca, xlii. 828, cited by M. & L. a. l. It was to prevent the interruption of this joyful season that St. Columba acquiesced in the prolongation of his life to Pentecost ; Rs. Ad. pp. 229, 347.

IIII<sup>a</sup> . . . sabbati] The very name of Wednesday in Irish bears witness to this custom, being 'cétain,' i. e. 'the first fast.' It was kept as a fast in memory of our Lord's betrayal. ('Cétain in braith,' 'Wednesday of the betrayal,' is the Irish name for Wednesday in Holy week ; F. M. ii. 1014.) The Wednesday fast is also found in Tertullian. As to the Friday fast the same expression as that used here is found in Vit. Cudb. c. 5 : 'sexta sabbati . . . plerique fidelium ob reuerentiam dominicæ passionis usque ad nonam horam solent protelare ieiunium ;' Opp. Min. p. 57. This fasting to the ninth hour is also ancient. 'The ninth hour proved ultimately too rigorous a limit, and noon was moved backward till it meant mid-day ;' M. & L. a. l. On the asceticism of the Irish Church, see Introd. § 9.

iniuste . . . uenditi] This seems to point to the existence of Slave-trade. something like that slave-trade which St. Wulfstan in later times laboured to suppress. On the use to which Aidan put these ransomed slaves, v. note on i. 23, p. 42.

de prouincia Scottorum] 'of Scotta ealonde,' 'from the island Iona. of the Scots,' AS. vers. ; by which is usually meant Ireland. Bede of course means Iona ; and in the original text of c. 17 *infra*, p. 160, Iona is spoken of as 'Hii, Scottorum insula.'

p. 137. in conuentu seniorum] 'in gemote heora weotena,' 'in an assembly of their wise men or counsellors,' AS. vers.

homines . . . mentis] On the same ground Augustine and his companions had wished to give up the mission to Britain; i. 23, p. 42.

Construction of  
'petor.'

genti quam petebantur, saluti esse] 'to afford the nation the salvation for which they were asked.' On this construction of 'petor,' v. ii. 12, p. 107, note.

ad . . . sacerdotem] 'to þam biscope,' AS. vers.

Discretion.

gratia . . . mater est] Cf. on Luke xxii. 35 sqq. 'Quam iuste discretionem matrem cunctarum nutricemque uirtutum patrum sententia definiat, et ex hoc Domini sermone probatur, qui non eadem uiuendi regula persecutionis, qua pacis tempore discipulos informat;' Opp. xi. 339; cf. Introd. § 18. So, conversely, Nicolas, Prior of Worcester, writing to Eadmer about the rights of the see of York in Scotland, says of Aidan's unsuccessful predecessor: 'unus . . . ex eis propter suam indiscretionem inutilis . . . iudicatus, ab ipsis Scottis depositus est;' H. & S. ii. 203.

ordinantes . . . miserunt] 'to biscope gehalgedon, 7 Oswalde þam cyninge heora freonde to lareowe onsendan,' 'hallowed him as bishop, and sent him as teacher to King Oswald their friend,' AS. vers.; cf. c. 25: 'ordinatus et missus.'

## CHAPTER 6.

P. 138. incognita progenitoribus suis] v. c. 3 *ad init.*, note. So S. D. i. 20 calls him 'primus in tota Berniciorum gente signifer fidei Christianae.'

omnes nationes, &c.] v. ii. 5, notes.

Languages of Britain.

IIII linguas] In i. 1, p. 11, Bede speaks of five languages in Britain; but there he includes Latin as the ecclesiastical language, 'quae meditatione scripturarum caeteris omnibus est facta communis;' v. note a. l.

Character of Oswald.

largus] Cf. Alc. de Sanctis Ebor. vv. 275 ff.

'Extruit ecclesias, donisque exornat opimis,

Vasa ministeriis praestans pretiosa sacratis,' &c.

—a point not specially noticed by Bede.

ministerium . . . delegata] The later king's almoner.

adprehendit dextram eius] '7 cyste,' 'and kissed it,' adds AS. vers. A similar, but very inferior, story is told of St. Dunstan and St. Edith, the daughter of King Edgar; G. P. p. 189; Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 310 (Malmesbury's Life of Dunstan). Contrast R. Ad. p. 70: 'Illa manus . . . quam Findchanus contra fas et ius

ecclesiasticum super caput filii perditionis imposuit, mox computrescet, et ipsum . . . in terram sepelienda praeceudet . . . Quae . . . prophetia . . . adimpleta est.' Many parallels are given in Dr. Reeves' note. Elmham has 'putrescat' for 'inueterascat,' to make the prophecy correspond more literally with the fulfilment; p. 179.

hactenus incorruptae perdurent] 'nu gena ungebrosnade <sup>Oswald's</sup> wuniað,' 'now still remain uncorrupted,' AS. vers. S. D., i. 20, 21, <sup>relics.</sup> speaks as if it was only the right hand which remained uncorrupted; no doubt in order to make the fulfilment of Aidan's prophecy seem more exact. On the fate of Oswald's relics generally, r. c. 12, p. 152, note.

in urbe regia . . . cognominatur] Bebbanburh, now <sup>Bam-</sup>Bamborough. Other forms are Bebburgh, S. D. i. 373, 374; Babbanburch, ib. ii. 191; Babhanburch, ib. 287; Bamburth, ib. i. 334; Bambrught, ib. 339. Cf. ib. ii. 45: 'Bebba . . . ciuitas urbs est munitissima, non admodum magna, sed quasi duorum uel trium agrorum spatium, habens unum introitum cautum et gradibus miro modo exaltatum. Habet in summitate montis ecclesiam, . . . in qua est scrinium, in quo inuoluta pallio iacet dextera manus sancti Oswaldi regis incorrupta.' R. W. says: 'urbs Bebbam, quae nunc "Baamburc" *Gallice* appellatur.' Bamborough was founded by Ida; Chron. Sax. E. 547 A.D. Neither Bede nor the Chron. tells us whose queen Bebb was. Nennius, § 63, makes her the wife of Ethelfrid. If so, he must have been married twice, as he certainly married Acha, Edwin's sister; see below and c. 1, note. The life of St. Oswald makes Bebb contemporary with Oswy (!); S. D. i. 373. Lappenberg makes her the wife of Ida; i. 121; E. T. i. 119.

argenteo] 'et deaurato' adds R. W. i. 139, copying this passage.

Derorum et Berniciorum prouinciae] On their relations, v. <sup>Union of</sup> note to c. 1; cf. Biog. Misc. p. 7: 'Oswaldus . . . Berniciorum Deyro- <sup>Bernicia</sup> rumque nationes et populis et moribus distinctas . . . de duobus <sup>and Deira.</sup> unum fecerat regnum.'

p. 139. nepos] 'nephew,' a very late use; v. Ltft. App. Ff. I. i. 44, note; cf. on iv. 23; and Opp. Min. p. 191: 'Iustinianus Iustini ex sorore nepos.'

## CHAPTER 7.

Eo tempore] The Sax. Chron. places the mission of Birinus <sup>Date of</sup> in 634. If this is correct, his coming preceded by a few months <sup>Birinus' mission.</sup> that of Aidan. Rudborne says 635; Ang. Sac. i. 190. Bede gives no dates. It is plain that he could obtain no reliable details as to the conversion of the West Saxons; cf. Bright, p. 149.

Drogo's life of Oswald exaggerates the part played by Oswald in the conversion of Wessex; AA. SS. Aug. ii. 98.

Reign of Cynegils. regnante Cynigilso] According to the Chron. he reigned from 611 to 643 (MS. A.); to 641 B. C. E. F. Under 611 he is said (A. B. C. E.) to have reigned thirty-one years, which would bring his death to 642, the same year as that of Oswald.

Birinus. Birino] For the later lives of him, which add nothing but idle legends to Bede's account, see Hardy, Cat. i. 235-239. From the first of these lives is taken the story about him in G. P. p. 157.

Asterius. per Asterium . . . episcopum] Asterius was archbishop of Milan, though he resided at Genoa; Bright, p. 146. Gams dates his episcopate 630-640; Bright, 628-638.

in episcopatus . . . gradum] 'Birinus was thus made a "regionary" or missionary bishop, and left free to choose his own centre of operations'; Bright, *u. s.*

Baptism of Cynegils. rex ipse . . . ablueretur] 'An event hardly second in interest, when one considers the destinies of Wessex, to the baptism of Ethelbert himself'; Bright, p. 148. The Sax. Chron. places this event in 635.

eum . . . suscepisse] This was the function of the sponsor; cf. c. 22 *ad fin.* iv. 13, and see the note in Bright, *u. s.* A spurious charter of Ethelwulf (H. & S. iii. 646; K. C. D. No. 1057; Birch, ii. 96) wrongly makes Birinus himself godfather ('fulluht fæder,' 'baptism-father') to Cynegils. Birinus did both baptize and act as godfather to Cuthred, son of Cwichelm, son of Cynegils, in 639; Sax. Chron. *ad ann.* On Cwichelm, see ii. 9, p. 99, notes. On sponsors at baptism and confirmation, cf. H. & S. iii. 193; Wulfstan's Homilies, pp. 39, 67, 120, 300-302.

Cynegils' daughter. filiam] The twelfth-century life of St. Oswald says that her name was Cyneburga; and that after Oswald's death she was persuaded by his niece Osthryth, c. 11, p. 148; iv. 21, p. 249; v. 24, p. 355. to take the veil; S. D. i. 349. It is possible to suspect a confusion with Cyneburga, daughter of Penda, wife of Alchfrid, the son of Oswy, c. 21, p. 170; but on the other hand, Cynegils may well have had a daughter named Cyneburga.

Grant confirmed by Oswald. ambo reges] It may have been thought well to have the confirmation of Oswald as Bretwalda. 'Kynegilsus Rex donauit, et Oswaldus confirmauit donum; Rudborne in Ang. Sac. i. 190; cf. Elmham, p. 226.

Dorchester Dorcio] 'on Dorcot ceastre,' AS. vers. Dorchester near Oxford. Now a mere village; and such it had already become in the twelfth century. 'Reges . . . ambo dederunt [Birino] . . . Dorcestam, tunc urbem, modo uillam; G. P. p. 158. On the history of Dorchester as a Mercian see, v. notes on iv. 23, p. 254.

p. 140. *migravit ad Dominum*] Dec. 3, 648, according to Rudborne, Ang. Sac. i. 191, where see note; 650, Stubbs, Ep. Succ. p. 161, following Sax. Chron. F. The MSS. of the Sax. Chron. place the accession of his successor in 649 or 650; see below. He is commemorated at Dec. 3 in Mart. Doneg. p. 324; cf. ib. p. 366. Here a later hand in MS. C. has inserted on the margin the date Non. Dec., which would be Dec. 5.

*Hædde . . . agente*] According to the Sax. Chron. Hædde became Hædde. bishop in 676, and died in 703. Bede, however, v. 18, *ad init.*, says that he died at the beginning of Osred's reign, i. e. in 705. Fl. Wig. follows Bede and not the Sax. Chron.

*translatus*] 'Hædde biscop heht his lichoman upadón,' 'Bishop Translation H. ordered his body to be taken up,' AS. vers. This translation of Birinus. is alluded to in a pretended decree of Archbishop Theodore's, which will be discussed lower down in connexion with the history of the West-Saxon see. Hén. Hunt., p. xxvi., enumerating the glories of Winchester, says: 'ibi etiam Birini praesulis . . . miracula magna uidebis.' Another translation took place in 1150; Ann. Wint. p. 54; Ann. Wig. p. 379.

*in ecclesia . . . Pauli*] Built by Cenwalh, the son and successor of Cynegils; v. Sax. Chron. 643, A. 642. B. C.; 641 E. Consecrated 648; ib. F. Lat. This is the 'old Church,' as opposed to the 'new Mynster,' or Hyde Abbey, consecrated in 903; ib. F. See notes *ad l.*

*defuncto . . . successit*] On the date, v. s. On Cenwalh, cf. Cenwalh. D. C. B. i. 592, 593.

*suscipere rennuit*] W. M. says that he renounced Christianity; i. 23. But this is against Bede's words, and is due to the wish to make a rhetorical point.

*aliam . . . uxorem*] Probably Sexburgh, who survived him; Lappenberg, i. 246. The E. T. i. 252, states this as a fact, tampering, as it frequently does, with the text which it professes to translate. Cf. notes on iv. 12.

*regno priuatus*] 645, Sax. Chron. A. F.; 644, B. C. E.

*fidem . . . suscepit*] 646, Sax. Chron. A. F.; 645, B. C. E. According to Fl. Wig. he was baptized by Felix, i. 20. The Lib. Eli. p. 23, says that Anna acted as his godfather, and helped to restore him to his kingdom; and that this was what drew on him the wrath of Penda; c. 18, *ad fin.* This is probable enough, but it may be only an inference from Bede. Cenwalh was also a great friend of Benedict Biscop, Hab. § 4, p. 367; and of Alchfrid of Deira; Eddius, c. 7. Cenwalh's alleged brother Eielwine (i. e. Ethelwine), venerated as a saint at Athelney, is probably a myth



created by an attempt to explain that name as 'Æðelwines-ei,' 'Ethelwine's island,' G. P. p. 199.

Descendants of  
Anna of  
East  
Anglia.

uir . . . felix] Cf. c. 18; *ad fin.* Among his 'sancta soboles' are his daughter Ethelburga, his step-daughter Sæthryth, and his grand-daughter Earcongota (by the marriage of his daughter Sexburgh to Earconbert of Kent), all of whom became abbesses of Brie in Gaul, *inf.* c. 8; his daughter Ethelthryth (ii. 19, 20) abbess of Ely, in which office she was succeeded by her sister Sexburgh, the mother of Earcongota, who was in turn succeeded by another daughter Ermingild, who had been married to Wulfhere of Mercia, to whom she bore St. Werburg, Fl. Wig. i. 32; Bright, p. 152. A fourth daughter became a nun at Ely; Fl. Wig. i. 261; and afterwards a recluse at Dereham; Bright, p. 151; cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 264, 265, 469, 470; but the accounts of her seem rather mythical. Still more mythical seems a son, St. Germinus, mentioned G. P. p. 156; Lib. Eli. pp. 15, 23. The editor of G. P. identifies him with St. Germanus of Auxerre, who lived about two centuries earlier.

Cenwalh  
restored.

History of  
the West-  
Saxon see.

restitutus] As Bede says that he was in exile three years, this would fix his return to 647 or 648, according to the Chron.

uenit in prouinciam, &c.] The history of the West-Saxon see, from Birinus to the death of Hædde, is as follows. After the death of Birinus Agilbert became bishop of the West Saxons with his see at Dorchester. During his tenancy of the see Cenwalh attempted to divide the diocese, making Wine bishop of the Western part with his see at Winchester. Agilbert, offended at this, retired from Wessex, leaving the see of Dorchester vacant. Dorchester ultimately passed under Mercian dominion, and became the seat of a Mercian bishopric. Winchester thus remained the only Wessex see, under Wine, and his successor Leutherius or Hlothhere; Hædde, Hlothhere's successor, recognising accomplished facts, translated the body of Birinus to Winchester; while on Hædde's death the diocese was divided, Daniel being located at Winchester, and Aldhelm at Sherborne; v. 18, p. 320. Thus, strictly speaking, there was no translation of the see of Dorchester to Winchester; but, after an abortive attempt to divide the diocese of Wessex between them, the former ceased to exist as a West-Saxon see. The decree of Theodore, however, already alluded to, ascribes such a translation to Hædde: 'Nolumus, . . . immo nobis non congruit, ipso . . . Hedda superstite, qui ecclesiam Wentanam tam insigniter nobilitauit, auctoritate summi pontificis Agathonis transferendo corpus . . . Birini . . . a uilla Dorkecestrensi . . . una cum sede in Wentanam ciuitatem, cuius etiam . . . apostolico . . . mandato extunc primo

confirmata est in ipsa ciuitate sedes episcopalis dignitatis, parochiam suam in aliquo laedere diminuendo.' H. & S. iii. 126, 127, from Ang. Sac. i. 193. Now it is true that the Wessex diocese was not divided till after Hædde's death. (For the reason, see on iv. 12.) It is possible that Hædde may have sought some papal sanction to accomplished facts in the matter of the location of the see. But it is not true in any sense that he first transferred the see to Winchester. The declaration against division is so contrary to Theodore's general ecclesiastical policy as to be very improbable; not less improbable is it that he who resisted an express decision of the Pope as to the division of the Northumbrian diocese, should effusively invoke papal authority for a much less important change. On the whole, this decree seems to me decidedly spurious. The *Ann. breues Winton.* say with more explicit falsehood: 'sedes West-Saxonum in ecclesia de Dorcestria mansit . . . usque ad tempora Heddae; . . . qui sedem transtulit . . . una cum corpore . . . Birini in ecclesiam summae Trinitatis, modo apostolorum Petri et Pauli Wintoniae;' Ang. Sac. u. s. The statement as to the original dedication of the church also flatly contradicts both Bede and the Chronicle. Yet the same annals, as cited Ang. Sac. i. 191, seem to assign the translation of the see to Agilbert.

**Agilberotus]** Ægelbert or Æthelbert; the difference in writing Agilbert. is due to the fact that both *ġ* and *g* between vowels became a mere 'breath,' and ultimately disappeared, leaving us the name Albert. (Cf. 'Aelbert,' Haa. § 29, and ib., § 11 note; 'Eielred,' G. P. p. 30; 'Eielwini,' ib. 199.) The title 'pontifex' shows that he was already in episcopal orders before he came to Britain. Dr. Bright thinks that 'he had been consecrated . . . in Gaul as a *vacant* bishop, *σχολάζων*'; i. e. a bishop without a diocese. Cf. D. C. A. ii. 1041. The Sax. Chron. F. 605, incorrectly says of him, 'was gehadod,' 'ordinatur'; the other MSS. more correctly, 'onfeng bisceopdomes,' 'received the bishopric.' The view that he was consecrated in Gaul is confirmed by what Bede says below of Wine: '*et ipsum in Gallia ordinatum.*'

**Gallus]** 'Gallia cynnes,' 'of Gaul-kin,' AS. vers.; 'se Francisca,' 'Francigena,' Sax. Chron. F. 650 A. D.

**legendarum . . . demoratus]** On the noble liberality with which the Irish Church about this time welcomed foreign students, see c. 27, p. 192.

**in Hibernia]** 'Scotta ealonde,' 'the island of the Scots,' adds AS. vers.

**adnuens]** 650, Sax. Chron. A. F.; 649, B. C. E. By F. only is Birinus' death placed in the same year as Agilbert's acceptance of

the see; and this is probably a mere inference. The other MSS. only say that A. succeeded B.: 'æfter Byrine þam Romaniscean bisceope.'

sacerdotali] 'episcopal,' v. i. 28, note.

barbaræ loquellæ] v. note on i. 25, p. 45; a different, and doubtful explanation in Freeman's *Life and Letters*, ii. 229.

subintroduxit] This word, taken from the Vulgate version of Gal. ii. 4, where St. Paul denounces the false brethren, stamps the proceeding with Bede's condemnation.

parrochias] v. iv. 1, 5, notes.

p. 141. ageret rex] 'gewat þa of Breotone,' 'departed then from Britain,' adds AS. vers.

rediit Galliam] Agilbert was certainly in Northumbria before and during the Synod of Whitby; iii. 25, v. 19, pp. 183, 325; Eddius, cc. 9, 10. No less certainly he did not become bishop of Paris before 666, as his predecessor Importunus signs a document in that year. Gallia Christ. vii. 26, 27; Bright, p. 182; Gams, p. 596. Here Bede is evidently speaking summarily and inexactly. In v. 19, p. 325, however, he distinctly says that Agilbert was bishop of Paris at the time of Wilfrid's consecration in 664. The Sax. Chron. places Agilbert's retirement from Wessex ('from Cenwale') and Wine's accession in 660, and says that the latter held the see three years. This period agrees well enough with Bede's expression below, 'non multis . . . annis'; but, combined with the date given for Wine's accession, it would bring his expulsion to 663. This is impossible, as Wine was certainly still bishop in Wessex when Ceadda sought consecration of him in 664; iii. 28. Fl. Wig. places Wine's expulsion in 666 (on what authority I know not; but the date is accepted by H. & S. iii. 118). Then his accession and Agilbert's retirement would fall into 663. This would fit in excellently with the other events recorded. Agilbert, leaving Wessex in 663, retires to Northumbria and remains there 'ali-quandiu,' c. 25, p. 183, i. e. till after the Synod of Whitby (early in 664). He then returns to Gaul, and assists in the consecration of Wilfrid later in the same year. Cf. Ang. Sac. i. 191; Bright, p. 182 n. Florence places Wine's accession in 660; but as he gives no period of his tenure of the see, he is not inconsistent with himself.

obiit] Oct. 11, 680, Gams.

pulsus est et Uini] The reason for his expulsion is not known.

Wulfhere.

Uulfheri] It illustrates the ascendancy which Wulfhere had acquired over Essex, that he was able to dispose of the East Saxon bishopric. Cf. D. C. B. ii. 20; iv. 666. The idea of Lappenberg that he was Bretwalda is very problematical; i. 165, 171; E. T.

i. 171, 178. 'Haec . . . eius [Wulferi] bona . . . deprimit grauis simoniae nota, quod primus regum Anglorum sacrum episcopatum . . . uenditarit,' W. M. i. 78.

emit pretio] 'Sceuo exemplo posteris, ut non facile discernas maiore peccato et infamia an illius qui rem sacram uenum proposuerit, an illius qui emerit,' G. P. p. 159; 'unde post mortem in serie episcoporum Londinensium non meruit recenseri,' Matth. Paris, Chron. Maiora, i. 294, from R. W. i. 160; copied in turn by Westminster *ad ann.* 666. He is however in Fl. Wig.'s list, i. 232. There is a tradition preserved by Rudborne, Ang. Sac. i. 192, that three years before his death he retired as a penitent to Winchester, continually repeating the saying of Jerome (*adu. Rufinum*, lib. iii, Opp. IV. ii. 445, ed. Bened.) 'errauimus iuuenes, emendemus senes.' Cf. the similar story told of Herbert Losinga, Bishop of Norwich, Elmham, pp. 167, 168. It is certain that Wine was not present at the Council of Hertford, 673; *inf.* iv. 5; v. H. & S. iii. 121. Bede however says distinctly here that he remained bishop till his death.

tempore non pauco] Seven years according to the Sax. Chron. See next note.

quo . . . tempore . . . afflictus] The Sax. Chron. does not mention any wars of Cenwalh between 663, the date which it gives by implication to the expulsion of Wine, and 670, that assigned to Hlothhere's (Leutherius') accession. Bede mentions, iv. 13, p. 230, the conquest by Wulfhere of Wight, and the district of the Meantware; the Chronicle places the former with other battles in 661, which was in any case prior to Wine's expulsion. That entry is however certainly wrong in some respects, and may be wrong in this also; v. note a. l. Besides his rivalry with Mercia, Cenwalh had trouble also with the Welsh; Sax. Chron. 652, 658.

perfidia . . . reuocauerit] On the tendency to make success a test of truth, see on ii. 13, p. 111; 'perfidia,' 'unbelief,' 'heathenism;' v. i. 7, p. 18, note.

Leutherium] 'uir demirandae sanctitatis et doctrinae,' Rud. Hlothhere. borne in Ang. Sac. i. 192.

honorifice . . . suscepto] Perhaps in a formal synod, the holding of which in connexion with Leutherius' appointment is implied in the words 'ex synodica sanctione,' below.

in ipsa ciuitate] Winchester.

multis annis] The Chron. places his accession in 670, that of Hædde in 676. Under 670 however it gives Hlothhere a tenure of seven years. Malmesbury copies this, and is childishely elated at being able to supply an omission of Bede's: 'de annis episcopatus

eius Beda nichil . . . reliquit, michi ex cronicis cognitum dissimulare silentio præter religionem uidebatur,' G. P. p. 159.

solus] i. e. the project of division was abandoned for the present.

## CHAPTER 8.

Earconbert.

P. 142. filio] By his wife Emma; v. note on ii. 5, p. 90.

quæ . . . tenuit] He died July 14, 664, iv. 1, p. 201, therefore his accession must be placed early in 640. With this agrees an entry in the *Annales Iuuanenses Maiores*, *ad ann. 640*: 'Eodbald filius Edilberti depositus xiii Kal. Feb. feria vi,' Pertz, i. 87, i. e. Jan. 20; which however seems to have been a Thursday, and not a Friday in 640.

His legislation.

hic . . . destrui] On the question of the destruction of idols, Anglo-Saxon heathenism, &c., v. notes on i. 30; cf. Childebert's constitution abolishing idolatry, c. 554 A.D. in Bouquet, iv. 113, 114. For the legend of Earconbert's brother Ermenred and his two martyred sons, v. Sax. Chron. A. 640 and notes.

ieiunium . . . præcepit] 'ut gentem suam, uentri tantum indulgentem, parcitati gulæ doceret insuescere,' adds W. M. i. 15.

quæ . . . proposuit] For the whole of this sentence the AS. vers. simply has 'bi wite rædenne,' 'under penalty.' Earconbert's laws have not been preserved.

Earcongotæ] Surius, July 7, and Mabillon, *Ann. Bened.* i. 378, 435, add nothing to Bede.

Fara or Burgundofara.

Fara] or Burgundofara. She was said to have been blessed and dedicated to God in her childhood by St. Columban; Mabillon, *Ann. Bened.* i. 293, 434; AA. SS. ii. 25, 117, 439. Mabillon thinks that she died c. 665; cf. *Gallia Christ.* viii. 1701, 1702. An account of various miracles which happened during her abbacy, by Jonas of Bobbio, is printed in AA. SS. u. s. pp. 439 ff., and a life of her is printed in vol. iii. of the Basle and Cologne editions of Bede's works. Needless to say, it is not by Bede.

Faremoûtier-en-Brie.

in Brige] Faremoûtier-en-Brie, i. e. Faræ Monasterium in Brige; called also Eboriacum. Founded c. 617. It was a double monastery for men and women. Bathildis, wife of Clovis II, herself of English race, v. on v. 19, p. 325, was a great benefactress of it; *Gallia Christ.* viii. 1700, 1701; Mabillon, AA. SS. ii. 780. There are documents relating to this monastery in Bouquet, viii. 377, 431.

Monasteries prior to 640 A.D.

necdum multis . . . constructis] Of monasteries 'in regione Anglorum' of which the foundation is mentioned by Bede, the only ones which are certainly earlier than 640 are Christ Church and St. Augustine's, Canterbury; Lindisfarne; Betrichsworth or Bury St. Edmund's, iii. 18 and note; and Cnobheresburg or Burgh Castle, iii. 19. To these may probably be added Melrose;

Cuthbert entered Melrose in 651, and it had evidently been established some little time previously. Hartlepool (Heruteu) was founded 'non multo ante' 647, iv. 23. Gateshead (Ad Caprae Caput) is mentioned in 653, iii. 21. Ythanceaster and Tilbury about the same time, iii. 22. Malmesbury may possibly be earlier than 640. There are other places, like Coldingham and Pægnalæch, of which the time of foundation is not mentioned; but the date at which they first appear is too late to afford any strong presumption that they go back further than 640.

**in regione Anglorum]** i. e. the parts of Britain occupied by the Teutonic tribes. No name derived from them was as yet applied to the whole country; this is always in Bede *Brittania* or *Britanniae*; just as the opposite continent of Europe, though largely occupied by the Franks, is still *Gallia* or *Galliae*. So 'in regione Francorum' just above; cf. *Hab.* § 19, note. At a later time '*Britannia*' gets confined to the Celtic parts of the island, and is practically equivalent to Wales; *H. & S.* iii. 477; *M. H. B. p.* 471; cf. *R. W. i.* 93: 'unde communiter statuerunt [reges Anglorum siue Saxonum] quatenus insula, non a Bruto Britannia, sed Anglia uocaretur.'

No Teutonic name for Britain.

**multi de Britannia]** Cf. *Hist. Abb. Anon.* § 7; *S. D.* ii. 12.

**mittebant]** The *AS. vers.* supplies the nominative: 'cyningas 7 rice men,' 'kings and powerful men.'

**in Cale]** Chelles, near Paris. The monastery, dedicated to Chelles. St. George, was founded by Clotilde, wife of Clovis I, and restored by Bathildis on a much larger scale, 662; *Mab. Ann. Bened.* i. 111, 444; *Mab. AA. SS.* ii. 779, 780; *Gallia Christ.* vii. 558. Gisla, sister of Charles the Great, was abbess of Chelles at the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth cent. Several of Alcuin's letters are addressed to her.

**in Andilegum]** Andeley-sur-Seine, founded in honour of the Virgin Andeley. Mary by Clotilde, wife of Clovis I. It was standing in 884, but was probably destroyed by the Northmen, c. 900; *Gallia Christ.* xi. 131.

**filia naturalis]** i. e. his own daughter as opposed to his step-daughter; not 'illegitimate,' though it has this sense as early as Ulpian; cited in Andrewes' Dictionary.

**Aedilberg]** For a life of her, almost wholly taken from Bede, Ethelberg. c. Hardy, *Cat.* i. 265; cf. *ib.* 385, where she is confused with Ethelberg, sister of Bishop Eareonwald of London; iv. 6-10. Mabillon says that there was a priory dedicated to her, the prioress of which was bound annually to attend the chapter of the monastery of Faremoutier-en-Brie; *Ann. Bened.* i. 434. He also prints a twelfth-century hymn in her honour; *ib.* 692.

**Sexburg]** Sæburg, *AS. vers.* See on iv. 19.

p. 143. solent . . . narrari] Bede may have obtained the following account from oral tradition; or he may have had some life of her before him, at the existence of which the words below, 'suis narrare permittimus,' seem to hint. But no life of her earlier than Bede is known to exist.

Gold  
coinage.

aureum illud nomisma] 'This does not prove that gold coins were current in Kent,' Lingard, *Angl. Sax. Church*, ii. 401, cited by M. & L. *a. l.* Two Frankish gold coins of this period are figured in Ducange, vol. v. plate i. Nos. 15, 19. A certain king of the Huns was offered 'solidorum aureorum modius plenus' to betray Berht-here (Perctarit), King of the Lombards, to his enemies; Eddius, c. 28.

Double mo-  
nasteries.

multi de fratribus] This shows that Brie (and probably also Chelles and Andeley) was a double monastery both of nuns and monks. From Gaul the institution was transplanted to Britain. We find that Bardney (iii. 11), Barking (iv. 7), Ely (iv. 19), Whitby (iv. 23), Coldingham (iv. 25) were double monasteries. Wenlock was another; Mon. Mog. pp. 53 ff. Eangyth, an abbess of an unnamed monastery, in writing to St. Boniface 719 x 722, enumerates among her various cares: 'recordatio . . . uniuersarum commissarum animarum promiscui sexus et aetatis,' ib. 67. Lingard (*Anglo-Saxon Church*, ch. 5) adds to these instances Repton and Wimborne, of the latter of which an interesting account is given from the life of St. Lioba. 'In quo duo monasteria . . . constructa sunt, . . . unum scilicet clericorum, et alterum feminarum; quorum . . . utrumque ea lege disciplinae ordinatum est, ut neutrum eorum dispar sexus ingrederetur. Numquam enim uirorum congregationem femina, aut uirginum contubernia quisquam uirorum intrare permittebatur, exceptis solummodo presbyteris, qui in ecclesias earum ad agenda missarum officia tantum ingredi solebant, et consummata sollemniter oratione statim ad sua redire. Feminarum uero quaecumque saeculo renuntians earum collegio sociari uoluerat, numquam exitura intrabat, nisi causa rationalis . . . eam cum consilio emitteret. Porro ipsa congregationis mater, quando aliquid exteriorum pro utilitate monasterii ordinare . . . necesse erat, per fenestram loquebatur, et inde decernebat, quaecumque ordinanda . . . utilitatis ratio exigebat,' Mabillon, *AA. SS.* iv. 246, 247. Niridanum (iv. 1) may also have been a double monastery. It is no argument against this that Bede calls it 'uirginum monasterium,' for he applies the same term to Ely and Coldingham, *u. s.* For other instances, see an interesting note in M. & L. pp. 316, 317. The feminine element seems indeed to have been predominant in all these cases, and the abbess was always the head of both communities. The case of Coldingham

shows that, in spite of rules like those of Wimborne, the system might lead to serious abuses. Theodore tried to discourage it. In his Penitential, II. vi. 8 (H. & S. iii. 195), he says, 'non licet uiris feminas habere monachas, neque feminis uiros; tamen nos non destruamus quod consuetudo est in hac terra.' Cf. D. C. A. ii. 1414. Ultimately the system died out in this country; very likely, as Lingard suggests, owing to the destruction of many of these monasteries by the Danes.

egressi dignoscere] 'going out to ascertain.' N<sup>2</sup>., not understanding this unclassical construction, adds 'uolentes'; v. c. 2, p. 130, note.

p. 144. *flagrantia*] For *fragrantia*, and so constantly; Opp. Min. 'Flagrantia.' p. 333. So Opp. Min. p. 14, 'flagrant' for 'fragrant.' In Opp. vi. 126, conversely, we have 'calore fragrantior' for 'flagrantior.' A further variety is 'fraglantia,' 'fraglans'; Pertz, xi. 313, 314; Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 363. For this 'odour of sanctity' many references are collected by M. & L. *a. l.*; and on iv. 10.

*cunctis . . . fratribus ac sororibus*] 'eallum þam higum,' 'to all the members of the family or household,' AS. vers.

*quasi opobalsami cellaria*] See the critical notes. The AS. vers. expands very luxuriantly: 'Swa swa hordærn . . . balsami 7 þara deorwyrðestena wyrta, 7 þara swetestena þe in middangearde wæron,' 'like a treasury of balsam and of the costliest and sweetest spices in the world.' Cf. Bede in Cant. Cant. i. 14: 'In urbe . . . Engaddi nobiliores caeteris uineae nascuntur, utpote de quibus liquor non uini, sed opobalsami defluit; . . . quod [balsamum] in chrismatibus confectione liquori oliuae admisceri, ac pontificali benedictione solet consecrari, quatenus fideles omnes cum impositione manus sacerdotalis, qua Spiritus Sanctus accipitur, hac unctione signentur. Qua etiam altare dominicum, cum dedicatur, et caetera quae sacrosancta esse debent, perunguntur. . . . Sed . . . uirgulta earum acutis lapidibus, siue osseis solent incidere cultellis; nam ferri tactus laedit. Per quas incisiones emanat succus odoris eximii. . . . Quod quia per cauernam profluat corticis, saepius opobalsamum nominatur; opi (ὀπῆ) enim Graecae cauerna nuncupatur,' Opp. ix. 226, 227; so iv. 424. (It is, of course, really from ὀπός, juice, 'succus'.)

*intemeratum . . . immune*] On incorruption after death as a sign of chastity during life, cf. iv. 19, p. 243, of St. Ethelthryth. Cf. Bede in Cant. Cant. iv. 14: 'Myrrha et aloë continentiam carnis exprimunt; quia . . . horum natura est aromatum, ut uncta ex eis corpora defunctorum minime putrescant. . . . Quomodo enim corruptio mortuae carnis putredinem luxuriae, ita conditura eius

Flagrantia.

Balsam and the chrisma.

Bodily incorruption a sign of chastity.



... uirtutem continentiae et castitatem . . . demonstrat,' Opp. ix. 290, 291.

ibi solet] 'oð þas tid,' 'up to the present time,' adds AS. vers. die Non. Iul.] July 7th.

## CHAPTER 9.

paralitica] 'lama,' AS. vers.  
christianissimus] v. ii. 5, note.

VIII annos . . . fecerat] As Edwin fell Oct. 12, 633, ii. 20, p. 124, this fixes the fall of Oswald to 642; so c. 9, v. 24, p. 354.

p. 145. siquidem . . . adnotari] v. s. c. i, p. 128, and notes.

Battle of Maserfelth. commisso graui proelio] There seems to have been an earlier battle which Bede has not mentioned, as four years before the fall of Oswald Tighernach has the entry: 'congregatio Saxonum contra Osualt.' The twelfth-century life of Oswald, S. D. i. 350, 352, says that he had previously conquered Mercia, defeating Penda and driving him into Wales; that then, feeling himself secure, he had dismissed the bulk of his forces, when he was suddenly surprised and surrounded by Penda with a new army. Whether this has any foundation beyond the writer's imagination I cannot say. (It looks like a doublet of his own account of Edwin's fall, p. 345. See on ii. 20.) He professes to write from earlier sources, 'diuersarum textus historiarum percurrando translegimus,' p. 329; cf. ib. 343, 346, 349, 367 (from Adamnan's life of St. Columba, ed. Reeves, pp. 13-16), 372, 378, 379. But there is so much confusion and repetition in his account that it is difficult to criticise his statements. In Nennius, § 65, and Ann. Camb. ad ann. 644, the battle is called 'Bellum Cocboy,' and a brother of Penda, Eowa or Eoba, 'rex Merciorum,' is said to have fallen in it. He may have been under-king of a part of Mercia. Nennius says, 'Penda uictor fuit per diabolicam artem.' Hen. Hunt has here again preserved a proverb: 'unde dicitur, "Campus Masefeld sanctorum conduit ossibus"', p. 95. That Penda here, as before and after, was acting in concert with the Britons under Cadwalader, son of Cadwallon or Cædwalla, is likely enough. Cf. c. 14, notes; Rhys, C. B. p. 132.

Maserfelth] Identified with Oswestry in Shropshire (= 'Oswaldes-tréo,' Oswald's tree). The life of Oswald, u. s., says, 'Est . . . locus iste conterminus finibus Armonicae Waliae, quod Waliae quondam pars maxima dicta est Armonica (i. e. Arvon; whence Carnarvon, i. e. Caer-yn-Arvon, 'the city in Arvon') . . . Distatque locus iste a fossa regis Offae, quae Angliam et Waliam borealem

diuidit, miliario non ferme dimidio, et Scropesbyri miliario integre septimo, ab abbazia uero Waneloc (Much Wenlock) . . . miliario circiter sexto decimo;’ pp. 350, 353. The distances are understated. Here was a church called ‘Candida’ or ‘Alba Ecclesia’ (White Minster, Leland, Itin. v. 37) and a sacred fountain, both dedicated to St. Oswald, pp. 350, 352, 357, 358. Here too was the miraculous tree from which the place was said to derive its name, pp. 355-357. But the Welsh form of the name, Croes Oswallt, ‘Oswald’s Cross’ (e.g. Red Book of Hergest, vol. ii. ‘The Bruts,’ pp. 316, 324), makes it probable that the name came from a wooden cross set up to mark the site of the battle (cf. c. 2, *ad init.*), and that the legend of the tree arose from a later misunderstanding of the name. Leland, *u. s.*, calls the place Oswestre; but also, p. 36, ‘Croix-Oswalde.’

anno . . . XXXVIII] This would put his birth either in 604 or 605. His life, *u. s.* p. 364, places it in 604; which may be only an inference from this passage, and the same may be said of W. M.’s statement, i. 48, that he was twelve years old at the time of his father’s death in 616. ‘Hæfde he . . . lichomlicre ylde seofon 7 þritig wintra,’ ‘he had thirty-seven years of bodily age,’ AS. vers.; i.e. he had completed thirty-seven years, and was in his thirty-eighth year, as Bede says.

die quinto] Bede usually dates by Calends, Ides, and Nones. Here however, and in iii. 27, *ad init.*; v. 8, p. 295; v. 23, p. 350 (cf. also iv. 5, p. 215), the modern system is used. This was first introduced by Gregory I, but did not become common till the general adoption of the vernacular languages in writing. Ideler, ii. 191. Modes of dating.

miraculis claruit] ‘Fuit igitur Oswaldus qui genti suae primitias sanctitatis dederit, quippe nullus ante illum Anglus miraculis, quod sciam, uiguerit,’ W. M. i. 54. Elmham makes Oswald the first English martyr (as against Alban, see on i. 7): ‘Huic primitiae martyrum conferuntur Anglorum,’ pp. 181, 182.

usque hodie] ‘oð þeasne ondweardan dæg,’ ‘to this present day,’ AS. vers.

in aquam mittentes] cf. on i. 1, p. 13.

ablata . . . reddiderit] So of Bishop Hædde’s death-place, v. 18, p. 320.

duo tantum] Unless the healing of the horse and of the paralytic girl are to be reckoned as a single miracle, we have three miracles recorded; and c. 10 would seem to be a later addition, though it appears in all MSS. The translator has been struck with the inconsistency for he says, ‘tu án oðþe þreo,’ ‘two only, or three.’

The miracles in cc. 11-13, were not 'in loco illo, uel de puluere loci illius facta'; and therefore do not affect the question.

stramine subtracto] The oldest MSS. all support this reading, with the doubtful exception of C.; and even in the case of C. the AS. vers., which was certainly made from a MS. of the C. type, see Introduction, p. cxxix., favours 'subtracto.' Later MSS. and edd. read 'substrato' (see critical notes). I believe the explanation to be that 'stramen' is used incorrectly for 'stragulus' in the sense of 'saddle' or 'horse-cloth.' 'Sternere equum' is to saddle a horse (cf. inf. c. 14, p. 156: 'stratus regaliter'; 'distratus equus,' an unsaddled horse, Opp. Min. p. 263. Ducange has '*stramentum*, insellatura equi'). The later scribes, not understanding this use, altered 'subtracto' into 'substrato.'

p. 146. familiares domus illius] 'þa higan,' 'the members of the household,' the 'paterfamilias' being their chief, 'þæs higna ealdres,' AS. vers.

et cum his . . . reuersa est] Cf. iv. 10, *ad fin.*; Vit. Cudb. Pros. c. 32, *ad fin.*

## CHAPTER 10.

P. 147. uicani] 'þæt ham eall,' 'the whole village,' AS. vers.

in una posta] Note how near the first numeral is approaching to the sense of an indefinite article.

uirgis . . . tectum] For this mode of construction, and consequent frequency of fires, cf. ii. 14, p. 114, note; for the thatched roof, cf. Vita Cudb. cc. 5, 14, 20.

posta . . . remansit] A similar miracle in Ra. Ad. p. 114.

## CHAPTER 11.

P. 148. nunc seruantur] 'nu gehealdene syndon,' AS. vers.

Translation  
of Oswald.

Osthryðe] Wife of Ethelred, King of Mercia; iv. 21. She was murdered in 697; v. 24, p. 355. There is a spurious charter in which Ethelred grants land to Offfor, Bishop of Worcester, 'pro absolutione criminum uel meorum, uel coniugis quondam meae Osthrythae'; K. C. D. No. 33; Birch, No. 76. Ethelred succeeded his brother Wulfhere in 675; v. 24, p. 354. In 704 he became a monk, ib. pp. 355, 356, and ultimately abbot, v. 19, p. 329, of this very monastery of Bardney, W. M. i. 54, 78, where also he was buried, Sax. Chron. 716. As Osthryth is spoken of as queen at this time, the translation must have taken place 675 × 697, probably after 679; v. next note. Where the body of Oswald was buried prior to this translation, I find nowhere expressly stated;

probably at Maserfelth. The Sax. Chron. E. 641 *seems* to place the burial at Bardney immediately after the slaughter of Oswald.

in provincia Lindissi] Lindsey seems to have followed the *Lindsey*. alternations of success between Northumbria and Mercia. Under Edwin it belonged to the former; ii. 16. It probably passed from him to Penda in 633. Oswald recovered it (cf. *inf.* 'super eos regnum acceperat,' to which W. M. i. 53 adds, 'bellico iure'). On his fall in 642 it would pass to Penda again, until his defeat by Oswy in 655. Wulfhere of Mercia, on his successful rebellion against Oswy three years later, c. 24, *ad fin.* or at some subsequent time, recovered it; for Egfrid had to reconquer it, 671 × 675; iv. 12, p. 229; Eddius, cc. 19, 20; H. Y. i. 30, 31; S. D. i. 200. Ethelred regained it once more, iv. 12, *ad fin.*; probably in consequence of the battle of the Trent in 679, iv. 21; to which year Fl. Wig. i. 243 expressly assigns the recovery. The translation of Oswald's body would probably be subsequent to this.

Beardaneu] Bardney in Lincolnshire. It is commonly said to *Bardney*. have been founded by Ethelred himself (e.g. Fl. Wig. i. 46, note; G. P. p. 312, note), but Bede would hardly have omitted this, had it been the fact. 'The ruins of Bardney Abbey are yet to be seen;' Enderbie, Cambria Triumphans, p. 213 (1661). 'Now nothing remains but the moated site;' Murray's Lincolnshire (1890), p. 140.

tamen, quia . . . acceperat] Whether the people of Lindsey *Strength of* considered themselves to belong more properly to Mercia, or *local feel-* whether their local feeling resented incorporation in any larger *ing.* unity, is uncertain. The words 'de alia provincia' rather favour the latter view. And they once had princes of their own; Fl. Wig. i. 253. Anyhow the incident shows how far the Teutonic tribes in Britain were from any community of sentiment.

columna lucis] cf. i. 33, p. 71, note.

uexillum] cf. Edwin's banner, ii. 16, *ad fin.*

tumbam] Offa of Mercia afterwards adorned it magnificently; Oswald's *tomb.*  
cf. Alc. de Sanctis Ebor. vv. 388 sqq.:

'Postea rex felix ornauerat Offa sepulchrum,

Ut decus et specimen tumbae per saecula maneret,

Praemia pro modico sumpturus magna labore.'

Alcuin is of course a strictly contemporary witness for the reign of Offa.

in angulo sacrarii] 'sacrarium' means (i.) the sanctuary, the 'Sacra-  
part of a church where the altar stands; (ii.) the sacristy; (iii.) *rium.*'  
the cemetery; Ducange. It is probably used in the third sense here

ipsa terra . . . effectum] The same is told of Oswin, Biogr. *Demoniacs*  
Misc. p. 14, and of Arnulf, Bishop of Soissons (1081-82), 'uidimus *healed.*

euergumenum . . . cui cum puluis ille nolenti in os fuit iniectus, mox mentem recepit;’ Pertz, xv. 900. With the story which follows cf. one in Vita Cudb. c. 41, which is a good deal heightened from the earlier version in Vita Anon. § 44.

Aediluin] v. c. 27, iv. 12, pp. 192, 229.

Peartaneu] v. ii. 16, p. 117.

grauissime uexari] One of the sections of Theodore’s Penitential, II. x, is ‘De uexatis a diabulo’; H. & S. iii. 197.

a nullo . . . ligari] cf. Alcuin’s account, u. s. vv. 405, 406 :

‘Et cum nullus eum potuit constringere uinculis,

Vel miseri saeuos flagris compescere motus;’

which throws light on the treatment of these unhappy beings.

pulsans ad ostium] ‘7 sloh tacen æt geate,’ ‘and gave a signal by knocking at the gate,’ AS. vers.

ad locum uirorum] v. on c. 8.

Exorcism.

p. 150. dicebat . . . exorcismos] ‘song he . . . 7 rædde orationem þa ðe wið þære ætfe awritene wæron,’ ‘he sang and read the prayers that were prescribed against that disease,’ AS. vers.; cf. Vit. Cudb. u. s. There were two kinds of exorcism ‘in euergumenis siue cathecumenis’; Isidore, in Ducange. This is an instance of the former kind. In the latter, the evil spirit was expelled from persons, especially converts from heathenism, who were about to be baptized; v. D. C. A. Unction also formed part of the ceremony of exorcism; cf. Theodore’s Penitential, II. iii. 8: ‘Secundum Grecos presbytero licet facere oleum exorcisatum, et infirmis crismam, si necesse est. Secundum Romanos . . . non licet nisi Episcopis solis;’ H. & S. iii. 193. Cf. Bede, Opp. x. 88: ‘Unde [i. e. from James v. 14] patet ab ipsis apostolis hunc sanctae ecclesiae morem esse traditum, ut euergumini, uel alii quilibet aegroti, ungantur oleo pontificali benedictione consecrato’ (= xi. 92). So on Luke viii. 30: ‘Sed et nostri temporis sacerdotes, qui per exorcismi gratiam daemones eicere norunt, solent dicere, patientes non aliter ualere curari, nisi . . . omne, quod ab immundis spiritibus . . . pertulerint, . . . confitendo . . . exponant . . . Ut quidam uicinus mihi presbyter retulerit, se quandam sanctimoniam feminam a daemonio curare coepisse, sed quamdiu res latebat, nihil apud eam proficere potuisse. Confesso autem quo molestabatur phantasmate, mox et ipsum orationibus caelisque quae oportebat purificationum generibus effugasse, et eiusdem . . . corpus ab ulceribus, quae daemonis tactu contraxerat, medicinali studio adiuncto sale benedicto curasse.’ One ulcer remained obstinate. The mode of cure was suggested by the patient herself: ‘Si . . . oleum pro infirmis consecratum eidem medicamento asperseris, sicque me perunxeris, statim sanitati restituar. Nam uidi quondam per

spiritum, in quadam . . . ciuitate, quam nunquam corporalibus oculis uidi, puellam quandam . . . taliter a sacerdote curatam.' The result was satisfactory; Opp. xi. 76, 77. In the parallel passage of the later commentary on Mark, Opp. x. 71, 72, Bede omits this curious personal reminiscence, which indeed is a rare phenomenon in his theological works; cf. also on exorcism, x. 261. On exorcists as a special order in the early Church, cf. *Lft. App. Ff. II. iii. 240. 241*. A spurious charter (K. C. D. No. 34; Birch, No. 77) is signed by 'Pinewald, exorcista'; cf. Cockayne, *Anglo-Saxon Leechdoms*, I. xxxix, cited by M. & L.

## CHAPTER 12.

P. 151. *infirmitas . . . contingere*] Note how the fever is personified; cf. Luke iv. 39, probably conceived of vaguely as an evil spirit; cf. Tylor, *Anthropology*, pp. 353-355; Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, c. 16.

a tempore . . . persteterit] v. Introduction, p. xxvi.

dixit Oswald] 'se halga Oswald,' 'Saint Oswald,' AS. vers.

p. 152. *quo post annum deueniens, &c.*] It is noteworthy that Oswy should be strong enough to do this at the beginning of his reign; cf. on c. 24, pp. 177, 178. For the legendary development of this story, see the life in S. D. i. 354-358. The history of Oswald's relics falls into three divisions, viz. that of the head, the arms, and the body. A. The head, as Bede narrates, was buried at Lindisfarne. In 875 the monks, in fear of the Danes, determined to quit Lindisfarne and take with them the body of St. Cuthbert, 'et una cum eo in eiusdem thecae loculo, ut in ueteribus libris inuenitur, . . . caput . . . Oswaldi, antea in . . . ecclesiae coemiterio sepultum'; S. D. i. 57. Hence it shared the wanderings of St. Cuthbert's body, ib. 61-68; to Chester-le-Street, ib. 69; to Ripon, ib. 78, 79; and finally to Durham, ib. 79; cf. ib. 221: 'Is in ðere byri eac . . . ðes clene cyninges heofud, Oswaldes,' 'There is in that city too the head of the pure king Oswald;' cf. ib. 252, 255. 'Caput . . . nunc Dunelmi inter brachia beatissimi Cuthberti teneri aiunt'; W. M. i. 53. The life of Oswald, S. D. i. 351, 375-378, has a foolish and legendary tale, quite inconsistent with the above historical facts, that the head was removed first to Bamborough, whence it was stolen by a stratagem by a monk of Durham; cf. Hardy, *Cat. i. 631*. The monastery of Epternach also claimed to possess the head of Oswald; AA. SS. Aug. ii. 90. B. The arms, as Bede says, both here and in c. 6, were deposited at Bamborough; by queen Bebbu (!) adds the life; u.s. p. 373. The right arm,

according to the life, was stolen by a monk of Peterborough; *ib.* 374, 375. The left arm was at Gloucester, *ib.* 370; and yet there was an arm at Durham, *ib.* 381. (This is a difficulty which often confronts the investigator of the history of relics. Thus at Rome there were two bodies of St. Hippolytus; *Lftt. App. Ff. I. ii. 459, 460*; *cf. W. M. II. lxiv.*) The Peterborough arm was afterwards translated to Ely; *AA. SS. u. s. p. 88. W. M. i. 53* throws doubt on the existence of these relics in his day; but in *G. P. pp. 293, 317, 318*, he to some extent revoked his doubts. Swartebbrand, an old monk of Durham, told Simeon that he had often seen the uncorrupted right hand; but whether at Bamborough or at Durham is not clearly stated. It is quite possible that it may really have been removed to Durham. Nic. Harpsfeld (sixteenth century) says that '*testes dignissimi omnique exceptione maiores*' had seen it in his day, but he does not say where; *Hist. Eccl. Angl. Saec. vii. c. 26. C.* The body was probably buried first at Oswestry; thence it was translated to Bardney, *v. s.*; *cf. Life, u. s. p. 368.* Thence for fear of the Danes it was removed in 909 by Ethelflæd, lady of the Mercians, and her husband Ethelred to the monastery which they had built in his honour at Gloucester; *Sax. Chron. ad ann.*; *W. M. i. 54, 136*; *G. P. p. 293.* A retranslation of these relics to a new shrine took place 1108 x 1114, at which the author of the life was present, *u. s. pp. 369, 370.* This is hardly consistent with his statement, *pp. 368, 369*, that owing to the carelessness of the monks of Bardney '*uicissim succedentes barbari partem de ossibus illius pietatis furto abstulerunt, et per regiones innumeras tam nationum transmarinarum quam Anglicanarum disperserunt*'; until only three small bones were left at Bardney. Judith, the wife of Tostig, was said to have taken relics of Oswald with her when she left England; *Pertz, xv. 922, 923*; *cf. inf. on c. 14.* We shall see in the notes to the next chapter how many places on the Continent claimed to possess relics of St. Oswald. The monastery of St. Winnoc's at Bergues in French Flanders professed to have obtained his whole body from Harold Harefoot or Edward the Confessor. This pretended body was said to have been burnt by the French Protestants in 1558; *AA. SS. u. s. pp. 88, 89.* Alfred, sacrist of Durham in the eleventh century, made a deliberate attempt to concentrate the relics of all northern saints at Durham; Raine's *Hexham, I. liii. ff.* Canon Raine remarks justly: 'There are few things more discreditable in mediaeval history than this hungry and jealous relic-mongering;' *H. Y. I. xlviii*; *cf. note on Sax. Chron. 1013.*

## CHAPTER 13.

*a mortis articulo reuocatus*] The AS. vers. very literally, 'fram deaðes liðe wæs gehæled,' 'was healed from the joint of death.'

*Brittaniae fines*] We find churches dedicated to St. Oswald at Gloucester, v. c. 12, note; Carlisle, P. & S. p. 192; Oswestry, S. D. i. 350; Hexham, and Bardney in Lincolnshire, ib. ii. 52; Paddlesworth in Kent, Bright, p. 155; St. Oswald's in Elvet, Durham, cf. Hoveden, iv. 69; Nostell Priory, ib. i. 186; Raine's Hexham, I. clxiii; Winwick, Lancs., where also are still some verses to him 'in an old barbarous character,' Camden, ii. 968; while Makerfield near Winwick is one of the claimants for the honour of being Bede's Maserfelth. There are Kirkoswalds in Cumberland and Ayrshire. A church dedicated to him and St. Cuthbert jointly was founded at 'Scythlescester iuxta murum,' the scene of the murder of Alfwold, King of Northumbria, in 788 (perhaps Chesters near Chollerton); S. D. ii. 52.

*trans oceanum . . . attigit*] Of the veneration felt for Oswald in Ireland we have a record in the mention of his name at his day, Aug. 5, in the Féilire of Oengus the Culdee; the gloss on which passage confuses him with another Northumbrian king who like Oswald had been an exile among the Scoti—Aldfrid; on whom see *myf.* iv. 26, p. 268; Introduction, § 10. The Irish also claimed to possess relics of Oswald; Alford, Ann. Eccl. ii. 265.

Of the cult of Oswald on the Continent I have found the following traces (of course the later the date, the greater the testimony to Oswald's popularity):—A. Relics. (On Epternach and St. Winnoc's, see notes to c. 12.) (a) Evidently from Bede's words here, Wilbrord took relics of Oswald with him to Frisia. These would probably be at Utrecht or Epternach. (b) Trèves, fifteenth century, churches of S. Maria ad Martyres and of St. Eucharis; Pertz, xv. 1275, 1279. (c) Tegernsee, Bavaria, eleventh century (a tooth); ib. 1067. (d) Prüfening or Prüfing, thirteenth century; ib. 1078. (e) Ramshofen, diocese of Passau, thirteenth century; ib. 1107. (f) Wettingen, in the Aargau, thirteenth century; ib. 1286. (g) Sauris and Tai, two villages in the Venetian Alps, disputed the possession of a finger of St. Oswald; AA. SS. Aug. ii. 90; Italian Life, pp. 59 ff.; cf. Baedeker, Eastern Alps, p. 371. (h) In the eighteenth century, the abbey of our Lady at Soissons claimed to possess relics of St. Oswald, as did (i) Weingarten, Swabia, (k) Herford, Westphalia, (l) and Lisbon; AA. SS. Aug. ii. 89, 90. B. Dedications. (a) Bamberg, twelfth century, a chapel in the monastery of St.

Dedications to Oswald in Britain.

Cult of Oswald in Ireland and on the Continent.



Michael; Mon. Bamberg. p. 603. (b) Prague, thirteenth century, an altar; Pertz, ix. 177. (c) Altenmünster, Bavaria (thirteenth-century life of an eleventh-century saint), altar; ib. xv. 847. (d) St. Emmeran, Ratisbon, thirteenth century, a church and chapel containing relics, the dedication festival held on the Sunday following his day, Aug. 5; ib. 1097. (e) Oberlonon near Meran, Tyrol, thirteenth century, chapel and altar; ib. 1112. (f) Weingarten, Swabia, thirteenth century, church; AA. SS. Aug. ii. 92. (g) Höllenthal, Schwarzwald, chapel; v. Meyer's Schwarzwald, p. 167. C. Festivals, &c. (a) His day observed at Epternach, end of twelfth century; Pertz, xxiii. 72. (b) The *Annales Hamburg.* date the solar eclipse of 1263 quite correctly by St. Oswald's day; ib. xvi. 385. (c) The author of the Italian life says that he had evidence in his own day (1769) of the cult of St. Oswald at Cologne, Constance, Mainz, Münster, Salzburg, Udine (his own city), Venice, Vicenza, and in Bohemia, p. 77. This is taken from AA. SS. Aug. ii. 91, very largely, from which may be added Bamberg and Spire. D. Places called St. Oswald. In Styria and Carniola alone I have found four: (i) Close to Grätz; Baedeker, *u. s. p.* 343. (ii) near Judenburg; ib. 361. (iii) On the Drave between Saldenhofen and Marburg. (iv) On the borders of Styria and Carniola, about twenty miles NE. of Laybach. E. Miscellaneous. (a) The '*Hrotsuithae Gesta Oddonis*,' speaking of the marriage of Otho, afterwards the Emperor Otho I, with Edith, Athelstan's sister, calls her

'natam de stirpe beata

Oswaldi regis, laudem cuius canit orbis,

Se quia subdiderat morti pro nomine Christi.'

Pertz, iv. 320, 321.

That this is not genealogically correct only makes the testimony the more striking. (b) The Italian life cited above is itself a curious testimony to the popularity of St. Oswald. It is by a certain Giam Pietro della Stua, and dedicated to Gian Girolamo Gradenigo, Archbishop of Udine; printed at Udine in 1769. (c) I have also before me '*Sermone al popolo in onore di S. Oswaldo . . . recitato . . . nella chiesetta campestre della nob. famiglia Caimo-Dragoni dall' Abate Giuseppe Onorio Marzuttini*,' Udine, 1827. From the sermon itself it appears that this '*chiesetta*' was dedicated to St. Oswald, and that he was the patron saint of the place. (d) The mention of St. Oswald in foreign missals and breviaries printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is also evidence of his continued popularity; AA. SS. *u. s. p.* 91. Smith, on c. 12, says '*infinita sunt loca in Anglia, in Belgio, et Hibernia quae reliquias S. Oswaldi uendicant.*'

Hardy's Catalogue omits all notice of any lives of St. Oswald. *Lives of I therefore give a short list of such as have come under my notice. Oswald.*

(i) The life printed by Surius at Aug. 5 is a mere cento of passages from Bede. (ii) Life by Drogo, a monk of the monastery of St. Winnoc's at Bergues, in the eleventh century. Printed in AA.SS. Aug. ii. 94-103. (iii) Life by Reginald of Durham. Printed (incompletely) in Arnold's edition of Sim. Dun. i. 326 ff. (iv) Life in Capgrave's 'Noua Legenda Angliae.' (v) Oswald's Saga. Printed in 'Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed,' 1854; a perfectly fabulous and worthless saga of the fifteenth century.

Acca] On him, see v. 20 and notes.

Bomam uadens] With Wilfrid in 703, 704. See on v. 19, p. 327.

presbyter adhuc] Della Stua, u. s. p. 69, and M. & L. a. l. understand this of Acca. But it almost certainly refers to Wilfrord, who was in Ireland c. 677; Mon. Alc. pp. 42, 43; Bright, pp. 154, 484.

scholasticus quidam] 'sum leorning mon,' 'a student,' AS. 'Scholasticus.' *Scholastic.* vers.; the Irish themselves would call him 'mac legind,' 'a son of reading.' 'Scholasticus' also means 'professor,' what the Irish call 'fer legind,' 'a man of reading,' a regular officer in the Irish monasteries; cf. Rs. Ad. p. 196. In a letter of Alcuin cited on c. 4, p. 133, the 'scholastici' are certainly the pupils of the monastic school.

timere coepit] Cf. Bede on 1 John iv. 17: 'Quid est habere fiduciam in die iudicii? Non timere ne ueniat dies iudicii. Cum enim quis primo poenitendo se de malis actis conuerterit, incipit timere diem iudicii, ne uidelicet apparente iusto Iudice ipse damnetur iniustus. Processu uero bonae conuersationis animatus discet non timere quod timebat,' &c.; Opp. xii. 307, 308.

p. 153. pietas] 'pity;' and so often.

## CHAPTER 14.

P. 154. frater eius Osuiu] 'frater eius nothus,' Biogr. Misc. Oswy. p. 3. So Vit. Oswaldi: 'septem . . . filios habuit [Ethelfridus] Eanfridum, Oswaldum, Oswium, &c. . . quorum duo primi . . . de regis Elle filia fuerunt; caeteri uero de concubinis procedebant,' S. D. i. 340; cf. ib. 363. W. M. however, i. 48, says distinctly that Oswy was a son of Acha, and Smith declares the opposite view to be 'contra omnem historicorum fide dignorum auctoritatem.'

XXX circiter annorum] According to iv. 5, *ad init.*, he died Feb. 15, 670, in his fifty-eighth year. That would fix his birth to

Feb. 612 x Feb. 613. But I have shown there that the true date of his death is probably 671. Possibly therefore his birth also should be placed a year later. This would not much conflict with Bede's statement that he was *about* thirty at his accession in 642. W. M.'s statement, i. 48, that he was four years old at his father's death is probably a mere inference from Bede.

inpugnatus] On Oswy's early difficulties, see on c. 24, *ad init.*

Alohfrido] He fought however on his father's side at the battle of the Winwæd, c. 24, p. 178. See notes on c. 28.

Oidilualdo] v. *inf.* cc. 23, 24.

Paulinus. anno secundo . . . sexto Id. Oct.] This date, Oct. 10, 644, falls in Oswy's third year; for Oswald died Aug. 5, 642.

qui X et VIIII . . . dies XXI.] He was consecrated July 21, 625, ii. 9, p. 98; which seems to give 19. 2. 20, as the length of his episcopate. Note the curious legend of his death in App. I. § 17. *secretario*] v. ii. 1, p. 79, note.

Andreae] v. ii. 3, p. 85. Lanfranc destroyed the old church and rebuilt it, translating Paulinus' bones. Smith.

Ithamar. Ithamar . . . aequandum] Malmesbury *more suo* paraphrases Bede's words about Ithamar, noting his importance as the first native bishop: 'ita primus in patriam pontificalis honoris in Angli persona ferens gratiam, prouincialibus suis nonnullam dignitatem adiecit;' G. P. p. 135. For later lives of him, v. Hardy, Cat. i. 252, 253.

Oswine. Osuini] There is a twelfth-century life of him printed in Biog. Misc., from MS. Cotton, Jul. A. x; cf. AA.SS. Aug. iv. 57-66. This MS. is incomplete; the lacuna can be supplied from MS. C.C.C. Oxon. 134, which contains further two homilies, and other liturgical matter relating to Oswin. I shall occasionally refer to this MS., the account of which in Hardy, Cat. i. 248-250, is incomplete, and in points inaccurate. Cf. also R. W. i. 145-148.

de stirpe . . . Aeduini] This is inexact. He was no descendant of Edwin, but his first cousin once removed. See the pedigrees in note to c. 1.

Osrici] According to his life, Oswin, on the death of Osric, was carried by his friends into Wessex; Biog. Misc. p. 3; cf. MS. C.C.C. ff. 80, 91.

Etymologies.

Osuini . . . Aeduini . . . Osrici] 'Que tria uocabula . . . non casu fortuito . . . sed Dei dispositione . . . si iuxta ethimologiam patrie lingue diligenter interpretentur, fuisse probantur imposita;' MS. C.C.C. f. 27. This homily is full of the wildest etymologising of proper names. Oswy and Oswin, like Ceadda and Cedd, are often inextricably confused by later writers; e. g. Elmham, p. 226.

*supra*] c. 1.

p. 155. *septem annis*] Oswin was murdered on Aug. 20, 651 (*infra*). Therefore if he reigned for seven years his accession must be placed in 644; and this is the year given by the Sax. Chron. E.

*causis dissensionum*] W. M. i. 55 says that the division of the kingdoms had been peaceably arranged, and that the subsequent dissensions were caused by the machinations of evil men; but this is probably only his own fertile imagination. On the relations of Bernicia and Deira, *Relations of Bernicia and Deira.*

*Uilfaræsdun*] Possibly Gariston. Mr. Haigh, cited by Stephens, *ut infra*, says Wilbarston, Northants, which is impossible.

*a uico Cataractone*] 'from Catreht weorþige,' AS. vers.; v. ii. 14, p. 115.

*contra solstitialem occasum*] 'westrihte,' 'due west,' AS. vers.

*milite . . . comitis*] 'þegne,' 'gesīðes,' AS. vers.

*Tondheri*] 'Tylsī filio,' Biog. Misc. p. 9.

*proditum*] Treason to a lord was of special heinousness in Anglo-Saxon law. It was 'bōtleas,' i. e. it admitted of no compensation. Cnut's laws, ii. 64; Schmid, Gesetze, p. 304; Thorpe, Ancient Laws, i. 410; cf. ib. 408. 'Quod si communis proditio talis est, domini proditio qualis est,' Biog. Misc. p. 10. So of the faithful Tondheri it is said, 'fecit quod potuit, et mortem suam eius morti adiunxit' MS. C.C.C. f. 18 b. (The printed life is defective here.) So on f. 83 b he is represented as saying, 'Cur mihi, quod omnibus licet strenuis, pro domino meo mori non liceat?' This preserves a genuine trace of the ancient feeling, that it was disgraceful for the members of a 'comitatus' to survive their lord; v. Sax. Chron. s. a. 755, notes. Cf. the devotion of Edwin's thane Lilla, ii. 9, p. 99.

*præfectum*] 'geréfan,' 'reeve,' AS. vers.

*interfecit*] W. M. conceives that Oswy did all he could by subsequent good conduct to atone for his crime. 'Guin Oissin mic Oiseirg,' Tigh; 'Jugulatio Oisseni mic Oissirgg,' Ann. Ult. These entries illustrate the way in which the Saxon name 'Oswine' passed into Irish and became 'Oissene' or 'Oisin,' the name of the son of the famous Finn mac Cumail, better known in the Scotch form of Ossian; v. Zimmer, 'Früheste Berührungen,' &c. p. 302; though Professor Rhys would give to this, as to so much else, a Pictish origin; Proc. Soc. Ant. of Scotland, 1892, pp. 329 ff. There are several Oisins and Oissenes in the Indices to Mart. Don. and F.M. A latinised form Oisseneus is found in Rs. Ad. p. 22 ('i. 2, ad fin.').

die XIII<sup>a</sup> Kal. Sept. . . . nono] Aug. 20. In v. 24, p. 354, Bede says distinctly that Oswin and Aidan died in 651. But as Oswald died Aug. 5, 642, Aug. 20, 651, strictly falls in the tenth year from that date. Bede has made a similar mistake as to Oswy's regnal years above; 'regni eius' must refer to Oswy, as Oswin only reigned seven years, *v. s.* Oswin's cross still exists at Collingham, Yorks., according to Stephens, Runic Monuments, i. 390.

Ingetlingum] This was Ceolfrid's first monastery, Tunbert, afterwards bishop of Hexham, being abbot of it; Haa. §§ 2, 3, pp. 388, 389. Usually identified with Gilling, near Richmond. Mr. Haigh, cited by Stephens, *u. s.*, suggests Collingham, but this is unlikely. For the form, see on ii. 14.

Burial and  
translation.

Oswin was buried at Tynemouth: 'in oratorio . . . Virginis [Mariæ] . . . ad aquilonem fluminis;' Biog. Misc. p. 11. In process of time his tomb was neglected and forgotten; but was revealed in 1065, when the body was solemnly translated by Bishop Ægelwin of Durham. To the neglect of Earl Tostig to be present at this translation the biographer attributes his expulsion that same year. His wife Judith however took great interest in the matter, and received some of the saint's hair as a reward; cf. *sup.* on c. 12. The body was retranslated early in the twelfth century; Biog. Misc. pp. 11-15, 24; Matth. Paris, Chron. Maiora, ii. 138. The writer of the former of the two homilies in MS. C.C.C. discusses, f. 25, the question whether Oswin was a martyr. After citing the cases of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and St. John the Baptist (cf. i. 27, p. 51), he concludes, f. 26: 'Igitur beatus Oswinus non pro fide Christi sed pro iusticia Christi morti addictus, . . . morti sue martyrii nomen indidit.' Cf. St. Augustine's saying: 'martyrem non facit poena sed causa;' Opp. ed. Bened. ii. 220, 311, 765, and fq.; v. Index. His festival was kept as a 'festum duplex'; Biog. Misc. p. 24 (*v. Ducange, s. v. 'festum'*). monasterium constructum est] By Eanfled, Oswy's wife, c. 24, p. 179.

'Ministerium.'

aspectu uenustus] 'aspectu angelicus,' R. W. i. 141. p. 156. ad eius ministerium] 'to his folgaðe 7 his þegnunge,' 'to his retinue and service,' AS. vers. 'Ministerium' is here the abstract or collective of 'minister' in the sense of 'thane,' and is nearly equivalent to 'comitatus'; cf. 'obsequium,' i. 7. p. 20, note. humilitas] 'quæ custos uirtutum dicitur,' R. W. *u. s.*

Oswin and  
Aidan.

ambulare solitus] See on c. 5, p. 135. On this incident the author of the homily, *u. s.*, remarks: 'Nec . . . de doni quantitate sed de donantis indiscretione iusta fuisse cuiquam poterit uideri regis conquestio. . . . Quid si alter egenus occurrisset, iam equo regio ab altero suscepto, pontifex quid dedisset?' ff. 22 b, 23 a.

p. 157. *promittens*] 'professing,' 'assuring him.'

*multum . . . placatum*] 'þæt he him swiðe bliðe wære,' 'that he was very friendly to him,' AS. vers. Cf. Hist. Abb. § 17: 'Omnes . . . sibi placatos existere . . . obsecrat,' p. 382; cf. also iv. 24, pp. 261, 262 (Cædmon's death), and the AS. vers. there quoted.

*quam rex . . . non nouerant*] Contrast Oswald, c. 3, p. 132; and Oswy, c. 25, p. 182.

*numquam . . . humilem regem*] Cf. the story of St. Oswald of Edgar and York and King Edgar: 'ipse autem nequaquam potuit se propter . . . regis humilitatem abstinere a fletu, quia intellexit quod gens ista non meruisset tam humilem, tamque sapientem habere;' H. Y. i. 437. Oswald of York.

*pridie Kal. Sept.*] Aug. 31. See the Mart. Don. for that day; Decline of the Féilire of Oengus, with the gloss. It shows the later decline of Aidan's fame that in the life of Oswin, u. s. p. 46, a priest, on hearing of a vision in which Aidan had appeared, is represented as saying, 'De . . . Oswino nonnulla . . . audieram, sed . . . Aydani . . . nec nomen ad me peruenerat.' It was by a vision of Aidan's soul being taken up to heaven that St. Cuthbert was led to embrace the monastic life; Baedæ Vit. Cudb. c. 4; Vita Anon. § 8. Aidan's fame.

## CHAPTER 15.

This incident is given by Bede in his metrical life of Cuthbert, c. 5, but not in the prose life.

*internus arbiter*] 'ælmihtig God,' adds AS. vers.

*Utta*] Afterwards abbot of Gateshead; c. 21, p. 170.

*Eanfledam*] See ii. 9, 20; iii. 24, 25; v. 19, pp. 99, 126, 179, 181, *Eanfled.* 323. As Oswy is spoken of as king, this mission must have been after 642, and probably soon after; for Ecgrid, the son of this marriage, fell on May 21, 685, in his fortieth year. He must therefore have been born before May 21, 646; iv. 26, p. 267. The political object of this marriage, as of that of Ethelfrid with Acha, was no doubt to conciliate the loyalty of Deira; see the pedigree in the notes to c. 1, and cf. Green, M. E. p. 296.

p. 158. *tantum iter*] This shows the difficulty of communication between the different parts of Britain at this time. Difficulty of communication.

*misit de oleo*] v. i. 17, p. 34, note; cf. Bede on Gen. i. 3: 'nec mirandum nobis diuina operatione lucem in aquis posse resplendere, cum et hominum operatione constet eas saepius illustrari, nautarum uidelicet, qui in profundo maris demersi, emisso ex ore oleo, perspicuum sibi hoc ac lucidum reddunt;' Opp. vii. 8. To the same effect, Opp. vi. 152. Note the partitive use of the pre-

*Oil calms the sea.*

position 'de' as in modern French; 'il mettait de l'huile;' and for the meaning of 'mittere' cf. p. 124, above.

Gift of  
prophecy.

per prophetiæ spiritum] Cf. Bede on John xvi. 13: 'Constat innumeros fidelium per donum Sancti Spiritus prænosse ac prædixisse uentura;' Opp. v. 12.

Cynimund.

nostræ ecclesiæ] i. e. the joint monastery of Wearmouth and Jarrow. A Cynimund, monk and priest of Lindisfarne, is Bede's authority for an incident in Cuthbert's life, c. 36; and the similarity of the terms in which he is spoken of makes it probable that he is the same as the Cynimund here.

## CHAPTER 16.

Alcuin.

This incident is alluded to by Alcuin in his poem, 'De Clade Lindisfarnensis Monasterii,' 793; v. Sax. Chron. *ad ann.* Dümmler, Poetæ Latini Aevi Carolini, i. 233:

'Praesulis egregii precibus se flamma retorsit  
Aedani quondam Bebban ab urbe procul.'

Bam-  
borough.

quæ . . . cognominatur] 'seo is nemned Bebbanburg,' 'which is called Bamborough,' AS. vers. The church of Bamborough is appropriately dedicated to St. Aidan.

p. 159. neque . . . capere poterat] No doubt because of the wall mentioned Sax. Chron. 547 E. a.

uiculis] 'tunas,' 'townships,' AS. vers.

trabium, &c.] v. ii. 14, note. 'on beamum, 7 on ræstrum, 7 on wagum, 7 on watelum, 7 on ðeacon,' 'consisting of beams, rafters, partition walls, wattles, and thatch,' AS. vers.

Farne.

Farne] v. iv. 27, p. 268. The distance seems to be about four or five miles.

procul abest] 'ut on sæ,' 'out at sea,' adds AS. vers. Another MS. adds: 'eac swylce on ðam ylcan ealonde symble oþ ðisne and-weardan dæg Godes þeowa sum on ancer setle wunode,' 'likewise on the same island continually to the present day some servant of God lived as an anchorite;' Smith, p. 542.

denique . . . solent] 'ond mon mæg gen to dæge þa stowe his seðles . . . sceawian,' 'and one may still at this day view the place of his seat,' AS. vers.

## CHAPTER 17.

Death of  
Aidan.

Hunc cum dies, &c.] 'Ða ðæt gen wæs . . . þæt he þis deaðlice lif forlætan sceolde, 7 he untrum wæs, þa wæs he 7c,' 'When the time came that he should quit this deathly life, and he was sick, then was he, &c.,' AS. vers.

**XVII]** The four MSS. are equally divided between XVII and XVI. The latter agrees better with 'septimo decimo anno' below. See on c. 5.

**p. 160. et adiacentibus agellis]** '7 þærto feower æceras,' 'and thereto four fields,' AS. vers. (some MSS.); cf. the 'adiacentes possessiunculae' of the monastery of Selsey, iv. 14, p. 234.

**septimo decimo . . . anno]** 'Ymb feowertyno ger þæs þe he biscop wæs,' 'about fourteen years from the time that he became bishop,' AS. vers. The translator mistook XVII for XIII.

**corpus . . . sepultum est]** Part of his relics were carried away His relics. by Colman after the Synod of Whitby in 664; c. 26, p. 190. The remainder shared the wanderings of Cuthbert's body; S. D. i. 57 ff.; v. on c. 12. The assertion that the relics of Aidan, Ceolfred, and Hilda were translated to Glastonbury, W. M. i. 56; G. P. p. 198, is simply an instance of that huge system of monastic lying, in which Glastonbury had a bad pre-eminence. A similar Glastonbury lie with reference to Dunstan called forth an indignant protest from Eadmer; Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. 412-422. Whether Eadmer would have been as zealous for the truth, if he had not been a Canterbury man, is another question.

**basilica maior]** v. c. 25, *ad init.*

**Finan]** See on c. 25, *ad init.*

**destina]** A prop or buttress, 'studu,' AS. vers., glossed 'stipere,' Anglo-Saxon Glossaries, i. 126.

**ipsa . . . perederet]** 'se leg þurhæt þa næglas in þæm pyrelum þe heo mid þæm to timbre gefæstnad wæs,' 'the flame ate through the nails in the holes with which it was fastened to the timber,' AS. vers. Cf. Lismore Lives of Saints, p. 323, for a similar tale.

**p. 161. scripsi autem]** In two of the MSS. of the AS. vers. this paragraph to the end of the chapter is omitted; possibly because it repeats to a large extent what has already been said in c. 5; possibly because of the censure of Aidan which it contains. Cf. on c. 3; *inf.* cc. 25, 26.

**in libro . . . de temporibus]** There is a short chapter (xv) in 'De Tempore' the De Temporibus entitled 'De Sacramento Temporis Paschalis,' porum Ratione.' Opp. vi. 131; but unquestionably Bede refers to the larger work, the De Temporum Ratione, which he himself, v. 24, p. 359, calls, De Temporibus Librum Maiorem. See especially cc. 6, 30, 51, 59-65. See on these works, Introduction, § 11.

**in euangelicis . . . litteris]** 'on halgum bocum,' 'in sacred books,' AS. vers.

**p. 162. ut quidam]** v. on c. 4, p. 135.

**eadem una sabbati]** On this belief, v. Bright, p. 143.



## CHAPTER 18.

Chronology.

*His temporibus*] This is a very vague expression. Aidan died in 651; and we have seen on ii. 15 that the accession of Sigbert and the mission of Felix cannot be placed later than 631. Sigbert and his successor Egric are not mentioned in the Sax. Chron., perhaps because the compilers could not place them chronologically.

Schools founded.

*scolam*] This has been claimed as the origin of the University of Cambridge. See additional critical note, and cf. Stev. a. l. and Bright, p. 125. On the Frankish schools, cf. ib. 124. W. M. i. 97 improves on Bede: '*scholasque etiam litterarum per loca instituit; quod pro magno certe debet praedicari, ut litterarum dulcedinem per eum experirentur homines agrestes antea et fanatici.*' Pits, p. 108, cites an alleged correspondence between Sigbert and Desiderius, Bishop of Cahors (637-660). These letters are printed in Canisius, *Antiquae Lectiones*, v. 527, 528, 548, 549. Their genuineness is very doubtful. But even if they are authentic, the Sigbert in question is not Sigbert of East Anglia, but Sigbert III, King of Austrasia, 632-656; cf. Scherer, *Verzeichniss der Hss. der Stiftsbibliothek zu St. Gallen*, p. 68 (Halle, 1875).

*quem . . . acceperat*] In what sense Sigbert received Felix from Kent may be seen from ii. 15. Originally he came from Burgundy. See a life of Felix with notes in AA.SS. March, i. 779 ff.

*iuxta morem Cantuariorum*] This seems to imply that Felix had spent some little time in Kent. For the later schools at Canterbury, founded by Theodore and Hadrian, v. iv. 2. These earlier schools were probably due to Augustine.

Divisions of East Anglia.

*cognato*] Perhaps brother-in-law; v. i. 27, pp. 50, 51, note. If so, we have again in this kingdom an instance of succession through females. See on ii. 15; and the words which follow, '*qui . . . tenebat*,' omitted by the AS. vers., seem to point to a division of the kingdom, perhaps into the two 'folks,' North and South, whose names still survive in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. The division of the diocese points the same way; iv. 5, *ad fin.*; cf. on ii. 3, 15.

*monasterium . . . fecerat*] 'in Betricheswyrde,' i. e. Bury St. Edmund's; Lib. Eli. pp. 14, 23.

*pro aeterno . . . militare*] v. c. 23, p. 176, note.

East Anglian chronology.

p. 163. *successor . . . Anna . . . occisus est*] The Sax. Chron. A. B. C. place Anna's death in 654, E. F. in 653; all however agreeing in placing it one year before the battle of the Winwæd, which they date 655 and 654 respectively. The date of Egric's fall and Anna's

accession is nowhere given. Anna was certainly king when Cenwalh of Wessex took refuge with him in 644 or 645; see on c. 7, p. 140. The Lib. Eli. places his accession in 637, p. 14; and at p. 37 says that he died in the nineteenth year of his reign, which would throw back his accession to 635 or 636. The latter is the date adopted by Dr. Stubbs, D. C. B. iv. 302; but is difficult to reconcile with Bede's words, p. 162, *supra*, that Sigbert was monk (and consequently Egric king), 'multo tempore'; as in that case the joint reigns of Sigbert and Egric would only occupy five or six years; for Sigbert's accession must be placed 630 × 631; ii. 15, note.

The events narrated here, and the fact that Ethelhere, Anna's successor, fought on Penda's side at the Winwæd, c. 24, p. 178, show how completely East Anglia was dominated by Mercia; cf. Green, M. E. p. 274. According to Lib. Eli. u. s. Anna was buried at Blythburgh in Suffolk.

filius Eni] 'fratris Redwaldi,' W. M. i. 97; so the pedigrees in Fl. Wig. i. 249, 261.

optimæ . . . sobolis] See on c. 7, p. 140.

## CHAPTER 19.

The bulk of this chapter is taken from a Latin life of St. Fursa <sup>Earlier life of St. Fursa.</sup> which exists in many MSS. (v. Hardy, Cat. i. 239), and has been printed by Surius, the Bollandists, Mabillon, and Colgan. To the MSS. given by Hardy should be added the *Codex Salmanticensis* (so called because it once belonged to the Irish College at Salamanca), now in the Royal (Burgundian) Library at Brussels. This MS. has been edited by the Jesuits De Smedt and De Baeker, *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ e cod. Salm.* (4to, Edinb. and Lond. 1888). The life of Fursa occupies cols. 77-102; it is followed by a second book, of miracles, cols. 102-111, which Bede does not use. I have made this edition the basis of my collation with the text of Bede, and I indicate its readings in the critical notes by the symbol Sl.; and references to its sections are placed in the margin. Bede acknowledges his obligations to this life, *inf.* pp. 164, 165, 168. For other lives of Fursa, see Hardy, Cat. i. 241-246. The story of Fursa is incorporated into an Anglo-Saxon homily by Ælfric, Thorpe, ii. 332 ff., but it is taken not from Bede, but direct from the life of Fursa.

superuenit de Hibernia] A glance at the marginal references <sup>Bede's arrangement of the text.</sup> will show that Bede has transposed a good deal the order of his original, with the result that he has greatly obscured the course

of his own narrative. To avoid confusion it should be noted that from the beginning of the chapter to 'adornarunt' on p. 164, Bede gives summarily an account of Fursa's coming to Britain, and of his working in East Anglia. Then with the words 'erat autem,' &c., he reverts to his early life in Ireland, and follows it up to p. 167, when the journey to Britain occurs in its due order, followed by his migration to Gaul and death. Hence the 'infirmetas,' 'uisio,' and 'monasterium' of p. 164, lines 3, 4, 10, belong to the sojourn in East Anglia, and are quite distinct from the 'monasterium,' 'infirmetas,' and 'rapture' of p. 164, lines 25, 26, 27 ff., which belong to the earlier life in Ireland.

Irish love  
of pilgrim-  
age.

peregrinam ducere uitam] This is a very prominent trait in the markedly ascetic character of the Irish Church; cf. Stokes, *Lismore Lives*, pp. cviii. 21. It began as early as the sixth century, and lasted at least till the ninth. Cf. the well-known passage in the ninth-century life of St. Gall: 'natio Scotorum, quibus consuetudo peregrinandi iam paene in naturam conuersa est;' Pertz, ii. 30. So of the Irish pilgrims at Glastonbury, Osbern says: 'quod aliis bona uoluntas in consuetudinem, hoc illis [sc. Hibernis] consuetudo uertit in naturam;' Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 74. So Hericus to Charles the Bald, A. D. 876: 'Quid Hiberniam memorem, contempto pelagi discrimine, pene totam cum grege philosophorum ad litora nostra migrantem? quorum quisquis peritior est, ultro sibi indicit exilium, ut Salomoni sapientissimo famuletur ad uotum;' Bouquet, vii. 563. (Cf. with this last the quaint passage from the monk of St. Gallen's *Gesta Caroli*, cited on ii. 1.) In c. 25 we find an Irishman, Ronan, who had travelled in Gaul and Italy. Adamnan tells us how Irish saints set out 'eremum in oceano quaesituri;' Rs. Ad. pp. 30, 49, 50, 166-171 (ed. Fowler, pp. 22, 33, 115). Often they would commit themselves to the deep in a slender coracle without oarage or steerage, and trust their fate and the direction of their course to the winds and waters. (For a striking instance of this, v. Sax. Chron. s. a. 891, and notes, a. l.). Often pilgrimage or exile was imposed or voluntarily undertaken as a penance. (Cf. the case of Egbert, c. 27, pp. 193, 194; Opp. Min. p. 203; H. & S. i. 117, 118; iii. 179, 336; Rs. Ad. pp. 52, 157. Legend assigned this motive to St. Columba himself, ib. lxxiv f., 247 ff.) Besides the love of wandering, the desire for self-mortification, and for gaining and imparting knowledge, there was above all the missionary zeal, which was the real motive of St. Columba; and to which was due the fact that so large a portion of the Continent owed their first knowledge of the glad tidings to Irishmen. Cf. on the whole subject, Zimmer, in *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1891, pp. 181, 182; *Sitzungsab.*

d. Kön. preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch. 1891, pp. 282 ff., 317; Preuss. Jahrb. lix. 31 ff.; Greith, Irische Kirche, Books iii-v.

p. 164. Onobheresburg] This has been identified with Burgh Castle, near Yarmouth; Camden, ii. 157.

de nobilissimo genere] The Irish authorities differ widely as Fursa's to Fursa's pedigree; v. Liamore Lives, p. 294; Mart. Don. p. 18; pedigree and rank. cf. Pertz, vi. 320; 'ex Hibernia regio stemmate orti' (of Fursa and his brothers Foillan and Ultan), Vita S. Amati, Episc. Senon. in Bouquet, iii. 608, which also makes Fursa and Foillan bishops. As to Foillan, see below. Neither the life nor Bede say anything as to Fursa's ecclesiastical rank. An old German version of this chapter is entitled: Von eim Biscoff Forsee genannt (printed 1473 and 1476, fol.). So De Furseo *episcopo*, in MS. Add. 14,251, f. 199, where this chapter occurs separately.

raptus . . . e corpore] On visions of the other world, see v. 12, note. The vision.

meruit audire] 'hu heo God lofodon 7 heredon,' 'how they praised and glorified God,' adds AS. vers..

ibunt sanoti, &c.] This is a very favourite text with Bede himself, who frequently cites it in his works; e.g. Opp. Min. p. 83; Opp. vii. 229; viii. 327; ix. 12, 274, 340; xii. 268. In all these places Bede has 'ambulabunt' for 'ibunt.' 'Ibunt' is the reading of the so-called Gallican Psalter, now embodied in the Vulgate; 'ambulabunt' of the Roman Psalter. On these two Psalters, see v. 19, note.

in Sion] The AS. vers. after giving the Latin, glosses these words 'in wlite sceawunge,' 'in beauty of vision.'

reductus in corpore] We should expect 'in corpus.' For other instances, see M. & L. a. l.

p. 165. respicere in mundum] cf. Apocalypsis Pauli, § 13; Tischendorf, Apocal. Apocr. p. 41: 'καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς με ὁ ἄγγελος, βλέψον εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ ἴδον ὅλον τὸν κόσμον ὡς οὐδὲν ἐνώπιόν μου ἐκλειονότα'; cf. Dante, Parad. xxii. 133-135; Rossetti's Blessed Damozel, stanza 6.

impietatis] i.e. pitilessness. See on ii. 14, p. 114.

p. 166. uirorum de sua natione] 'quorum alter Beanus, alter uocabatur Meldanus. Hos presules cunctorum memoria dignos usque ad nostra tempora celebrat;' Vita, § 13. According to the Miracles, § 10, Fursa translated their bodies to Péronne.

p. 167. hoc arsit in te] 'In quocunque membro quis amplius peccauerit, in eo ampliora . . . patietur tormenta. . . . Quod accidisse constat diuiti illi. . . . Nam qui . . . in epulando defluerat, in lingua amplius ardebat;' Opp. ix. 130.

illis solummodo] So Drythelm, v. 12, p. 309.

narrare solet] 'cwæð se þe þas booc wrat,' 'says he who wrote this book,' adds AS. *vera*.

multis annis, &c.] 'Completis uero annis X omnibus &c. . . irruentium populorum multitudines non ferens, aliquantum etiam animos inuidia stimulante contra se commotos esse deprehendens, relictis &c. . . ad insulam quandam paruulam in mari profectus est; atque exinde non multo post de Hybernia insula, peregrina litora petens, per Britanniam in Saxoniam transuectus est;' Vita, § 26. These last words are specially interesting as showing that the Celts applied the term *Saxonia* to any part of Britain occupied by the Teutonic tribes.

'Scotland.' in Scottia] 'geond eal Yerland 7 Scotland,' 'throughout all Ireland and Scotland,' Ælfric, ii. 346. This illustrates the change of meaning in the word 'Scotland.' See on i. 1, p. 13.

Foillan and Ultan. Fullano] Foillan, Faelan in Irish. He was a bishop; as is implied here by the distinction between him and the 'presbyteri,' Gobban and Dicul. Similarly in the life, § 28, where he is called 'sacerdos.' He and Ultan were evidently among the 'pauci fratres' who accompanied Fursa to 'Saxonia.' After his death they followed his example and migrated to Gaul; AA.SS. Oct. xiii. 387; Mab. AA.SS. ii. 785; Ann. Bened. i. 420; Capgrave, cited by Hardy, Cat. i. 254. See also below. They founded a monastery at Fosse, in the diocese of Liège, on land given them by St. Gertrude, Mab. Ann. Bened. i. 420, whose death Ultan foretold. See her life in SS. Rerum Merouingicarum, ii. 462, 463. This monastery was burnt and rebuilt more than once in the twelfth century; Pertz, xxiv. 270; xxv. 101; Bouquet, xiii. 605. There was another monastery of Foillan's at Roelx near Mons; Pertz, xxi. 551. He is said to have been martyred in 655 and buried at Fosse; ib. iv. 11. His day is Oct. 31; Félice, and Mart. Don. The various lives of him, with a long preliminary dissertation, are in AA.SS. Oct. xiii. 370-445.

Gobban and Dicul. p. 168. Gobban et Dicullo] 'Galbano et Tibulla,' Sl. corruptly. For the name Dicul, Dicuill, v. iv. 13, note. There are no less than eight Gobbans commemorated in Mart. Don.

Ultan. Ultanum] See above. He became abbot of Fosse, and afterwards ruled the community of Irish monks at Péronne, where Fursa was buried; Mab. AA.SS. ii. 755-758. He died c. 680, ib.; cf. Gallia Christ., iii. 933; ix. 1036. His day is May 1; AA.SS. Maii, i. 118, 119.

Hermits. annum . . . cum . . . eo . . . uixit] On hermits living in pairs, cf. Raine's Hexham, i. Appendix, p. xxxii.

gentilium] i.e. the Mercians under Penda, v. c. 18, notes.

**Hloduo]** Clovis or Hlodowig II, who succeeded as king of Clovis II. Neustria in 638, at the age of four, and died in 656. He was the husband of Bathildis, on whom see c. 8, notes; v. 19. note.

**Ercunualdo]** This is Ercinwald, Neustrian Mayor of the Ercinwald. Palace, 640-657.

**oonstruxit]** 'suis manibus,' Mirac. § 6; according to which Lagny. Ercinwald gave Fursa his choice of various places, out of which he chose Latineacum, Lagny, on the Marne near Paris; Gallia Christ., vii. 490; cf. Bouquet, iv. 664, ix. 531.

**diem clausit ultimum]** Just before his death he had set out from Lagny to visit his brothers Foillan and Ultan, whom he had left in 'Saxonia;' but on the way he fell ill and died at Maceriae (Mazerosles, in Ponthieu on the Authie, on which place see a very interesting note in Mab. AA.SS. ii. 310). He died Jan. 16; Vita, § 29; Mirac. § 7; and this is his day in the calendars; Opp. iv. 23; Félice; Mart. Don. According to Mirac. §§ 9, 10, a contest for his body took place between Ercinwald and two other magnates. The first was victorious.

Death of  
Fursa.

The chronology of Fursa's life can only be fixed within rather vague limits. His coming to Britain must be after the accession of Sigbert, 630 x 631; notes on ii. 15, iii. 18. Penda's great attack on East Anglia, in which Sigbert and his successor Egrie were slain, cannot be later than 644, ib. Therefore Fursa's departure to Gaul was probably not later than 644; and cannot be earlier than 640, the date of Ercinwald's election to the mayoralty. The Ann. Ult. enter his death under three years, 647, 648, 660. The last is certainly too late, as it is after the death of Ercinwald. The Ann. Laubienses say, '649, Sanctus Furseus . . . ad Gallias usque peregrinatur, quem . . . sequuntur fratres sui Foillanus et Ultanus;' Pertz, iv. 11; cf. ib. xiv. 515; Bouquet, iii. 40, 171, 172, 304. As regards Foillan and Ultan, this is very possibly correct; but as regards Fursa, the date of his migration to Gaul is evidently confused with that of his death, which occasioned his brothers' migration. The Ann. Ult. place his vision in 626, and according to the life, §§ 25, 26, he remained in Ireland ten or eleven years after that; this would bring his arrival in Britain to 636 or 637, which is possible; Fl. Wig. places it vaguely, 'eo tempore,' under 636. It would be interesting to know whether any other Irish missionaries besides Fursa and his company came to East Anglia, and how far the evangelisation of the province was due to Irish influences. Bede only lays stress on the Burgundian influence.

Chrono-  
logy.

**Perrona]** Péronne, on the Somme. After St. Fursa's death His relics.

a monastery was founded there in connexion with the church which contained his body, and seems to have attracted many Irish thither. From the seventh to the tenth centuries we find it called 'Perrona Scotorum'; Pertz, i. 319; xiii. 626; cf. Lanigan, ii. 465.

receptui corporis] In later times Canterbury claimed to possess the head of St. Fursa; H. Y. I. xlv. Smith says, 'His relics are in the collegiate church at Péroune dedicated to him, except the skull which is at Lagny.'

## CHAPTER 20.

Death of  
Felix.

P. 169. defuncto Felice] For the bearings of this chapter on East Anglian chronology, see notes to ii. 15. From the calculations there made Felix must have died in 647 (so FL Wig. i. 20) or 648 (Peter of Blois, cited by Stev. from Gale, i. 109, says 646); and his successor Thomas in 652 or 653. The latter year is given in the Latin of Sax. Chron. F., but may be only an inference from this passage. Capgrave (cited Ang. Sac. i. 403) says that Felix died on March 8. He was buried first at Dunwich, thence translated to Seham, near Ely, and thence to Ramsey Abbey; G. P. pp. 147, 318; Lib. Eli. pp. 21, 22.

post . . . annos accepti episcopatus] The same phrase, v. 19, *ad init* p. 322, M. & L.

Bishop  
Thomas.

Thomam] The second native bishop; Ithamar being the first; c. 14, p. 154.

The  
Gyrwas.

prouincia Gyruiorum] 'Gyrwa mægð,' 'the kindred of Gyrwas,' AS. vers. Not Jarrow, as Mr. Hamilton makes it, G. P. p. 147. 'Giruii sunt omnes australes Angli in magna palude habitantes in qua est Insula de Ely'; Lib. Eli. p. 4; 'extending from South Lincolnshire to South Cambridgeshire'; D. C. B. ii. 19.

Bertgils.

Bercetgilsum . . . Bonifatium] So the great St. Boniface originally bore the native name of Winfrid; Cont. Baedae, p. 362.

Honorius.

Honorius . . . migravit] Elmham gives his epitaph, p. 183; cf. AA.SS. Sept. viii. 698-711.

cessante . . . menses] The reason for this interregnum is not mentioned. It may have been due to the troubles caused by Penda.

Deusdedit.

Deusdedit] The first native archbishop. According to Elmham, who gives his epitaph, his native name was Frithonas, pp. 192, 193. For later lives of him, cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 261, 262. We have had a Pope called Deusdedit, ii. 7. For names of this kind, cf. Milman, Lat. Christ. i. 243; Bright, p. 174. In D. C. B. there are several prelates called 'Quoduultdeus.'

**rexit . . . dies]** If Bede is right in saying, ii. 7, that Deusdedit died July 14, 664, then his archiepiscopate reckoned from his consecration lasted less, not more, than nine years and four months. Possibly Bede reckons from his election; in which case the date of his election would be Dec. 12, 654.

**defuncto Ithamar]** From Bede's language here, it has been inferred that Ithamar died very soon after Deusdedit's consecration, probably in the same year, 655; H. & S. iii. 100; Ang. Sac. i. 320. But considering Bede's way of grouping his facts according to subject rather than date, this must be regarded as very uncertain.

**Damianum]** 'It marks the great spread of Christianity that the four bishops whose consecration is recorded in this chapter were all of native origin'; M. & L.

## CHAPTER 21.

**His temporibus]** 653, v. 24, p. 354.

**Middilangli]** 'Middelengle,' AS. vers. and Sax. Chron. B. C. E.; 'Middelseaxe,' A., wrongly. They occupied roughly the modern Leicestershire. They are mentioned in i. 15 as one of the tribes of Anglian origin. R. W. identifies 'Middelanglia' with Mercia, i. 89.

**principe]** om. AS. vers.; 'ealdormenn,' Sax. Chron. Bede seems to imply that he had the title of king, 'regis nomine . . . dignissimus.'

**Peada]** By a confusion very common in Saxon names, W. M. i. Peada. 77 calls him Weda; so Elmham, p. 184.

**persona]** 'hada,' 'orders,' AS. vers.

**filiam . . . coniugem]** Who was said to have betrayed him to his death, c. 24, *ad fin.* In AA.SS. Feb. ii. 180, it is suggested that she may have been illegitimate, like Aldfrid.

**p. 170. cognatus]** A clear instance of the meaning 'brother-in-law'; v. on i. 27, pp. 50, 51.

**Cyniburgam]** On her and her sister Cyneswith, cf. Hardy, Cat. Cyneburg. i. 370, 371. On the death of her husband, Alchfrid, Cyneburg is said to have entered the monastery of Castor in Northamptonshire, where Cyneswith also took the veil; Hardy, u. s. There they were buried, and thence translated to Peterborough, according to Sax. Chron. E. *ad ann.* 963; cf. Fl. Wig. i. 265; H. H. p. xxvii; G. P. p. 317. The Sax. Chron. E. brings them into connexion with the alleged endowment of Peterborough by Wulfhere and Oswy, *ad ann.* 656. Both they and their brother Wulfhere are



mentioned on Alchfrid's memorial cross at Bewcastle; Stephens, Runic Monuments, i. 398 ff.

comitibus ac militibus] 'geferum 7 cyninges þegnum,' 'companions and king's thanes,' AS. vers.

Ad Murum] 'æt Walle,' AS. vers. Walton, eight miles from Newcastle; Camden, ii. 1054, 1055, 1087, ed. 1753. Walbottle; Smith.

Cedd. Cedd] See next chapter. Not to be confounded with his brother Ceadda, as is often done; a practice against which Fuller quaintly protests: 'though it is pleasant for brethren to live together in unity, yet it is not fit by error that they should be jumbled together in confusion.' See Raine's Hexham, i. 21, 22.

Diuma. Diuma] Mentioned again, c. 24, p. 179; of the other two, Adda and Betti, we hear nothing more.

Uttan] The weak Saxon genitive from Utta, v. c. 15.

Gateshead. Ad Capræ Caput] Gateshead, on the Tyne, opposite Newcastle; 'æt Ræge heafde,' AS. vers., from 'ræge, a roe.'

nobilium et infirmorum] 'ge æðele ge unæðele,' 'both noble and non-noble,' AS. vers.

nec prohibuit Penda] The baptism of his own son Peada is a strong instance of this.

Dioceses and king-  
doms. p. 171. duobus populis] Note that the bishops are bishops of the tribes, not of the cities as on the Continent; cf. S. C. H. i. 224-226. Hence the early dioceses are coterminous with the kingdoms; cf. *sup.* on ii. 3; Ang. Sac. i. 423. Note that the Middilangli, though in subjection to Mercia, still retain their separate existence.

Infepplingum] Not identified; cf. 'Færpinga þreo hund hyda is in Middel Englum;' Birch, i. 413-415.

Hii, ubi . . . coenobiorum] v. s. on c. 4.

temporibus Uulpheri regis] 658-675. For the chronology of these Mercian bishops, see notes to c. 24, p. 179.

## CHAPTER 22.

Reconversion of the East Saxons. Eo tempore etiam] These words imply that the reconversion of the East Saxons was strictly contemporary with the conversion of the Middle Angles in the preceding chapter, i. e. 653.

abiecerant] In 616 or 617; v. on ii. 5, p. 91.

East Saxon chronology. rex eiusdem gentis] Of the kings of the East Saxons subsequent to Sæbert, Bede mentions Sigbert 'paruus,' Sigbert (sometimes called 'bonus' or 'sanctus'), and Swidhelm, son of Sexbald, here; Sighere and Sebbi, who ruled jointly, c. 30, iv. 6; Sighard and Swefred, sons of Sebbi, who also ruled jointly, iv. 11, *ad fin.* Bede

gives us little help towards constructing their pedigree or determining their chronology; hence probably their omission in the *Sax. Chron.*, except that Sighere and Sebbi are represented as signing the spurious charter to Peterborough in 656 E., a date probably anterior to their accession. The way in which the pedigree was constructed by the antiquarians of the twelfth century may be seen in *Fl. Wig.* i. 250, 262-264; *W. M.* i. 99. They differ in some points from one another, and from the natural meaning of Bede's words. On the whole I place little reliance on them. As to chronology:—Sigbert 'the Little' must have been dead before the date of the events of this chapter, viz. 653. Sigbert 'the Good' lived 'tempore non pauco,' p. 173, after that date. But both he and his successor Swidhelm were dead before the plague of 664, as at that time we find Sighere and Sebbi reigning; c. 30. Swidhelm's reign must therefore have been a short one. Sighere and Sebbi were also reigning when Earconwald became bishop of London, probably in 675; iv. 6. In iv. 11 Sebbi is spoken of as sole king: 'socio ante se defuncto,' says *W. M.* i. 99; probably rightly, but probably also only drawing an inference, as we do, from Bede's words; *R. W.* places the death of Sighere in 683. Sebbi reigned thirty years; iv. 11. Hence his resignation and death cannot be later than 694, though Stubbs, *D. C. B.* iv. 594, places it in 695; nor earlier than 692, as Earconwald, who predeceased him, *ib.*, certainly lived till 692, if not 693. (See *K. C. D.* No. 35; *Birch*, i. 115. A grant purporting to be made by Earconwald in 695 is clearly spurious; *K. C. D.* No. 38; *Birch*, i. 123.) Sebbi was succeeded by his sons Sighard and Swefred, *v. s.* He seems to have joined them with himself in the sovereignty before, and perhaps in preparation for, his actual resignation, as in the above charter they sign after him with the title 'Rex.' Swefred makes a grant to Waldhere, Bishop of London in 704; *K. C. D.* No. 52; *Birch*, No. 111. An attempt has been made to identify him with Bede's Swæbhard of Kent; *v. 8*, *ad fin.* But the fact that Bede gives the two names in such distinct forms, without any hint of identification, is, to my mind, conclusive against the theory. See however *D. C. B.* iv. 666, 744, 745, for a tradition that kings of Essex did bear rule in Kent; and *R. W.* does call Swæbhard, Sifred; i. 185.

*recisuræ*] 'chips,' 'parings.' It is not in any dictionary that I have consulted; for form and sense cf. '*rasura*,' i. 1, p. 13.

*habita . . . conculcata*] We should certainly expect '*habita*,' '*conculcata*'; for it is the '*recisuræ*,' not the '*uasa*' that are meant. It is probably the occurrence of the latter word that has caused the mistake.

- Date of Sigbert's baptism.** p. 172. baptizatus est] The identity of place and of the officiating prelate makes it probable that Sigbert's baptism took place at the same time as Peada's; c. 21. This confirms what was said above as to the date of the reconversion of the East Saxons.
- Consecration of bishops in the Celtic Churches.** uocatis . . . aliis duobus episcopis] Not, I think, British bishops, as D. C. B. i. 430; but bishops of the Irish Church in Britain, the head of which was at Iona. Hence even in the Celtic Churches consecration by more than one bishop was preferred when attainable. Much as Bede 'detested' their paschal errors, he clearly did not regard their orders as invalid, as did Theodore and Wilfrid; iv. 2; H. & S. iii. 197; Eddius, c. 12; Bright, pp. 170, 171, 227, 228.
- Title of East Saxon bishop.** Note also that though London still belonged to the East Saxons, iv. 6, Cedd is never called bishop of London by Bede, but always bishop of the East Saxons. Mellitus (ii. 4, p. 88) is called bishop of London; Earconwald (iv. 6) bishop in the city of London; Waldhere (iv. 11) bishop of the city of London; Ingwald (v. 23, p. 350) Lundoniensis antistes. What Wharton, Ang. Sac. i. 424, says of the earliest Mercian bishops would probably apply to Cedd also: 'nullam . . . cathedram siue certam sedem sibi positam habuerunt, in monasteriis uitam agere contenti.'
- Ythancaestir.** p. 173. fecit per loca ecclesias] So of Bernicia, above, c. 3, p. 132: 'construebantur . . . ecclesiae per loca.'
- Tilbury.** Ythancaestir] Identified with Othona, one of the military stations under the Count of the Saxon Shore; M. H. B. p. xxiv. It was at the NE. corner of the tongue of land between the Blackwater and Crouch rivers, Essex; Camden, i. 411; Pearson, Hist. Maps. 'Anglice: St. Peter's on the Wall,' Smith.
- The Pant.** Tilaburg] Tilbury; famous in connexion with the history of the Armada.
- Asceticism.** Pentæ] The Pant river or Blackwater, Essex: 'hodie et amnis et ciuitas absorptae sunt,' Smith.
- Death of Sigbert.** examine] So iv. 4, *ad fin.*  
disciplinam uitæ regularis] No doubt, as in the case of Lastingham, c. 23, p. 176, 'iuxta ritus Lindisfarnensium ubi educatus erat,' in quantum . . . poterant] On the asceticism of the Irish Church, v. Introd. p. xxx. On Cedd's own asceticism, see c. 23.  
tempore non paucis] This is all that Bede tells us as to the date of Sigbert's murder, that it was 'some time after' the reconversion of the East Saxons.  
unus ex his . . . comitibus] 'oper para gesiða,' 'one of the gesiðs,' AS. vers.  
illicitum coniugium] Possibly a marriage within the prohibited degrees; v. s. on i. 27.

*excommunicavit eum*] This is the only mention of the exercise of this power in Bede.

p. 174. *sederat . . . in equo*] *v.s.* on c. 5.

*Rendlesham*] Rendlesham in Suffolk.

*suscepit . . . sancto*] 'hine onfeng set fulwihte baðe him to god- Baptism of suna,' 'received him at the bath of baptism as his godson,' *AS. vers.*; *Swidhelm. v.s.* on c. 7, p. 139.

*Aedilwald*] 'Homo bonus ac uerus Dei cultor;' *Lib. Eli.* p. 25. Ethelwald He succeeded his brother Ethelhere; see on ii. 15, p. 116. He must of East Anglia. not be confounded with the Ethelwald or 'Oidilwald,' King of Deira, mentioned in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 23.

*Oidilwald . . . habebat*] He is mentioned as one of Oswy's Oidilwald opponents in c. 14. He would seem to have got possession of Deira at some time after the murder of Oswin, possibly through Penda, who was at this time decidedly superior to Oswy in power, c. 24, and whose interest it was to keep the northern realm divided. (*Fl. Wig.* says, 'cui [Oswino] successit in regnum Oithelwald regis Oswaldi filius;' i. 21; cf. *ib.* 269.) Green, *M. E.* p. 300, says that Ethelwald was appointed by Oswy, and gives Bede as his authority. This seems to me impossible. Thus, even from the worldly point of view, Oswy's crime appears to have brought him no profit. At the time of Oswald's death Ethelwald cannot, as the author of the life of Oswald points out, *S. D. i.* 359, have been more than seven years old, and was therefore naturally passed over. At the time of Oswin's murder he would be fifteen or sixteen, and at the time of the battle of the Winwæd he would be nineteen or twenty. It is hardly surprising that he should have taken part against Oswy, to whom he certainly owed no gratitude, whereas he may have had obligations to Penda; cf. *Vita Osw. v.s.*: 'nec mirum . . . si filius sancti Oswaldi, dum ætatis incremento robustius uiguit, contra patrum pro regno reluctari contenderit.' But on any view the part he played in the actual battle was an unworthy one; c. 24, p. 178. But he may not have been altogether a free agent. He is not heard of again after the battle of the Winwæd; and he is not mentioned at all in the *Sax. Chron.*

p. 175. *nam . . . credidit*] 'ond cwæð þæt he . . . gelyfde,' 'and he said that he believed,' *AS. vers.*

*qui ipse . . . solebat*] A sort of royal chaplain, the 'cynges

- Royal chaplain. preost' of Sax. Chron. E. 1032; where F. Lat. has 'capellanus regis.'  
*familiae ipsius*] 'his hiwum,' AS. vers.
- Discipline of Lindisfarne. a quibus . . . didicerat] i.e. the monks of Lindisfarne, see below; but the discipline of Lindisfarne was of course Scotie at this time.  
 p. 178. petiit . . . complere] For the construction, see on ii. 12.
- Lastingham. Laestingaeu] 'Leastingaig,' Fl. Wig. i. 22. Lastingham, near Whitby. For its subsequent history, cf. Hardy, Cat. ii. 50; Mon. Angl. i. 342.
- The 'propositus.' statutis propositis] '7 þær prafost 7 ealdormon gesette,' 'and there appointed a provost and alderman,' AS. vers. The plural need not however mean that more than one 'propositus' was appointed at one time; but that Cedd, who was abbot of the monastery, carried on the management of it when absent in his diocese, by appointing 'propositi' from time to time. For the office of the 'propositus,' who answers to the later prior, v. Introduction, pp. xxviii, xxix, as also for the form of the word. It illustrates the non-diocesan character of Scotie episcopacy that Cedd should act as abbot of a monastery which was not in his own diocese; see on c. 4.
- The plague. tempore mortalitatis] 'in þa tide þære miclan deaðlicnesse 7 wooles þe ofer monecyn cumen wæs,' 'in the time of the great mortality and plague which came upon the race of man,' AS. vers. This was the plague of 664. On the visitations of the plague, v. on c. 27.  
 adueniens] After the Synod of Whitby; v. c. 26.  
 de lapide facta] i.e. the earlier church had been of wood; v. on ii. 14.  
 in monasterio . . . Saxonum] i.e. either Tilbury or Ythancaestir.
- Monks at the tomb of their abbot. aut uiuere . . . sepeliri] So some of those who had followed Ceolfrid to Langres chose 'ad tumbam defuncti inter eos, quorum nec linguam nouerant, pro inextinguibili patris affectu residere;' Hab. § 21, p. 386; Haa. §§ 37, 38, pp. 402, 403. So Alcuin to the monks of Wearmouth: 'Patribus oboedite uestris, . . . adolescentulos bene docete, ut habeatis qui super sepulcra uestra stare possint, et intercedere pro animabus uestris;' Mon. Alc. p. 843; H. & S. iii. 471; cf. Tennyson, In Memoriam, viii.:  
 'I go to plant it on his tomb,  
 That if it can it there may bloom,  
 Or dying, there at least may die.'
- 'Militia caelestis.' conmilitonibus] So c. 18: 'ut . . . intraret monasterium, . . . atque . . . pro aeterno magis regno militare curaret' (of Sigbert

of Essex); c. 24, p. 178: 'ad exercendam militiam caelestem' of the foundation of monasteries by Oswy); Hist. Abb. §§ 1, 8; cf. Ra. Ad. p. 339.

p. 177. *intercessionibus . . . patris*] Bede believes in the intercession of departed saints for us; on John xvi. 26 he says, 'ubi ueraciter in nomine Iesu petunt electi, dum pro nostra fragilitate intercedunt, quatenus ad suae saluationis sortem pertingamus, a qua adhuc inter insidias hostium peregrinamur in terris; . . . *in die* etenim petunt, quia non in tenebris pressurarum, ut nostra in praesenti, sed in luce sempiternae pacis et gloriae, beatorum spirituum pro nobis intercessio funditur;' Opp. v. 18, 19. Bede also believes in our asking for that intercession. In the homily for St. John Baptist's Day he says, 'Ipsium itaque intercedendo rogemus impetrare, ut ad eum cui testimonium perhibuit, . . . peruenire mereamur;' ib. 243. So on Cant. v. 12: 'Cauernam maceriae cito uoluit petamus, id est, sanctorum . . . crebras pro nobis intercessiones . . . quaeramus. . . . Haec sunt etenim firmissima . . . ecclesiae praesidia;' Opp. ix. 313; cf. also v. 246, viii. 210, xi. 40. But he says no less distinctly, 'etsi sancti . . . nobis . . . possunt . . . intercessionis suae apud Dominum suffragia ferre; nemini tamen eorum, sed soli dilecto Saluatori nostro dicere debemus, "Filii autem hominum sub protectione alarum tuarum sperabunt";' Opp. ix. 234.

*mortem . . . aeternam*] On the fate of the unbaptized, cf. Opp. ix. 199: 'Catholica fides . . . etiam paruulos esse iudicandos confitetur eos, qui, . . . priusquam aliquid boni malique . . . nosse poterant, sine baptismo rapti sunt. . . . Quamuis, ut sanctus Augustinus ait, mitissima . . . damnatio erit omnium, qui praeter peccatum . . . originale . . . nullum insuper addiderunt.'

Intercession of saints.

Fate of the unbaptized.

## CHAPTER 24.

*inruptiones*] We have had instances of these 'inruptiones' in cc. 16, 17. The former, in which the royal city of Bamborough itself was only saved by what was thought to have been a miracle, must have happened before, the latter after the death of Aidan in 651. That in these irruptions the Britons, as earlier and later, were in alliance with Mercia seems plain, as both Tighernach and Ann. Ult. have an entry three years after the death of Oswald: 'bellum Ossu contra Britones.' It would certainly seem that what Bede has said above, ii. 5, p. 89, as to the power of Oswy as 'Bretwalda,' can only be understood of the time posterior to the battle of the Winwæd; and Bede may mean to hint as much by

Struggles of Mercia and Northumbria.

the words 'nonnullo tempore' in that passage. See also on p. 180 below. Up to that date, with a partisan of Penda on the throne of Deira, with Bernicia open to invasion up to the very gates of the capital, and his son a hostage in the hands of his enemy (see below), his power must have been small.

necessitate cogente promisit] These words have been brought into connexion with a parenthetical remark which occurs in Nennius' account of the battle in which Penda fell, §§ 64, 65. After mentioning 'reges Brittonum . . . qui exierant cum . . . Pantha in expeditione usque ad urbem quae uocatur Iudeu,' he adds: 'tunc [i.e. on the occasion of this "expeditio"] reddidit Osguid omnes diuitias quae erant cum eo in urbe usque in manu Pendae, et Penda distribuit eas regibus Brittonum, id est, Atbret Iudeu' [the restoration of Iudeu]. Mr. Skene would identify 'urbs Iudeu' with the 'urbs Giudi,' which Bede, i. 12, p. 25, says was in the Firth of Forth; C. S. i. 254. See however note on i. 12. Professor Rhys would read 'Iuden,' understanding it of Edinburgh; C. B. pp. 132, 133. Jedburgh and Jedworth have also been suggested by Mr. Nash; Cambrian Journal, 1861, p. 15. In any case, if the statement is worth anything, it points to Oswy's being driven to the northern part of his kingdom. In Nennius, however, the treasure is extorted by Penda; in Bede it is offered to him by Oswy and declined.

'Perfidus.' rex perfidus] For the meaning of 'perfidus,' see on i. 7, p. 18. That Penda was 'perfidus' also in the ordinary sense, appears from ii. 20; and W. M. calls him 'hominem . . . ad furta belli peridoneum,' i. 21.

XII . . . praediorum] 'twelf boclanda sehta,' 'twelve estates of booklands,' AS. vers.

p. 178. siquidem . . . habuere] Om. AS. vers.

Egfrid a  
hostage.

obses tenebatur] A striking proof of the depression of Oswy's power. It may have been in the 'expeditio Iudeu' that Oswy had to surrender him. He was the younger son and Oswy's favourite, according to Lib. Eli. pp. 24, 27, 28; see on c. 1.

Cynuisse] 'Cynwisse,' AS. vers. W. M. calls her Kyneswitha, i. 77, which was the name of one of Penda's daughters; see on c. 21.

Ethelwald  
of Deira.

Oidiluald] See on c. 23.

eisdemque . . . exspectabat] For this passage the AS. vers. has '7 feaht 7 wonn wið his eðle 7 wið his fædran,' 'and he fought and contended against his country and against his uncle'; which gives a very different complexion to the affair. It is hard to say whether this version is due to a mere misunderstanding, or

whether it was made deliberately; and if the latter, with what authority and motive.

duces] 'aldermonna 7 heretogena,' 'aldermen and dukes,' AS. *Princes*  
*vers.*; 'cynebearna,' Sax. Chron. E. F.; 'regulos,' F. Lat. Among *slain on the*  
 these were no doubt the British princes mentioned by Nennius. *Winwæd.*  
 Both Tigh. and Ann. Ult. mention the slaughter of thirty kings,  
 'reges;' and both enter the battle twice, at an interval of six  
 years.

auctor ipse belli] Bede nowhere tells us how this was. The *Ethelhere*  
 Liber Eliensis, after mentioning Anna's death, says, 'cui frater *of East*  
 Edilherus successit in regnum. Hic Pendæ regi amicus factus, sub *Anglia.*  
 eo regnaturus, deinde suscepit imperium,' p. 23.

prope finitum Unuæd] 'neah Winwede streame,' AS. *vers.* *Battle of*  
 Nennius, u. s., says, 'Osguid . . . occidit Pantha in campo Gai, et *Winwæd.*  
 nunc facta est strages Gai Campi, et reges Brittonum interfecti  
 sunt, &c. (ut supra) . . . Solus autem Catgabail, rex Guenedotæ  
 regionis, cum exercitu suo euasit de nocte consurgens, quapropter  
 uocatus est Catgabail Catguommed [i. e. "the battle-seizer who  
 battle avoids," or "the fighter who fights shy"].' The site of the  
 battle is very uncertain. Much depends on what is meant by the  
 'regio Loidis' below. Most commentators understand the district  
 round Leeds to be meant; Camden; Smith; Thoresby, Ducatus  
 Leodiensis, ed. Whittaker, pp. 143, 144; Whitaker, Elmete and  
 Loidis, p. 3; Pearson, Historical Maps; Raine, D. C. B. iv. 166,  
 who identifies the Winwæd with the Went, a tributary of the  
 Don. Others, e. g. Skene, C. S. i. 254, 255; Nash, u. s. pp. 1-16,  
 understand it of the Lothians. Mr. Skene's earlier view, P. & S.,  
 pp. cxvi. f., does not seem to have much to recommend it. As Leeds  
 is in Deira, Ethelwald's territory, a battle there would imply a for-  
 ward movement on the part of Oswy. There is nothing in Bede's  
 narrative inconsistent with this. The words 'confusus occurrit,'  
 supra, may be thought to favour it. The other view suits better  
 with the situation as deduced from Nennius' account, if any value  
 can be attached to that. Moreover, Fl. Wig., speaking of Penda's  
 march to the Winwæd, says distinctly: 'in Berniciam ad debellan-  
 dum regem Oswium ascendit,' i. 23. The second part of the name  
 Winwæd is the Saxon wæð, 'a ford.' The first part may be con-  
 nected with 'winnan,' to fight. It is impossible not to be reminded  
 of the battle of Brunanburh, which in the Egils Saga, c. 52, is  
 called 'Vinheiði,' 'Winheath,' and in S. D. 'Wendune,' or 'Weon-  
 dune,' i. 76; ii. 93. Unhappily the site of Brunanburh is as un-  
 certain as that of the Winwæd. Hen. Hunt. here again has  
 a proverb:



'unde dicitur

In Winwed amne uindicata est caedes Annae  
Caedes regum Sigbert et Ecgrice  
Caedes regum Oswald et Edwine'; p. 60.

Cf. W. M. i. 76. On p. 97 Hen. Hunt's imagination conceives of Penda as visited by a sort of heaven-sent confusion in the battle. W. M., i. 55, exults in the downfall of 'illud uicinorum excidium, illud perduellionum seminarium.' Professor Rhys thinks that Celts from Cornwall, Ireland, and Scotland were present in Penda's army; C. B. p. 140. If so, this is another point of resemblance with Brunanburh. The battle was decisive as to the religious destiny of the English: 'with it all active resistance on the part of the older heathendom came to an end'; Green, M. E. p. 310.

dedit filiam suam] She is called Ethelfleda by W. M. i. 56. On the dedication of infants to the religious life by their parents, cf. Introduction, p. ix.

XII . . . terrarum] 'þa twelf bocclond,' 'the twelve booklands,' AS. vers.

in prouincia Derorum] This shows that Oswy now for the first time got possession of the whole of Northumbria. We hear nothing as to the fate of Ethelwald.

Hartlepool. p. 179. Heruteu] 'Heorotea,' AS. vers.; 'Heortesig,' Fl. Wig. i. 23, v. critical note. Now Hartlepool. The cemetery of this monastery was discovered in 1838, and some remarkable slabs were found; Raine in D. C. B. iv. 879.

insula cerui] Cf. 'Insula que Cerui dicitur, que est inter Plumbinum [Piombino] et Elbam [Elba]'; Pertz, xviii. 302. The island of Capraja is probably meant.

Hild] On her v. iv. 23.

Founda-  
tion of

post biennium] 657 A.D.; v. *inf.*

X familiarum] i.e. it was one of the twelve monasteries founded by Oswy in fulfilment of his vow.

Whitby.

Streaneshalch] 'Quorum praecipuum monasterium, tunc foeminarum, nunc uirorum, . . . antiquo uocabulo Streneshalh, modo Witebi nuncupatur. . . Illud coenobium, sicut et omnia eiusdem regionis, tempore Danicae uastationis . . . deletum; . . . nunc mutato nomine, paululum pro tempore restauratum, antiquae opulentiae uix tenue praesentat uestigium;' W. M. i. 56. For its restoration in the eleventh century, v. S. D. i. 111; ii. 202. W. M. is wrong in saying that it was a 'monasterium foeminarum' under Hild. It was a mixed monastery; iv. 23.

Elfled.

discipula . . . magistra] 'discipula 7 leorning mon . . . magister 7 lareow,' AS. vers., retaining the Latin words together with the

translations. By 'magistra' Bede means abbess (which office she held in conjunction with her mother Eanfled, iv. 26, p. 267, cf. App. I. § 18, who seems to have retired thither after the death of Oswy). As abbess, Elfled was a great friend of St. Cuthbert, and more than one of his miracles are connected with her; Baed. Vit. Cudb. cc. 23, 34; Vit. Anon. §§ 28, 39. She played an important part in the final restoration of Wilfrid; Eddius, cc. 43, 59, 60, who calls her 'sapientissima uirgo, semper totius prouinciae consolatrix optimaque consiliatrix,' c. 60. There is a commendatory letter from her to Adolana, Abbess of Palatiolum [Palentz], near Trèves, in Mon. Mog. p. 49.

completo . . . numero] She was barely a year old at the time of the battle of the Winwæd, Nov. 15, 655. Therefore she must have been born at the end of 654 or the beginning of 655, and must have died at the end of 713 or in 714. Her death is mentioned in the Irish Annals, 'Filia Ossu in monasterio Ild moritur;' Ann. Ult. 712; Tigh. 713.

Aednini] For Edwin's translation, cf. on ii. 20, p. 125. The others were probably buried there in the first instance. The Glastonbury myth translates Eanfled to Glastonbury; W. M. i. 25.

tertio decimo . . . Decembrium] This would be Nov. 15, 654, as Oswy's thirteenth year extended from Aug. 5, 654, to Aug. 4, 655. But in v. 24, p. 354, Bede distinctly says that Penda fell in 655. The three oldest MSS. of the Sax. Chron. (A. B. C.) say the same. This date agrees with the statement above, c. 21, p. 170, that it was two years after the conversion of the Middilangli, and with the chronology of Wulfhere's reign; see below. It may therefore safely be adopted. We have had other instances, c. 14, pp. 154, 155, notes, in which Bede is one in arrear with Oswy's regnal years. This mistake may be connected with the mistake into which Bede has probably fallen as to the date of Oswy's death. See on iv. 5.

Lindisfarorum] On the oscillations of Lindsey between Mercia and Northumbria, v. s. on c. 11. Here, even after Oswy's victory, it so far remains Mercian as to be included in Diuma's diocese. But it does not follow from this that it was part of the district entrusted to Peada, any more than that he received the whole of Mercia. See below.

Diuma] The history and chronology of the Mercian episcopate are very obscure: 'Nusquam crassiores tenebrae, nusquam plures nodi quam in successione episcoporum Merciensium,' says Wharton, Ang. Sac. i. 423. Something may however be made out. Diuma was appointed after Penda's death, Nov. 15, 655, c. 21, pp. 170, 171; and most likely before Peada's murder, spring, 656.

The Transla-  
tion of  
Edwin.

Date of the  
battle of the  
Winwæd.

Mercian  
bishops.

The retirement of Ceollach is probably to be connected with the successful rebellion of Wulfhere against Oswy in 658, which put an end to Northumbrian influence in Mercia. Diuma must therefore have died in or before 658, and Bede, *u. s.*, says that he only laboured in his episcopate 'tempore sub pauco.' He also says that Ceollach's retirement was 'non multo post' his appointment, and that Trumhere was appointed, 'temporibus Uulfheri regia,' *ib.* There is therefore nothing in Bede inconsistent with the dates given by Thomas Chesterfield, Canon of Lichfield, in the fourteenth century, in his history of that see; Diuma, 656; Ceollach, 658; Trumhere, 659; Ang. Sac. i. 423-425, with Wharton's notes.

Bede  
counts  
Iona as  
part of  
'Scottia.'

ad Scottiam rediit] 'to Scottum hwearf,' 'returned to the Scots,' AS. vers. Above, c. 21, p. 171, Bede had said, 'reuersus est ad insulam Hii.' We have therefore clear proof that according to Bede's usage Iona is in 'Scottia,' *i. e.* in Ireland. (It does not imply that he ever uses 'Scottia' in the modern sense of Scotland. See on i. 1; Rs. Ad. pp. 184, 341.) So again Colman 'missus a Scottia,' c. 25, p. 182, 'in Scottiam regressus est,' c. 26, p. 189; while in iv. 4 it is said that he 'relinquens Britanniam . . . primo uenit ad insulam Hii,' p. 213. Lastly, in c. 27, p. 193, Egbert vows that he will never return to Britain, while in v. 9 he is divinely commanded to go to Iona. Adamnan, on the contrary, always includes Iona in Britain, and opposes it to 'Scottia'; *e. g.* in i. 13 he speaks of Columba as 'in Britannia peregrinantem;' cf. iii. 22. Persons leaving Iona for Ireland are spoken of as going 'ad Scotiam,' i. 17, 18, 22; and persons coming to Iona from Ireland come 'de Scotia ad Britanniam,' ii. 39; cf. iii. 23.

Ingetlingum] *v. s. c.* 14.

propinqua] Second cousin; she being a daughter of Edwin, who was nephew of Ælfrie, Oswin's grandfather; c. 1.

High-born  
abbots.

p. 180. propinquus . . . regis] On the evils which sometimes resulted from the appointment of high-born abbots, v. Introduction, p. xxxv.

Oswy's  
overlord-  
ship.

ceteris . . . praeuit] 'in aldordome ofer wæs,' 'was over them in authority,' AS. vers.; *i. e.* as Bretwalda. So ii. 5: 'cunctis australibus . . . prouinciis . . . imperauit;' where the Bretwaldadom is spoken of. Of course the nature of Oswy's authority over these other southern provinces was different in kind from that which he exercised over Mercia, which he held for a time by right of conquest. Cf. c. 1: 'cum Osuiu . . . regnum eius [sc. Pendan] acciperet;' 'quod sibi' (adds W. M. i. 77) 'et uictoriae in patrem, et affinitatis iure in filium competere uidebatur.' He also says of Oswy: 'ex quo tempore omnibus pene Anglis uel ipse

*praesedit, uel praesidentibus imperauit.* The words of Bede and Malmesbury entirely bear out what was said above as to the date of the commencement of Oswy's overlordship. On the difference between 'regnum' and 'imperium,' see on ii. 5, p. 89.

*gentem Pictorum . . . subiecit*] This too seems to have been subsequent to the defeat of Penda. This ascendancy Northumbria maintained under Oswy, iv. 3, *ad init.*; and under Egfrid, iv. 12, *ad fin.*; until the defeat and death of the latter in 685, when the Picts recovered their independence, iv. 26, p. 267. If Skene's suggestion cited on c. 1 is correct, Oswy was uncle to Talorg, King of the Picts at this time. Note that the Picts are said to have been subjected not 'imperio' but 'regno Anglorum'; cf. i. 25, ii. 5, notes. He reduces the Picts.

*quo tempore . . . Merciorum*] If the 'South Mercians' may Peada be identified with the 'Middilangli' of c. 21, Oswy in this grant was merely confirming what Penda had already given. The Sax. Chron. is wrong: (i) in making Peada succeed to the whole of Mercia on Penda's death; (ii) in placing Peada's death two years after Penda's; (iii) in making Wulfhere succeed to the whole of Mercia immediately on Peada's death.

*qui sunt . . . VII milium*] '*þa seondon, þæs þe men cweðað, fið þusendo folces, . . . þara londes is seofon þusendo,*' AS. vers.

*proximo uere . . . paschalis*] In 656 the Roman Easter was on April 17.

*tribus annis*] i.e. in 658. Wulfhere reigned seventeen years (below), which brings his death to 675, the date given, v. 24, p. 354. Chronology. This confirms 655 as the date for the battle of the Winwæd.

*duces*] 'heretogan 7 aldormen,' AS. vers.; cf. *sup.* on p. 178. The former word indicates military, the latter civil authority; cf. S. C. H. i. 112, 113, 158-160; Kemble, Saxons, ii. 125-150.

*leuato*] This phrase is probably a relic of the time when a newly elected king was raised aloft on a shield and presented to the multitude; Kemble, i. 154; Bright, p. 180, and *reff.*

*Wulfhere*] '*Suscitauit . . . Dominus sibi hunc mitissimum,*' Wulfhere says Eddius, c. 14, of Wulfhere's elevation. He was a supporter of Eddius' hero, Wilfrid. (Yet cf. ib. c. 20.) On Wulfhere, cf. D. C. B. iv. 1194, 1195; Green, M. E. pp. 306-308, 328-330.

*occultum seruauerant*] Cf. the case of Joash, 2 Kings xi.

*principibus*] 'ealdormen,' AS. vers. It would seem that after Peada's death Oswy administered the whole of Mercia by his own officials. Bede has been much commended for his evident sympathy with this movement for independence in Mercia, though himself a Northumbrian; Bright, pp. 179, 180. Revolt of Mercia.

Mercian  
bishops.

Trumheri . . . Uynfridum] Trumhere, 659-662; Jaruman, 662-667; Ceadda, 669-672; Wynfrid, 672-675 (?); Stubbs, *Episc. Succ.* p. 164.

## CHAPTER 25.

Omission of  
the Synod  
of Whitby  
from  
Anglo-  
Saxon  
sources.

P. 181] This chapter and the next are not in the AS. vers. nor in the Capitula. It is very noteworthy that the Sax. Chron. also omits all notice of the Synod of Whitby. In the case of MSS. A. B. C. this may be due to the fact that in their text the notices of events are taken not from the main narrative of Bede, but from the chronological summary, v. 24, p. 354. But this explanation will not apply to MS. E., which (following in the steps of D., which is here defective) draws directly from the body of Bede's work, and from the Latin original.

Finan] Cf. AA.SS. Feb. iii. 21-23.

Lindis-  
farne an  
offshoot of  
Iona.

a Scottis . . . missus] Cf. the similar phrase, c. 5, *ad fin.*; *inf.* 'qui ipsum miserant,' 'missus a Scottia,' p. 182; 'qui me huc episcopum miserunt,' p. 184. We note how entirely the church of Lindisfarne formed part of the 'prouincia' of Iona.

Church of  
Lindis-  
farne.

ecclesiam . . . congruam] Cf. notes to c. 17, *supra*.

more Scottorum] See above on ii. 14.

Theodorus . . . dedicauit] Possibly in 678, when he went northwards on the occasion of Wilfrid's deposition; iv. 12; cf. D. C. B. iv. 928.

plumbi lamminis] So Wilfrid at York: 'culmina corrupta tecti renouans, artificiose plumbo puro detegens,' Eddius, c. 15.

quaestio . . . magna] On the paschal question, v. Excursus.

Ronan.

Ronan] Nothing seems to be known about this person. There are several Ronans in the Irish Calendar (see Mart. Don. Index) and two in the Scotch Calendar; Reeves, *Ad.* p. 416. Mabillon's proposed identification of him (*Ann. Bened.* i. 474) must be regarded as highly uncertain.

Paschal  
contro-  
versy.

quod esset . . . animi] Does this refer to Ronan or Finan? The word 'acerrimus' above might point to the former. If it refers to the latter we are reminded of Aidan's unsuccessful predecessor, 'austerioris animi uir,' c. 5, p. 137. Anyhow, as usual, bitterness begot bitterness.

p. 182. nonnumquam] According to Stevenson this difference of a week would have occurred in 665. If so, there was an obvious motive for holding the Synod in 664.

Date of  
Finan's  
death.

defuncto . . . succederet] Colman, when he retired, had been bishop three years; c. 26, p. 189. Finan would seem therefore to have died in 661. The *Ann. Lindisf.* place his death in 660,

though they give Colman an episcopate of three years, and place the Synod of Whitby in 664; Pertz, xix. 504. Tighernach also places Finan's death in 660, while Ann. Ult. and Mart. Don. p. 10, place it in 659, all three calling him 'mac Rimedo,' 'son of Rimid;' and a group of foreign chronicles place it in 658; Pertz, i. 87; ii. 237; iii. 2, 110. On the title wrongly given by Eddius to Colman, see on ii. 20. No doubt Aidan, Finan, and Colman did act as bishops for the whole of Northumbria; but they never received the pallium, nor were there any other bishops over whom they could exercise metropolitan authority; see on c. 3.

*illorum . . . inbutus*] Cf. Oswald, c. 3, p. 132; and contrast Oswin, c. 14, p. 157.

*Uilfridum*] See v. 19, and notes. Alchfrid was also influenced Wilfrid by Cenwalh of Wessex; Eddius, c. 7.

*multum temporis*] Three years; v. 19, p. 324.

p. 183. *XL familiarum*] 'XXX familiarum,' v. 19, p. 325; and so Eddius, c. 8: 'terra XXX mansionum.'

*Inhrypum*] Ripon. For the form of the name, see on ii. 14, p. 115.

*qui Scottos sequebantur*] Including Cuthbert and Eata; v. notes on c. 26, v. 19.

*Agilbertus*] v. s. c. 7, p. 140, and notes.

*quod interpretatur*] This etymology is very obscure; I have found nothing either in the dictionaries or glossaries which throws any light upon it, though 'farus' and 'sinus' are both frequently glossed. My friend Mr. Mayhew tells me that this is an old crux. He says, 'The obvious translation of *stréones healh* is the Rock of Gain.'

*synodus fieri*] It must have been held somewhat early in the year 664; for at the time when Ceadda set out for Kent, which must have been some little time after the Synod, the news of Archbishop Deusdedit's death (ob. July 14, 664) had not reached Northumbria, c. 28; cf. H. & S. iii. 106.

*reges ambo*] Oswy and Alchfrid. In c. 28, *ad init.* and in v. 19, Alchfrid. p. 325, Alchfrid is also called 'rex.' So: 'Alchfrithus qui cum Oswiu patre suo regnabat,' Eddius, c. 7; 'regnantibus Oswiu et Alchfritho filio eius,' ib. c. 10. He was under-king of Deira: 'Alhfrid. . . qui regi Oithelwaldo, regis Oswaldi filio, in regnum successit'; Fl. Wig. i. 25; probably after the Winwæd; cf. on cc. 1, 23. For his subsequent fate, see on c. 28, *ad init.*

*Hild*] 'Colmannus . . . Hildem . . . sectae suae fautricem . . . secum . . . duxit;' Eadmer, Vita Wilf. c. 10 (H. Y. i. 171). She probably accepted the decision of the council on the paschal controversy. But she continued her opposition to Wilfrid; for Pope John VI, in 704, referring to Wilfrid's earlier appeal of 679, speaks

Synod of Whitby.

Opposition of Hild to Wilfrid.

of 'contrarii eius qui a Theodoro . . . et Hylda . . . ad eum accusandum huc . . . aduenerant'; Eddius, c. 54; H. & S. iii. 262. This was only a year before Hild's own death, and when she had already been five years 'tested' (examinari) by the 'long disease' of which she died; iv. 23, p. 256. In forming an estimate of Wilfrid's conduct, this is a consideration which cannot be omitted.

Cedd acts  
as inter-  
preter.

Cedd . . . interpretes] His brother Ceadda had, as a young man, lived some time in Ireland; iv. 3, p. 211. Whether Cedd had ever done the same, we are not told. But in any case he must have had ample opportunity of learning Irish from the Irish monks at Lindisfarne.

p. 184. quam ego per interpretem] Note that Agilbert, after all the years spent in Wessex, could not speak English; cf. c. 7, p. 140: 'pertaesus barbarae loquellae,' and note.

Pictos . . . Brettones] Cf. Fridegoda's contemptuous enumeration: 'Scottica plebs, et Picta cohors, uulguisq[ue] Britannum.'

Vita Metr. Wilf. v. 248; H. Y. i. 116.

Judaism of  
the early  
Church.

p. 185. iudaizante . . . ecclesia] There can be no doubt that in this account of the conference Bede states the arguments of the two parties in his own way, and in his own words. The account in Eddius, c. 10, is very much shorter. The points which the two accounts have in common are the appeal of Colman to the practice of St. John, the appeal of Wilfrid to the Council of Nicaea, and the determination of Oswy not to risk offending St. Peter. This particular argument as to the very gradual way in which Judaic observances were eliminated from the early Church, which shows a genuine historical sense, appears constantly in Bede's works: 'Primitiua in Hierosylmis ecclesia multas legis cerimonias etiam iuxta litteram obseruabat, iudaizantibus quoque eis qui ex gentibus uocati . . . fuerant. . . Neque enim ualebant ea, quae a Deo esse constituta nouerant, repente quasi noxia repellere'; Opp. vii. 222, 223. 'Mota persecutione . . . retrahebant se . . . apostoli . . . ab ip[s]a iudaizandi consuetudine, quam ob deuitandum . . . scandalum . . . tenuerant'; viii. 136; cf. ib. 130, 185, 210; x. 2; xii. 66, 83. In Opp. x. 198 (= xi. 314) Bede rightly fixes on the destruction of the Temple as the great turning-point in the history of the Church with reference to this matter.

quomodo . . . Iudaeis] This passage is wrongly punctuated by the editors, who put a full stop after *abdicare*, thus destroying the sense; for the sentence 'quomodo . . . est' is parenthetical, and the words 'ne scandalum facerent,' &c., are explanatory of 'nec . . . ualentibus . . . abdicare.' The sense is: 'they could not for fear of offence suddenly give up the law, in the same way as it is neces-

sary for converts to abandon idolatry.' On the distinction here drawn, cf. the passage quoted above, on i. 30, from Opp. xii. 67, which has reference to one of the examples given below, the circumcision of Timothy by St. Paul.

quod . . . totondit] 'Haec fecit Paulus, non . . . oblitus quid de abolitione legis . . . statuerat, sed ne scandalizarentur qui ex Iudaeis crediderant. . . . Quidam codices plurali numero habent *totonderunt* . . . id est Priscilla et Aquila. Sed . . . Hieronymus et Augustinus . . . et singulari numero ponunt, et de Paulo interpretantur'; Opp. xii. 73. Here Bede by adding 'cum Priscilla' seems to adopt the plural, and to understand it of all three. The singular is of course correct (*κεφάλαιος*), but commentators are not yet agreed whether it refers to Paul or Aquila; see Meyer, *Comm. ad loc.*, Acts xviii. 18.

ad uesperam incipiebat] Cf. De Temp. Rat. c. 5: 'populus Israel . . . festa omnia sua, sicut et nos hodie facimus, uespere consummabat, dicente legialore: "a uespera usque ad uesperam celebrabitis sabbata uestra"'; Opp. vi. 153. Festivals begin at evening.

p. 186. curabat; quod uos non facitis] Here Bede makes Wilfrid admit that the Celts were not strictly speaking *quartodecimani*. In Eddius he roundly asserts this, c. 12; cf. cc. 14, 15; see on ii. 19, p. 123. The Celts not *quartodecimani*.

Anatolius] Above, c. 3, p. 131, Bede has alluded to the appeal of the Celts to the authority of Anatolius, and indicated his opinion of its worthlessness. In his 'Epistola ad Wicredam . . . de aequinoctio uernali iuxta Anatolium,' Bede hints that the Latin text of Anatolius had been deliberately corrupted by the opposite party: 'uerisimile uidetur . . . libellum Anatolii . . . in aliquibus Latinorum exemplaribus esse corruptum, eorum . . . fraude, qui paschae uerum tempus ignorantes, errorem suum tanti patris auctoritate defendere gestirent.' Then after mentioning other hypotheses, he concludes: 'quid sane horum sit uerius, illi potius, qui Anatolium Graecum legunt, uideant'; Opp. i. 161. That the Anatolian Canon on which the Celts relied really was a forgery, see D. C. A. i. 593, 594; Bright, pp. 79, 198; M. & L. p. 220; Ideler, ii. 229, 230, 297, 298. Anatolius.

p. 187. patrem nostrum Columbam] Yet Columba himself was said to have foretold the paschal controversy; Ad. Vit. Col. i. 3 *ad fin.*

miracula] For the miracles of St. Columba, see especially Adamnan's life, which was written almost wholly from this point of view, Rs. Ad. p. 7.

possem respondere] For the argument, cf. the passage from Gregory's letter to Augustine, quoted on i. 31. If Wilfrid did use any argument of the kind, we cannot wonder that he should have provoked bitter hostility. Insolence of Wilfrid.



p. 188. simplicitate rustica] Cf. c. 4 *ad fm.*: 'ut barbari et rustici'; cf. Sig. Gembl. *ad ann.* 598. 'Columba . . . rustica simplicitate pascha dominico die celebrari neque didicit neque docuit;' Pertz, vi. 320. It is curious that having taken his phraseology from Bede, he should have departed so far from his facts, and made Columba a quartodeciman in the strict sense.

calculator] Cf. v. 21, p. 341.

uno de angulo] For the later derivation of Anglia from angulus, see on i. 15; ii. 1.

'Etiam' =  
'yes.'

etiam] = 'yes.' Cf. *inf.* v. 2: 'dicito Gae [yea], quod est lingua Anglorum uerbum affirmandi, . . . id est, etiam'; p. 284; v. 6, p. 291; v. 9, p. 297. So H. Y. i. 441.

St. Peter,  
gate-ward  
of heaven.

p. 189. ne forte . . . probatur] So Aldhelm to Gerontius, King of Cornwall, on this same question: 'Si ergo Petro clauces coelestis regni a Christo conlatæ sunt, . . . quis, ecclesiae eius statuta . . . spernens, . . . per coelestis paradisi portam . . . ingreditur?' Aldh. Opp. p. 88; H. & S. iii. 272; Mon. Mog. p. 30.

## CHAPTER 26.

domum rediit] It is clear therefore that Bede regards Agilbert as having come from Gaul to Northumbria on this occasion; v. s. on c. 7.

sectam] So in v. 19, p. 325, with reference to this same event: 'eliminata . . . Scottorum secta.'

Iona part  
of Scottia.

Scottiam regressus est] 'primo uenit ad insulam Hii'; iv. 4. So that here again we see that Bede considers Iona as part of 'Scottia'; see on c. 24. Under 664 the Ann. breues Fuldenses have 'Colmani obitus'; Pertz, ii. 237. The compiler, or the authority which he copied, mistook the 'Colman abiit' of other chronicles, Pertz, iii. 2; iv. 2, for 'Colman obiit,' which latter is found in Ann. Fuld.; Pertz, iii. 110\*.

tractaturus cum suis] i.e. with the ecclesiastical authorities at Iona.

Cedd] v. s. cc. 22, 23, 25.

annus . . . XXII<sup>us</sup>] Oswy's twenty-second year was from Aug. 5, 663, to Aug. 4, 664.

episcopatus . . . Scottorum] v. s. on c. 5.

Scottos austrinos] v. s. on c. 3.

permodico tempore] He died the same year, of the plague, c. 27.

p. 190. fratribus . . . maluerunt] Even these submitted with an ill grace to the new rules; see on iv. 27.

Eata.

Eata] He was abbot when Cuthbert entered Melrose in 651; Vit. Cudb. c. 6. He brought Cuthbert with him when he came

at Alchfrid's request to organise his new monastery at Ripon, *ib.* c. 7; shortly before 'paulo ante' Alchfrid transferred it to Wilfrid in 661, *supra*, c. 25, p. 183; v. 19, p. 325. Florence in fact calls him 'Hrypensis monasterii fundator,' i. 25; so in the same sense Ceolfrid is called founder of Jarrow; *Hab.* § 7, p. 370, note. Both Eata and Cuthbert quitted Ripon rather than conform to the Roman Easter and tonsure; c. 25, p. 182, note; *Vit. Cudb.* c. 8. 'Had they been permitted to remain, . . . it may . . . be that the church of Durham would never have been founded;' *Raine's Hexham*, i. 26. It was perhaps to take their place that Tunbert and Ceolfrid were invited from Gilling to Ripon by Wilfrid; *Haa.* § 3. They returned to Melrose, of which Eata had probably never resigned the abbacy. They must however, like Cedd, have accepted the decision of the synod on these points; and thus Colman, who could not bring himself to conform, was able to leave the monastery of Lindisfarne in the hands of one who had been trained in the school of Aidan. He seems to have retained the abbacy of Melrose along with that of Lindisfarne; *Raine's Hexham*, i. 26; *S. C. S.* ii. 209; *D. C. B.* ii. 21. In 678 he was consecrated bishop of Bernicia, with his See at Lindisfarne or Hexham, *iv.* 12, 27; v. 24, pp. 229, 269, 355. In 681 his diocese was divided, Tunbert being consecrated to Hexham, and Eata remaining at Lindisfarne, *iv.* 12 *ad fin.* and note. On Tunbert's deposition, 684, Cuthbert was elected to succeed him, and consecrated, Easter 685; and as he preferred to remain at Lindisfarne, Eata was transferred to Hexham, *iv.* 28, p. 273. As to the date of his death, see on v. 2 *ad init.* The life of him printed by the Surtees Soc. *Misc. Biog.* pp. 121-125, and again in *Raine's Hexham*, i. 211-215, is little more than a cento of passages taken from Bede. There is a church dedicated to Eata at Attingham or Atcham on the Severn (the birthplace of Ordericus Vitalis); the name of the place being no doubt also derived from him; cf. *D. C. B.* ii. 21.

**Mailros]** On its later history, cf. *H. & S.* ii. 28, 161.

**unus de . . . pueris]** One of the 'paruuli Anglorum' who 'in- Aidan's  
buebantur praeceptoribus Scottis,' c. 3, p. 132; possibly redeemed twelve  
by Aidan from slavery, c. 5, p. 136. The number twelve is of English  
course an imitation of the number of the Apostles. For other boys.  
instances of its occurrence, *v. Rs. Ad.* pp. 299-303; *Morison's St. Bernard*, p. 25.

**non multo post]** Fourteen years, 678, *v. s.*

**ecclesiae Lindisfarnensi]** Strictly of all Bernicia, with option of fixing his See at Hexham or Lindisfarne, *v. s.* In *iv.* 28, p. 273, Bede has committed the converse inaccuracy.

domum] *i.e.* to Iona.

secretario] *v.s.* ii. 1, p. 79.

Character  
of the  
Scotic mis-  
sionaries.

quantas autem, &c.] In the whole of this paragraph Bede is obliquely glancing at the ecclesiastical evils of his own time; *v. Introd.* p. xxxv. The glow of the description shows how warmly Bede sympathised with the Scotic missionaries in spite of their paschal heresies.

nil . . . habebant] Cf. *Ann. Stadenses*, A.D. 1179: 'erat [in concilio Lateranensi] episcopus Hibernensis qui Henrico scholastico Bremensi retulit, se non habere alios redditus præter tres uaccas lactantes, quas in defectu lactis parochiani sui per alias inno-uabant;' *Pertz*, xvi. 349.

potentium sæculi] So of Cîteaux under Stephen Harding; cf. *Morison's St. Bernard*, p. 16.

p. 191. unde . . . habitus] A story however in the early life of Cuthbert seems to show that even then monks were not always popular in Northumbria. A crowd of people, seeing some monks in jeopardy, 'coepit irridere uitam conuersationis eorum, quasi merito talia paterentur, qui communia mortalium iura spernentes noua et ignota darent statuta uiuendi;' *Vit. Cudb. Pros.* c. 3.

ubicumque clericus, &c.] Cf. *inf.* iv. 27, p. 269, which is itself taken from *Vit. Cudb.* c. 9.

nam neque alia, &c.] Contrast the *Ep. ad Egb.* §§ 7, 8, pp. 410-412, notes.

## CHAPTER 27.

Eclipse.

eclipsis solis] The *AS.* vers. retains the Latin words and adds a gloss: 'æt is sunnan asprungennis þæt heo sciman ne hæfde, 7 was eatolice on to seonne,' 'that is a failing of the sun, so that it had no light, and was dreadful to look on.' The regular word in the chronicles for the eclipsing of the sun or moon is 'āþýstriān,' lit. 'to grow dark.'

die tertio] It was really on the first. Bede makes the same mistake in the *Chron.* 'sequente anno facta est eclipsis solis, quam nostra aetas meminit, quasi decima hora diei, quinto nonas Maias'; *Opp. Min.* p. 197. For the reasons which made it memorable, see next note. *Smith, a. l.*, traces Bede's error to the incorrectness of the dates of the new moons in the Dionysian cycle of nineteen years.

Visitations  
of the  
plague

pestilentie lues] There is a short chapter on the causes of pestilences in Bede's *De Nat. Rer.* c. 37; *Opp.* vi. 115; cf. *Werner*, pp. 118, 119. There were several visitations of the plague in the

seventh century in Britain and Ireland. This of 664 seems to have been the most noted of them. The coincidence with the eclipse, the highly dramatic incident of the deaths on the same day (July 14) of the king of Kent and the archbishop of Canterbury, iv. 1, would tend to impress it on men's minds. It carried off Tuda in the first year of his episcopate, and Bishop Cedd at Lastingham, c. 23. The death of Bishop Damian of Rochester, iv. 2 *ad fin.*, may have been due to the same scourge. It caused the partial apostasy of the East Saxons, c. 30. The incident of Egbert and Edilhun narrated here is to be assigned to this same visitation. Many, following Florence of Worcester, i. 27, e.g. Bright, pp. 207, 208, Stubbs and Raine in D. C. B. i. 323, 725, further assign to this the death of Boisil, Provost or Prior of Melrose, and the sickness and recovery of Cuthbert, who succeeded him in that office; Vit. Cudb. c. 8; cf. *inf.* iv. 27. But that must certainly be placed earlier; for Cuthbert was provost of Melrose 'aliquot annos'; ib. c. 9; and in 664 he was transferred to Lindisfarne. On the other hand it was subsequent to the expulsion of Eata and himself from Ripon in 661, and may probably be assigned to that year. So Raine, Hexham, I. xxi f.; and Smith and Stevenson on Vit. Cudb. c. 8. According to the life of Oswald the plague visited Northumbria in his reign, 634 x 642; S. D. i. 347-349. There were also outbreaks after 664. Ceadda died of the plague, March 2, 672; Fl. Wig. i. 30; Ang. Sac. i. 426; while during Cuthbert's residence on Farne, 676 x 684, nearly the whole of the Lindisfarne brethren were swept off by it; Introd. p. xxxii. It carried off St. Ethelthryth in 679 or 680, iv. 19, p. 244; and Cadwalader in 682; see on v. 7. The story told, Vit. Cudb. c. 33; Vit. Anon. § 35, implies a visitation in Cuthbert's episcopate, 685 x 687; probably the same during which Abbot Eosterwine died, and the incident of Ceolfred and the little boy reciting the offices occurred; Introd. p. xii. According to Adamnan, Vit. Col. ii. 46, the plague was raging in Northumbria at the time of his two visits. These were probably in 686 and 688; see on v. 15. The story of the miracle at Barking implies a visitation subsequent to the foundation of that monastery, iv. 7; while that at Selsey, iv. 14, must be 681 x 686; see on v. 19.

p. 192. Tuda] 'Se was æfter Colmane Norþanhymbra biscop,' Tuda. 'who was bishop of the Northumbrians after Colman,' adds AS. vers.; an addition necessitated by the omission of cc. 25, 26.

Pægnalæch] There is an extraordinary variation in the later Pægnalæch. authorities as to the name of Tuda's burial-place. The Sax. Chron. *ad. ann.* 664, E. has 'on Wagele'; Gaimar (M. H. B. p. 781) has 'Paggale,' with the ordinary confusion of W and P; H. H.

p. 100, has Wemalet, with a c. l. Weinalet, which last may easily be a miswriting of Peinalec, which is not so far from Bede's form. Wagele has been identified with Whalley on the borders of Lancashire and Cheshire, v. Earle, Sax. Chron. a. l.; H. & S. iii. 444. Smith would identify Pægnalæch with S. D.'s Wincanheal, or Pinchala, ii. 43, 51, 376; and both with the modern Finchale, near Durham. But the whole matter is very uncertain.

The plague  
in Ireland.

Hiberniam quoque] The Ann. Ult. notice outbreaks of the plague in 663, 664, 666, 667, 682, 683, 699-702; Tigh. 664, 665, 667, 683, 684; F. M. 664, 666, 684. Cynifrid, formerly abbot of Gilling, died of the plague in Ireland; Haa. § 3. This was probably in 661, as it is mentioned in connexion with the migration of Tunbert and Ceolfrid to Ripon about that time. See on c. 26. The story of Wilbrord and the Irish scholar in c. 13, implies a visitation about 677, v. notes a. l. The Irish called it 'buide chonaill,' 'cron chonaill,' 'buidechair'; Lib. Hymn. pp. 123, 124; Ann. Ult. 555; F. M. 548, 664, and notes; the British called it 'y fall (or yfad) felen,' Rhys, C. B. p. 68; all names derived from the yellow colour of its victims. So 'flaua pestis,' Giraldus Cambr. Opp. iii. 57, 151. My friend and former good physician Dr. Tuckwell thinks that it was probably a malignant form of typhus.

nobilium . . . mediocrium] 'ge æðelinga ge oðerra,' both ethelings and others,' AS. vers.

Resort of  
students to  
Ireland.

qui . . . secesserant] Of this resort from Britain to Ireland for purposes of study or devotion Bede himself gives several instances. Besides the three mentioned in this chapter we have the cases of Wilbrord, c. 13; v. 10, *ad init.*; Tuda, c. 26; Ceadda, iv. 3, p. 211; Eddius, c. 14; Higbald, iv. 3, p. 211; Witbert, v. 9, *ad fin.*; the two Hewalds, v. 10; Haemgils, v. 12, p. 309. The case of Cynifrid from Haa. § 3, has been cited above. So the Frankish Agilbert, iii. 7, p. 140; cf. Bright, pp. 159, 160. The lives of the Cambro-British saints (ed. Rees) which are highly mythical, show that it was considered the correct thing for a British saint to have studied in Ireland, e.g. St. Cadoc, pp. 35, 36, cf. p. 59; St. Kebi, ib. pp. 184-186; cf. P. & S. pp. 112, 113. There is a letter from Aldhelm to a friend named Eahfrid who had spent six years in Ireland, 'uber sophiae sugens.' He says that the number of those who resorted to Ireland resembled a swarm of bees. He mentions as their subjects of study: grammar, geometry, physics, and the allegorical and tropological interpretation of scripture (v. Introd. § 14). He is however somewhat piqued that Britain, which has inherited the learning of Theodore and Hadrian, should have to resort to Ireland for instruction: 'ac si istic fecundo Britanniae in

cespite didascali. . . reperiri minime queant ;' Opp. pp. 91-95. The letter would be very interesting if it were not almost unintelligible through the writer's puerile pomposity. In some cases the exile was not wholly voluntary, but was due partly to political causes. We find also exile in Gaul, iii. 8 ; iv. 23 ; Hist. Abb. §§ 2, 3 ; and in Italy, Hist. Abb. Anon. § 27.

**magistrorum**] In all the Irish monasteries there was a regular officer called the 'fer legind,' lit. 'man of reading,' lector, or professor ; v. s. on c. 13.

**sine pretio**] That the Irish sometimes offered their learning for sale is shown by the story given above, on ii. 1, from the monk of St. Gallen.

**duo iuuenes . . . de nobilibus**] 'twegen geonge æðelingas,' 'two young ethelings,' AS. vers.

**Egberot**] See v. 9, and notes ; cf. Opp. Min. p. 203.

**Ediluini**] v. s. c. 11, p. 149 ; *inf.* iv. 12, p. 229.

**Rathmelsigi**] Colman of Rath Maelsighe is commemorated in the **Rathmelsigi** Mart. Don. at Dec. 14. 'Colgan places it in Connaught, but the exact situation remains to be identified ;' Rs. Ad. p. 379. Stevenson and M. & L. say Melfont or Mellifont, Co. Louth ; but I find no real authority for this.

**adfecti**] '7 him mon feores ne wende,' 'and their lives were despaired of,' AS. vers. adda.

p. 193. **cubiculo . . . quiescebant**] The infirmary of the monastery, the 'séocra manna inn' of the Sax. Chron. 1070 E., v. Introd. p. xxvii.

**adeo**] 'for Gode,' 'for God,' AS. vers. ; so that the translator must either have read 'Deo' or misunderstood his text. The misunderstanding would be helped by passages like c. 4, p. 134, 'exulare pro Christo' ; c. 19, *ad init.* 'pro Domino . . . peregrinam ducere uitam' ; iv. 3, 23, pp. 211, 253, 'peregrinus pro Domino' ; Hist. Abb. § 3, 'peregrinatio pro Christo.'

**Brittaniā**] As Egbert ended his days in Iona, this is another proof that Iona was not considered part of Britain, v. s. on cc. 24, 26 ; though 'ad ius quidem Britanniae pertinet,' c. 3, p. 132.

**psalmodiam**] v. s. on c. 5.

**sacerdotii gradum**] 'biscophade,' 'episcopal orders,' AS. vers. The evidence that Egbert was a bishop is collected in a note to v. 9, *ad init.*

**nuper . . . DCCXXVIII<sup>o</sup>**] Om. AS. vers. This agrees with the date 731 for the writing of the Hist. Eccl.

p. 194. **cuius . . . curabat**] cf. iv. 30, p. 276 ; D. C. B. iii. 367. Threefold This threefold 'Lent,' if so it may be called, occurs frequently in Lent.

Irish sources. Thus we have 'corgus [= quadragesima] erraig,' or 'Spring-Lent,' Féil. p. xl.; 'samchorgus 7 gemchorgus,' i. e. 'Summer-Lent and Winter-Lent,' L. Br. 261 b, 74. The last, or forty days before Christmas, is also called 'corgus Moysi,' 'Moses' Lent,' Féil. p. clxvi, from the idea that it commemorated Moses' forty-days' sojourn in the mount. The Spring-Lent is also called 'in corgus mór,' 'the Great Lent,' L. Br. 9 b, 7.

## CHAPTER 28.

Wilfrid.

Ulfildum] See v. 19, and notes.

regem Galliarum] Clothaire III, King of Neustria.

suisque] '7 his hiwum,' 'and his household,' AS. vers.

plurimis] Eleven, besides Agilbert, v. 19, p. 325; Eddius, c. 12; and note on iii. 7 *sup*.

In Compendio] Compiègne.

propter ordinationem] Below v. 19, p. 326, Bede omits these words; and Eddius, c. 12 says that Wilfrid remained abroad 'spatium temporis' after his consecration. Any delay prior to the consecration, which cannot however be later than 664 (see on v. 19), may have been the result of the very unnecessary number of consecrators employed, which looks like a touch of vanity on Wilfrid's part. Anyhow the delay was very prejudicial to his cause; cf. G. P. 'quo ultra mare moras neccente,' p. 211.

Causes of  
Ceadda's  
(Chad's)  
appoint-  
ment.

imitatus industriam filii] Alchfrid's sending of Wilfrid was 'cum consilio atque consensu patris sui,' v. 19, p. 325. It is difficult to account for Oswy's change of front. Eddius and Eadmer both attribute it to the influence of the 'quartodeciman' party, H. Y. i. 21, 174, whom the latter represents as using the (surely not unreasonable) plea 'ne, ecclesia diutius carente pastore, fides Christi . . . iacturam incurrat;' cf. Raine's Hexham, i. 25. It is possibly connected with the fate of Alchfrid who had been the leader of the Roman party, c. 25, v. 19, pp. 182, 325. It is certain that at this point he disappears from history; and probable that that disappearance, whether by death or exile, was due to his rebellion against his father which Bede has incidentally mentioned in c. 14 *ad init.*; cf. D. C. B. i. 72; iv. 167. The date on Alchfrid's cross at Bewcastle is 'fruman gear . . . Ecgfriþu,' 'the first year of Egfrid'; Stephen's Runic Monuments, i. 398 ff.; Sweet, Oldest English Texts, p. 124; but whether this refers to the date of Alchfrid's death, or to that of the erection of the cross, I do not know. If his rebellion is rightly placed here, it would account for the triumph of Wilfrid's opponents, bringing Deira

more directly under Oswy's government, and increasing the preponderance of Bernicia, which was more under Celtic and less open to Southern influence than Deira; cf. H. Y. I. xxvi. For the grounds on which Oswy had decided the issue of the Synod of Whitby were not those of an ecclesiastical enthusiast. There is however no reason to suppose that Ceadda, any more than his brother Cedd, refused to accept the decisions of the Synod as to Easter and tonsure.

*uirum sanotum, &c.*] Cf. the beautiful character of him in iv. 3. His character. Even Eddius, who regards him as a usurper, calls him '*seruum Dei religiosissimum et admirabilem doctorem*'; c. 14. For later lives of him (which add nothing to Bede, v. Hardy, Cat. i. 275-277.

p. 195. *Eadhaedum . . . Hrypensis ecclesiae*] He was in the first instance consecrated bishop of Lindsey, and was transferred to Ripon when Lindsey became Mercian again, probably in 679; v. on c. 11.

*consecratus*] 664; v. on v. 19.

*adsumtis . . . episcopis*] Probably Cornish; H. & S. i. 124. Communion of the West Saxons and Britons is of great interest; but it probably formed one of the grounds on which Ceadda's consecration was objected to by Theodore; see on iv. 2. It may be added that Wine's own ecclesiastical position was not above criticism in point of regularity; he having been 'sub-introduced' into the diocese of Wessex while Agilbert still held it; c. 7, p. 140.

*secus morem*] '*secus*' as an adverb means 'otherwise'; when used as a preposition it is a vulgarism for '*secundum*.' Bede here combines the adverbial *sense* with the prepositional *use*, giving it the force of '*contra*.' Mr. Gidley was the first to call attention to this point; M. & L.

*non enim . . . episcopus*] It has been pointed out that this is an exaggeration. Even if Damian of Rochester was dead by this time, there was Boniface of East Anglia; H. & S. iii. 106; Bright, p. 212.

*castitati*] Here, as often, '*castitas*,' '*castus*,' refer to purity from heresy; cf. v. 18, p. 321: '*Brettones . . . pascha non suo tempore celebrant. . . alia . . . ecclesiasticae castitati . . . contraria gerunt*'; iv. 18, p. 242: '*ab hereticorum contagiis castus*'; v. 20 *ad fin.*: '*in catholicae fidei confessione castissimus*'; so Opp. ix. 220, 233.

*oppida . . . castella*] '*byrig 7 lond 7 ceastre 7 tunas 7 hus*,' AS. vers.

*Aidani*] '*þæs góðan biscopes*,' 'the good bishop's,' inserts enthusiastically the AS. translator.



Anglo-Saxon  
version.

ueniens . . . factus] See on v. 19, p. 326.

qui . . . patriam] 'þa ðe betweohn Ongle eardodon, 7 þære riht gelefdan lāre wiðerwearde wæron, ge in gehælde rihtra Eastrena, ge in monegum oðrum wisum, oðþe heora treowa sealdon, þæt heo riht mid healdan woldon, oðþe ham to heora eðle hwurfen,' 'who lived among the English, and were opposed to the orthodox doctrine as to the holding the correct Easter, and in many other ways, either pledged their troth that they would join in holding the right, or returned home to their own country,' AS. vers. The additions were rendered necessary by the omission of cc. 25, 26.

manus darent] 'submitted,' 'surrendered.' The AS. translator has interpreted it on the analogy of the native phrase 'on hand syllan,' 'to bargain, promise, handsel'; cf. Icelandic 'handsala.' To surrender in Anglo-Saxon is 'on hand gán'; cf. iv. 2, where the translator has rendered it correctly.

## CHAPTER 29.

P. 196. His temporibus] 667. Sax. Chron. E. 665; Jaffé R. P. p. 165.

Beginnings  
of English  
unity.

reges . . . agendum] This joint deliberation between Oswy and Egbert 'on the state of the Church of the English,' and the fact that their line of action was taken 'with the choice and consent of the holy Church of the race of the English,' mark an important stage in the development of a sense of unity among the English tribes in Britain, and show that the first impulse to such unity came from the ecclesiastical and not from the secular side; cf. iv. 1. In Hist. Abb. § 3 the sending of Wighard is ascribed to Egbert alone. He had of course a special interest in the matter, Canterbury being in his kingdom. W. M. i. 55, 56, recognises this while ascribing the principal credit to Oswy, 'de cuius [Theodori] in Angliam aduentu princeps Oswio debetur gratia, licet Egbertus . . . pro iure prouinciae multum illius delibet gloriæ.'

aptum episcopatu] An unusual construction, probably due to the analogy of 'dignus,' &c.

presbyterum] Apparently not a monk; cf. D. C. B. iv. 1176.

morte] By the plague, iv. 1.

litteræ] Briefly epitomised in the AS. vers.

Uitalianus] 657-672; v. D. C. B. iv. 1161-1163.

conuersus] This alludes to Oswy's conversion to the Roman Easter, &c., at Whitby.

p. 197. celebrandum] 'celebrando' would be better; and so some later MSS.

et post nonnulla] Here, as in ii. 19, Bede omits the passage on the Paschal question. Perhaps he felt that in c. 25 and v. 21, he had given his readers as much as they could stomach on that question, and that he could state the arguments himself better than they could be stated by the Papal See. Ussher recovered from a MS. which he believed to have belonged to Whitby, a portion of the missing passage: 'nunquam enim celebrare debemus sanctum pascha nisi secundum apostolicam et catholicam fidem, ut in toto orbe celebratur a Christiana plebe, id est secundum apostolicam regulam cccxviii sanctorum patrum, et computum sanctorum Cyrilli et Dionysii. Nam in toto terrarum orbe sic Christi una columba, hoc est ecclesia immaculata, sanctum paschae resurrectionis diem celebrat. Nam Victoris [*lege* Victorii] regulam paschae sedes apostolica non adprobavit, ideo nec sequitur dispositionem eius pro pascha'; Ussher, *Vet. Epp. Hibern. Sylloge*, No. 9, p. 126. By the '318 fathers' is meant the council of Nicaea; cf. iv. 17, p. 240. And for the appeal to Nicaea in the paschal controversy, cf. ii. 19; iii. 25, p. 186. We must undoubtedly read 'Victorii' for 'Victoris' with H. & S. iii. 112. Victor, Bishop of Capua in the sixth century, was the orthodox champion who answered Victorius; c. De Temp. Rat. c. 51, 'uerum ne nos amatores Victorii temere illum aggressos esse lacerent, legant librum doctissimi et sanctissimi uiri, Victoris . . . Capuani episcopi de pascha, . . . et quanti a . . . catholicis ecclesiae doctoribus aestimatus sit suus magister inuenient'; Opp. vi. 248. The whole chapter is a vigorous polemic against Victorius.

hominem . . . tenorem] Above, Bede speaks of the two kings as having merely sent Wighard to Rome to be consecrated; here the Pope treats Wighard as merely the bringer of Oswy's gifts 'qui haec obtulit munera' (cf. iv. 1, p. 201, on these gifts); and assumes that he has been asked to provide an archbishop. This is commonly treated as a mere instance of papal usurpation. But below, iv. 1, p. 203, Theodore is distinctly spoken of as 'episcopum quem petierant a Romano antistite'; so that probably some discretion was left to the Pope in the matter. Otherwise Wighard, like Wilfrid, might have been consecrated in Gaul; cf. ib. p. 211, '*petentibus* hunc [Vighardum] . . . archiepiscopum ordinari'; cf. Kemble, *Saxons*, ii. 365, 366.

p. 198. de sacratissimis uinculis] Cf. D. C. A. i. 611; ii. 1771. totam suam insulam] Note the position assigned to Oswy.

Paschal  
contro-  
versy.

Question of  
Theodore's  
appoint-  
ment.

## CHAPTER 30.

P. 199. *Orientalium Saxonum . . . reges*] See on c. 22.

*apostasiam*] The plague had something of the same effect in Northumbria, though not to the same extent, iv. 27; Vit. Cudb. Pros. c. 9. On the general tendency to regard prosperity as the test of religious truth, cf. on ii. 13.

*dicemus*] iv. 11.

*fidelem*] 'believing,' in contrast with the apostasy of his colleague; cf. note on i. 7; and contrast 'perfidia' below.

*Iaruman*] v. c. 24, *ad fin.*; iv. 3. He succeeded Trumhere and was succeeded by Ceadda.

p. 200. *uiam iustitiæ*] Cf. 2 Pet. ii. 21; M. & L.

*destructis . . . aris*] v. notes on i. 30.

*ipsi sacerdotes . . . eorum*] 'se biscop 7 heora lareowas,' 'the bishop and their teachers,' AS. vers.

## BOOK IV. CHAPTER 1.

P. 201. *Deusdedit*] See above, iii. 20, note.

*pridie Idum Iul.*] July 14.

*eodem . . . die*] v. s. on iii. 27.

*non paucio tempore*] Theodore was consecrated March 26, 668; and reached Canterbury May 27, 669, *in fr.*; and c. 2. Bede, c. 2, dates Theodore's tenancy of the see from the latter date. He would therefore consider the vacancy as lasting till the same time. R. W. says: 'cessauit sedes IIII annis,' i. 159.

*diximus*] iii. 29.

*præerat*] 'was aldrbiscop,' 'was chief-bishop,' AS. vers.

Niridano.

p. 202. *Niridano*] This is the right reading; v. critical note: 'Locus est iuxta Montem Cassinum,' Smith; N and H are very easily confused in MSS. 'Nisidano' in Holder's text is a pure conjecture, and has no MS. authority; Elmham has 'Hiridano,' p. 202.

*Hadrianus*] On the latter lives and miracles of Hadrian, v. Hardy, Cat. i. 403, 404; cf. AA.SS. Ian. i. 595, 597.

*ex tempore*] 'æfter fæce,' 'after a time,' AS. vers.; 'at leisure,' 'in time'; cf. Pref. p. 5, note.

Theodore.

*Theodorus*] Cf. Bede Chron. 'Theodorus . . . et Hadrianus, . . . uir æque doctissimus, a Vitaliano missi Britanniam, plurimas ecclesias Anglorum doctrinæ ecclesiasticæ fruge foecundauerunt;' Opp. Min. p. 197. Pope Zacharias, writing to St. Boniface in 748,

says: 'Theodorus Greco-Latinus ante philosophus et Athenis eruditus, Romae ordinatus, pallio sublimatus ad . . . Britanniam transmissus iudicabat et gubernabat;' cf. the passage given from Aldhelm on iii. 27, p. 192, above. On the later lives of Theodore v. Hardy, Cat. i. 362, 363. There is an admirable account of Theodore in D. C. B. iv. 926, ff., by Dr. Stubbs.

sufficiensque . . . priorum] '7 eac swylce þæt he wæs in his agnum geferscipe wel gemonnad,' 'and also that he was well manned in respect of his own company;' AS. vers.

p. 203. Grecorum more] This has been thought to refer to the Monothelism. Monothelite controversy, Bright, pp. 220, 221. If so, the Pope's suspicions proved groundless, as the council of Hatfield showed that Theodore and the English church were quite sound on this point; see cc. 17, 18, and notes.

tonsuram] See Excursus on the Easter and Tonsure controversies.

die VII. Kal. Apr.] March 26; this was a Sunday in 668. His ordination as subdeacon four months previously must have been in Nov. 667.

VI Kal. Iun.] May 27.

Iohanni . . . illius] John, Archbishop of Arles, 658-675; Gallia Christ. i. 542.

scripta commendaticia] 'gewrit . . . þæt heo mon mid ære onfenge,' 'writings (to the effect) that they should be received with honour,' AS. vers.

Ebrinus . . . regiae] Mayor of the palace to Clothaire III. He Ebroin. succeeded Ercinwald, iii. 19. p. 168, about 657, and was murdered 680; v. Martin, Hist. de France, ii. 151-162. In iii. 19, Bede, following the life of St. Fursa, calls his predecessor 'patricius.' Here he gives Ebroin the title 'maior domus regiae' ('se ealdorman,' 'the alderman'; AS. vers.).

Agilbertum . . . diximus] v. iii. 7, 25, 26, 28; pp. 140, 183, 189, Agilbert. 194. He was a partisan of Ebroin, and his accomplice in some of his worst acts. Yet he ranks as a saint; Martin, u. s. pp. 159, 161.

Emme] or Emmo; Bp. of Sens 658-675; Gams, p. 629.

Emme.

Faronem] Bp. of Meaux 626-672; Gams, p. 575. His life, by Faro. Hildegard his successor in the ninth century, is in Mabillon, AA.SS. ii. 606-625.

quem petierant] v. s. on iii. 29.

Rædfridum . . . suum] 'Ræðfrið his gerefan,' 'his reeve,' AS. High-reeve. vers.; 'high-reeve,' D. C. B. iv. 927.

Quentauc] Étaples. The name means 'uicus ad Quantiam'; Quentawic. i. e. on the Canche; cf. Bouquet, iii. 580.

Ebroin's  
suspicious.

legationem imperatoris . . . gerebat] Dr. Stubbs says : 'Ebroin suspected that Hadrian was acting in the interests of Constans, who was now dying at Syracuse, but whose residence in the West had fluttered the Frank kingdom ; it was possible that an alliance was in contemplation between the English kings and the Emperor' ; D. C. B. iv. 927 (cf. Lappenberg, i. 118 ; E. T. i. 115, 116). 'It is not impossible that Theodore had followed the Emperor Constans on his journey to the West ;' ib. 926 ; cf. ib. 1162.

p. 204. regnum] 'Froncna rice,' 'the kingdom of the Franks,' AS. vers.

Abbot  
Hadrian.

uenit] For the date of his arrival in Britain v. on v. 20, *ad init.* statim . . . dedit] This can hardly be correct. In Hist. Abb. §§ 3, 4, *infr.* pp. 366, 367, Bede says that on Theodore's arrival in Britain, Benedict Biscop, who had accompanied him from Rome at the Pope's request, received the monastery of St. Peter, and ruled it for two years. Therefore Hadrian cannot have been abbot until 671 ; and his arrival in Britain can hardly be later than 670 ; cf. Fl. Wig. i. 28, 29, and notes. Elmham boldly argues from the present passage that Biscop never was abbot of St. Augustine's at all, p. 204. There are three charters extant in which grants are made to Hadrian as abbot of St. Peter's ; the first genuine, the other two spurious ; K. C. D. Nos. 27, 30, 41 ; Birch, Nos. 67, 73, 90.

præfatus sum] i. 33 ; ii. 3.

præceperat, &c.] Hence, in a privilege granted by Pope Adeodatus to Hadrian for his monastery, he is spoken of as 'abbas ab apostolica sede ordinatus atque destinatus' ; H. & S. iii. 123. Elmham, as a true Augustinian, insists that Hadrian received the abbacy from Theodore, 'non . . . ut ab archiepiscopo, sed ut ab apostolicæ sedis legato,' p. 204.

'Dioecesis,' diocesi] A diocese, in the political terminology of the later Roman empire, was the union of several provinces. Hence, when the word was transferred to the ecclesiastical sphere it indicated, not a diocese in the modern sense, for which the original term was *παροικία*, parochia, (see on c. 5), but the union of several (ecclesiastical) provinces under a patriarch, or of several dioceses (in the modern sense) under an archbishop ; i.e. an (ecclesiastical) province. On the other hand, it was also used to denote 'baptismalis ecclesiæ territorium' ; i.e. the modern parish. See Ducange ; D. C. A. s. v. It is probable that Bede uses it here of Theodore's province. We have seen (iii. 4, notes) that Adamnan uses the term of the district subject to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the monastery of Iona, a use based on a correct analogy, since Iona was the head of a federation of monasteries, v. s. on iii. 4.

**prouideret]** A word of evil omen in connexion with papal influence on ecclesiastical appointments. Papal provisions.

## CHAPTER 2.

**secundo . . . dominica]** *i.e.* May 27, 669, the anniversary of the day on which he had set out, *c. 1.* This was a Sunday in 669.

**manus dare]** *v. iii. 28, ad fin.* 'him eall Ongolecyn hyrnesse Position  
**geþafode,** 'the whole English race yielded him obedience,' AS. vers.; and policy  
cf Elmham, p. 206. 'Theodore seems steadily to have ignored St. of Theo-  
Gregory's plan for creating two provinces,' D.C.B. iv. 929. He dore.  
was the first of the archbishops whom all the nations recognised,  
and in their recognition of him was contained the germ of the  
unity which was not realised in secular matters for nearly three  
centuries to come,' *ib.* 930. In G. P. pp. 51, 52, there is an alleged  
letter of Vitalian's to Theodore which says: 'nobis uisum est . . .  
commendare tuæ sagacissimæ sanctitati omnes ecclesias in insula  
Britanniæ positas.' It is the fourth of the Malmesbury series of  
letters connected with the primacy of Canterbury. It is not such  
a glaring forgery as some of the others; but it is not genuine. By  
a further growth of legend, Thorn, *c.* 1769, gives Theodore  
legatine authority over England, Scotland, and Ireland; cited  
M. & L.

**discipulorum ceterua]** Among the pupils of Theodore and Ha- Schools and  
drian Bede mentions Albinus; Pref. p. 6, *v. 20, ad init.*; Tobias, Bp. scholars.  
of Rochester, *v. 23, p. 348.* Aldhelm was also a pupil of Hadrian.  
In Aldh. Opp. ed. Giles, p. 330, is a fragment of a letter addressed  
by Aldhelm: 'reuerendissimo patri meaeque rudis infantiae  
uenerando praeceptori Adriano.' For earlier schools at Canterbury,  
cf. on *iii. 18*; W. M. i. 16, says that Theodore and Hadrian  
'insulam, tyrannorum quondam nutriculum, familiare philoso-  
phiae domicilium effecerint.'

**metricae . . . arithmeticae]** 'in metercraft 7 in tungolcraft Subjects of  
7 in grammaticcraft,' 'in metre-craft, and in star-craft, and in study.  
grammar-craft,' AS. vers.; substituting 'grammar' for the 'eccle-  
siastical arithmetic' of the original. By this last is meant those  
studies connected with the calendar, in which Bede himself was  
so great a proficient; Introduction, § 11 (cf. D. C. A. s. r. 'Calen-  
dar'). Astronomy or 'star-craft' would be studied largely with  
a view to this. Bede himself also wrote on 'metre-craft'; he was  
in fact indirectly, through Benedict Biscop, largely indebted to

this Canterbury school. For these subjects of study, cf. the passage quoted from Aldhelm on iii. 27.

The Picts. p. 205. barbaris nationibus] Bede is probably thinking of the Picts, who were such a serious danger to Northumbria in his own time; v. *Intro.* p. xxxiv. He would not speak of the Scots, either of Ireland or Britain, as barbarians; the former of whom he calls 'gens innoxia et nationi Anglorum semper amicissima,' c. 26. sonos cantandi] v. on ii. 20.

Aeddi or Eddius. Aeddi] This is the biographer of Wilfrid. He mentions himself once in the course of his work, c. 14, where he tells how Wilfrid 'episcopalia officia per plura spatia agens, cum cantoribus Ædde et Eonan, et caementariis, omnisque paene artis institoribus, . . . instituta ecclesiarum Dei bene meliorabat.'

Misstatement. primus . . . didicit] This is an extraordinary statement. Wilfrid was consecrated in 664. Prior to that date the following five bishops of English birth were consecrated, of whose orthodoxy there does not seem to be the slightest suspicion: Ithamar, 644; Thomas, 647 or 648; Boniface, 652 or 653; Deusdedit, 655; Damian, (?) 655. Cf. the somewhat similar exaggeration about Wine above, iii. 28, p. 195.

Increase of the episcopate. ordinabat . . . episcopos] Bisi for East Anglia, c. 5; Chad, reconsecrated and transferred to Mercia, cc. 2, 3; Putta at Rochester, *infra*; Leutherius for Wessex, iii. 7; Wynfrid in succession to Chad, c. 3, *ad fin.* Wilfrid, though consecrated in Gaul, was established as bishop of Northumbria by Theodore, c. 3; v. H. & S. iii. 18. On Theodore's arrival, 'Theodore, with Wilfrid, Chad, and Wine formed the whole episcopate of the English Church. As Wilfrid and Chad were . . . claimants of the same see, and Wine a simoniac, Theodore had before him a fair field for reform, organisation, and administration'; D. C. B. iv. 927.

('ædda's (Chad's) consecration irregular. non . . . rite . . . consecratum] Chad's consecration might be considered irregular on two grounds: 1. that he had been consecrated to a see already occupied; 2. that he had been consecrated by two schismatical British bishops. Eddius bases Chad's deposition on both grounds, making him confess 'peccatum ordinandi [*i. e.* the sin of *being ordained*] a Quatuordecimanis in sedem alterius,' c. 15. Eadmer makes Chad resign on the former ground alone; H. Y. i. 179; so R. W. i. 159. In Bede Chad does not admit any wrong in himself; he merely yields to Theodore's judgement: 'si . . . nosti,' &c.; cf. Bright, pp. 227, 228.

episcopatum dimittere] Not 'to resign the bishopric' (as Bright, p. 228) but 'to give up the episcopal office.' Above, Dr. Bright has construed 'episcopatum . . . suscepisse' quite rightly.

*ipse . . . denuo . . . consummavit*] Bede connects this reconsecration of Chad (for such the word *denuo* implies) with his resignation or deposition; Eddius with his transference to Mercia. Eddius represents this as the work, not of Theodore, but of Wilfrid, and makes it follow immediately on the deposition; whereas Bede, c. 3, v. 19, p. 326, represents Chad as retiring for a time to Lastingham. If the events took place as Bede represents, Theodore must have consecrated Chad as a bishop without a see. Moreover, Eddius says that the bishops 'Ceaddan . . . per omnes gradus ecclesiasticos ad sedem praedictam plene . . . ordinaverunt,' c. 15, which if taken literally would imply that not only his consecration but his orders were treated as invalid. Cf. Bright, pp. 228, 229, and Note C. So St. Kentigern, who had been consecrated in the Celtic manner by a single bishop (*v. s.* on i. 27; iii. 22), is said to have intreated St. Gregory to confirm his election, 'que deerant consecrationi eius supplens'; N. & K. p. 210.

p. 206. *rediit*] On returning from Gaul Wilfrid was attacked by Wilfrid, the heathen South Saxons, and ultimately landed at Sandwich; Eddius, c. 13. Hence he was naturally asked to perform episcopal functions in Kent.

at *ipse*] i. e. Theodore, not Wilfrid; and so it is distinctly understood by Fl. Wig. i. 28, 29, and G. P. p. 216. Eddius says that Wilfrid had ordained Putta priest, implying that he did not consecrate him bishop, c. 14. On Putta, see c. 12, *infra*, p. 228.

*defuncto Damiano*] He probably died before Deusdedit, otherwise Damian, wise the latter would have consecrated a successor; and almost certainly before Ceadda reached Kent in 664, otherwise the latter would have been consecrated by him and not by Wine. He may have been one of the victims of the plague of 664; hence the 'iamdiu cessauerat' of Bede; cf. H. & S. iii. 100.

### CHAPTER 3.

*mortuo Iarumanno*] The death of Jaruman (Gearomonn, AS. *vers.*) is often placed in 669 (*e. g.* Hardy's *Le Neve*, i. 538; cf. Fl. Wig. *sub ann.*) by a false inference from this passage. The Mercian see had certainly been vacant some time before Chad's transference to it. Eddius says distinctly that Wilfrid, during his three years' retirement at Ripon, 666-669, 'frequenter a Wlfario rege Merciorum ad officia . . . episcopalia in regione sua . . . inuitatus est,' c. 14; and Fridegoda, in his life of Wilfrid, speaks of

Reconsecration of Chad.

Date of Jaruman's death.



Chad as appointed 'sedi longum pastore uacanti,' H. Y. i. 123. Chesterfield places Jaruman's death in 667, and this date is accepted by Wharton, *ad loc.*; Ang. Sac. i. 425; and Stubbs, Ep. Succ. p. 164.

postulauit a rege Osuio] His consent was required as Chad was a Northumbrian.

omnium Nordanhymbrorum] See note on v. 19, p. 326.

Wilfrid.

sed et Pictorum . . . poterat] So a little later Eddius says: 'sicut . . . Ecgritho . . . regnum ad Aquilonem et Austrum . . . augebatur, ita Wilfritho . . . ad Austrum super Saxones, et ad Aquilonem super Brittones et Scottos, Pictosque, regnum ecclesiarum multiplicabatur,' c. 21. For the extent of Oswy's dominions, v. on ii. 5, iii. 24.

ambulando] See on iii. 5.

p. 207. Lindisfarorum] See on iii. 11.

Adbaruae] 'æt Bearwe,' AS. vers., from 'bearw, a wood or grove.' Barton-on-Humber; Smith. Barrow, near Goxhill, Lincs.; Stev. The form of the name is decidedly in favour of the latter view.

Lichfield.

Lyccidfelth] Lichfield. 'Licitfeld est uilla exigua in pago Statfordensi longe a frequentia urbium . . . Ecclesia angusto situ erat, antiquorum uirorum mediocritatem et abstinentiam praeferens. Locus pudendus nostri aevi episcopis, in quo episcopalis dignitas diuersari deberet;' G. P. p. 307; v. s. on iii. 3.

mansionem] 'sundor wic,' 'separate dwelling,' AS. vers.

Chronology.

duobus annis ac dimidio] If Chad was transferred to Mercia in the latter part of 669, as would appear from Bede's narrative, his death is rightly placed by Fl. Wig. in 672; and, as he died on March 2, his accession must be dated August or September. Chesterfield (Ang. Sac. i. 426) places his death in 670; but this is due to the erroneous assumption that he succeeded immediately on the death of Jaruman.

mittendi] 'spargendi,' Vulgate. This is from the old Latin, Sabatier Latinae Versiones Antiquae, ii. 358; cf. some verses on this subject attributed to Bede in S. D. ii. 23.

clades] v. on iii. 27.

'Living stones.'

uiuos . . . lapides . . . transferret] This metaphor (derived from 1 Pet. ii. 5) occurs more than once in Bede's work De Templo Salomonis. Thus on 1 Kings, vi. 7, he says: 'hic tundimur aduersitatibus, . . . ut illic locis . . . congruis disponamur, et, castigatione cessante, solo amoris glutino . . . adinuicem copulemur,' Opp. viii. 284. Elsewhere in the same work (ib. 270, 274) he treats the transference of the stone from the quarry to the building as

a type of the translation of the soul from a state of nature to a state of grace.

p. 208. Aedilthryde] v. c. 19.

eratque . . . eius] 'ond he was hire begna 7 huses 7 hire Owine. geferscipes ofer all aldermon,' 'and he was chief of her thanes and house, and her company generally,' AS. vers. The Liber Eliensis calls him 'maior familiae eius,' 'paedagogus et princeps domus illius,' pp. 36, 62. His day is March 4 according to AA.SS. Mart. i. 313; which also states that there was a church at Gloucester dedicated to him.

ut quidam] Cf. *Introd.* p. xxxv.

quo minus . . . inpendebat] On manual labour in monasteries, v. *Introd.* p. xxv. On Bede's reverence for God's unlearned saints, *ib.* pp. xxi, xxii.

p. 209. ne hoc . . . dicas] This is a frequent injunction in 'Tell the mediaeval miracles. It is of course modelled on the command of Christ to the three apostles who were witnesses of the Transfiguration. Cf. Bede, *Vit. Cudb.* c. 10, where this command is expressly quoted; *ib.* c. 24 = *Vit. Anon.* § 28; *infra*, v. 19, p. 329; *Vita Metr. Cudb.* c. 45; cf. *H. Y.* i. 217, 258.

p. 210. ab ergastulo corporis] v. *Introd.* pp. lxvii, lxviii.

frater quidam . . . Trumberot] This is the only place, as far as Trumbert. I know, in which Bede mentions any of his teachers by name.

ad forte, &c.] How much in accord with Bede's own mode of thought this is appears from his comment on Ezra x. 9: 'cum pluuias . . . ultra solitum cadere cernerent . . . intellexerunt hoc ob sua scelera factum, iramque . . . coelestem ex ipsa aeris perturbatione admoniti timuerunt. Ideoque . . . in platea domus Domini, assumpto poenitentiae . . . habitu consederunt. Hoc propter eos, qui, turbatis licet elementis, . . . atque ipso iudice per aperta indicia uim suae irae minitante, nihil omnino de correctione morum, qua iudicem placent, plagamque impendentem euadant, inquirunt; sed tantum seduli pertractant qua arte aduersa, quae exterius propter peccata desaeuiunt, aut euitent, aut superent;' *Opp.* viii. 456, 457. For prayers against lightning, cf. *D. C. A.* ii. 992.

p. 211. Eogberot] v. on v. 9.

Ceadda . . . in Hibernia] v. on iii. 27.

Hygbald] 'There can be little doubt that he is identical with Hygbald. the Hygbald whose name occurs in the *Liber Vitae Dunelm.* p. 9. His monastery seems to have been Bardney;' *D. C. B.* iii. 183.

p. 212. utrum de se . . . incertum] *Fl. Wig.* however states it as a fact; i. 30.

sexto die] March 2, 672, v. s.

Civil and  
ecclesiastical bound-  
aries.

qui . . . *praeesset . . . tenebat*] Here again we note the coincidence of the boundaries of ecclesiastical and temporal authority.

## CHAPTER 4.

Inisboffin.

P. 213. *primo uenit . . . Hi!*] v. on iii. 26, *ad init.*  
*uitulae albae*] Rather '*uaccae albae*,' as in Tigh. and Ann. Ult. ('ealond hwitre heahfore,' 'the island of the white heifer,' AS. vers.). The Ann. Ult. and the F. M. place Colman's settlement at Inisboffin in 667. He went there '*cum reliquiis sanctorum*,' 'with relics of saints,' according to the oldest annals printed in Stokes' Tripartite life of Patrick, p. 518. This in Tigh. and Ann. Ult. is contracted into '*cum reliquis sanctorum*,' which the F. M. have translated '*go naomaib oile imaille fris*,' i. e. '*cum reliquis sanctis secum*.' Colman may well have taken to Ireland some of the relics which he carried away from Lindisfarne; iii. 26, p. 190. The Inisboffin meant is the one off the coast of Mayo. Here he died on Aug. 8, 674; F. M. Ann. Ult. *ad ann.* Aug. 8 is his day in the Féilire of Oengus, and in the Martyrology of Donegal, where he is called Colman of Inisboffin. The gloss on the former calls him Colman of Iona and Inisboffin. None of the Irish authorities seem to mention his connexion with Mayo. The Edinburgh MS. of the Irish life of Columba absurdly represents Colman as sent to Northumbria by St. Columba; Lism. Lives of Saints, p. 315; v. F. M. u. s. notes; O'Flaherty's *Iar-Connacht*, ed. Hardiman, pp. 115, 294, 295.

Mayo.

*Magéo*] Mayo. This monastery continued to be recruited from England. The F. M. *ad ann.* 768 mention a Bishop Aedan, of Mayo, under which Irish disguise Sim. Dun., ii. 44, *ad ann.* 768, 773, shows that an English Eadwine really lurks; cf. ib. 51; H. & S. iii. 460, 462. Alcuin writes to the English monks of Mayo: '*pro Christi nomine patriam relinquentes, peregrinari uoluistis, et tribulationibus opprimi nefandorum non renuistis hominum. . . . Llectionis studium . . . exercete. Magnum enim lumen scientiae a uobis per diuersa patriae nostrae processit loca. Sine reprehensione estote omnibus, et luceat lux uestra in medio nationis perbarbarae, quasi . . . stella in occidua caeli parte. . . . Et domnum Episcopum habete quasi patrem*'; Mon. Alc. pp. 847, 848. We may notice here: i. The change of feeling towards the Irish; cf. on c. 2. ii. That whereas the Irish had formerly taught the English, now the positions are reversed. Up to a much later period Mayo was still called '*Magheo na Saxan*,' 'Mayo of the Saxons'; v. F. M. *ad ann.* 1169, 1176, 1209, 1236, 1478.

quod uidelicet . . . incolis] 'pæt mynster oð gen to dæge Engliscen men þær in elpeodignesse habbað,' 'that monastery Englishmen to this day occupy there in exile or pilgrimage,' AS. vers. See preceding note.

p. 214. conuersis . . . ad meliora] This refers to the adoption of the Roman Easter by the Northern Irish. See on v. 15.

examen] The same word is used of Cedd's monasteries of Ythan-caestir and Tilbury, iii. 22, p. 173.

## CHAPTER 5.

Anno . . . secundus] Feb. 15, 670, is within the first year of Theodore's arrival, seeing that he did not reach England till May, 669. Again, below, cf. v. 24, p. 354, Bede says distinctly that the Council of Hertford was held on Sept. 24, 673, in the third year of Egfrid. But if Egfrid's accession was in Feb. 670, this would be his fourth year. In c. 12 Bede says that the comet of Aug. 678 was in Egfrid's eighth year; but Aug. 678 is in the ninth year from Feb. 670. It may have been the perception of this which led the AS. translator to substitute 'ninth' for 'eighth.' In c. 17 Bede says that the Council of Hatfield, which was held Sept. 17, 680, was in the tenth year of Egfrid; but Sept. 680 is in the eleventh year from Feb. 670. Cf. also note on c. 21, and Hist. Abb. §§ 4, 7. Again, in c. 26 Bede says that Egfrid was slain in May, 685, in the fifteenth year of his reign; but if he came to the throne in Feb. 670, this would be his sixteenth year. Further, in iii. 14, *ad init.* Bede says that Oswy coming to the throne in Aug. 642 held it 'per annos uiginti octo.' But if he died in Feb. 670 he only reigned twenty-seven years and a half. All these independent indications seem to show that here and in v. 24, p. 354, Bede or his copyists have written 670 for 671; and that Oswy's death and Egfrid's accession ought to be placed in 671; and so the latter is placed by two (not independent) foreign chronicles; Pertz, ii. 237, iii. 116\*; though the English authorities naturally follow the direct words of Bede and give 670.

Oswu rex] 'Rex maximus,' H. H. p. 61; 'his successors sank Oswy into merely local sovereigns,' Green, M. E. p. 306. He was interred at Whitby, see on ii. 20, p. 125; iii. 24, p. 179.

synodicae actionis . . . textus] On the canons of this council, and the earlier sources from which they are taken or modified, v. Bright, pp. 240-249, 441-444; H. & S. iii. 118-122. 'This act . . . is of the highest historical importance as the first constitutional measure of the collective English race;' D. C. B. iv. 928.

Indictions. p. 215. *indictione prima*] If Theodore (like Bede himself) used the Caesarean indiction, this day, Sept. 24, 673, was the very first day of the first indiction. If he used the pontifical indiction the date here is not affected, as that indiction commenced with the beginning of the year. But it must again be repeated that the usage of Theodore proves nothing as to that of Bede; v. on i. 23.

*quaeque*] = *quaequae*, as often in this document and elsewhere. See on i. 32.

Canons. *librum canonum*] 'collectionem canonum ecclesiae in concilio Calchedonensi approbatam, et a Dionysio Exiguo non diu antea in Latinum sermonem traductam et in ecclesiam occidentalem receptam;' Smith; cf. D. C. A. i. 399.

*notaui*] 'awrat,' 'wrote,' AS. vers.

Parochia and Plebs. p. 216. *parrochiam*] We have seen above on c. i, *ad fin.*, that the word 'diocesis' in its ecclesiastical application ranges from a patriarchate to a parish in the modern sense. The word *παρoικία*, 'parochia,' is the collective of *παρoικος*, and is applied to the body of Christians living as 'strangers and pilgrims,' *παρoικος καὶ παρ-επιδημοι*, in any place; Lightfoot, App. Ff. I. ii. 6. More specifically it meant the body of Christians living under one bishop; but it soon came to mean the area in which they dwelt, i. e. the modern diocese; in which sense it is used throughout this document. 'Parochia' however, in the modern sense of 'parish,' occurs as early as the Council of Agde, 506 A. D.; Bright, pp. 243, 244; D. C. A. ii. 1554, ff. Closely connected with this is the history of another word, which also occurs in this canon: 'plebs' or 'plebes' ('*plebs*, hominum; *plebes*, ecclesiarum;' Hugucio, cited by Ducange, s. v.). This means (i) the laity living under a single bishop, or (ii) under a single priest, i. e. the inhabitants of either a diocese or a parish; and, by an easy transference, (iii) the diocese or (iv) the parish itself. In the first sense it is used here, and in a sense closely allied if not identical in c. 28, p. 273: '*commisam sibi plebem*;' Epist. ad Ecgb. § 2, p. 406: '*subditam sibi plebem*.' So Gelasius (492 x 496) writes '*clero et plebi Tarentino*;' Jaffé, R. P. p. 60, and so fq.; cf. the councils of Carthage and Hippo (fourth century), cited by M. & L. a. l.: '*ne quisquam episcoporum alterius plebes uel dioecesim . . . pulsare debeat*;' '*a nullo usurpentur plebes alienae*.' On the other hand, Nicolas I (858 x 867), writes to Ado, Archbishop of Vienne: '*de plebibus uel baptismalibus ecclesiis in dioecesibus . . . constituendis*;' ib. 250 (cf. H. & S. i. 329: '*quinque plebes adiudicatae sunt Urbano Episcopo Landauiensi*'). In these passages it clearly means parishes. In this

sense it has given us the modern Italian 'piève' and the modern Welsh 'plwyf.' But in mediaeval Welsh 'plwyf' means 'diocese'; cf. H. & S. i. 359: 'rhan fawr o blwyf Teilo,' 'a great part of the *plwyf* of Teilo,' i. e. of the diocese of Llandaff. See Ducange, s. v. 'plebs,' where however the passages are not classified with sufficient distinctness; and D. C. A. ii. 1645, 1646. The first two senses seem combined in Opp. viii. 400, where Bede says, 'episcopi ac presbyteri . . . plebem fidelium . . . debent aedificare.'

ut . . . monasteria, &c.] This canon, which goes beyond the corresponding one of the Council of Chalcedon, marks a stage in the development of monastic exemptions from episcopal jurisdiction, which eventually had such disastrous effects on the monasteries themselves; cf. St. Bernard, cited by Morison, p. 426. The bishops however in the later Middle Ages were very remiss in the use of such powers as they had; v. Raine's Hexham, I. cii.; D. C. A. i. 643. Monastic exemptions.

*ipsi monachi*] Some editions, 'mira ignorantia dicam an oscitantia' (Smith), read 'episcopi.' This is impossible, though Todd defends it, Life of St. Patrick, p. 49. Monastic episcopacy, such as we have traced in the Irish Church, never existed in the English Church. 'Ipsi' is the reading of all the MSS. which I have examined. The 'oscitantia' is the result of the ease with which in some MSS. the abbreviations *ēpi* (episcopi) and *īpi* (ipsi) may be confounded. Lightfoot, App. Ff. II. iii. 9, gives no less than four instances of the converse mistake from the MS. of the Latin version of the Ignatian epistles. For the canon itself, cf. the Dialogue of Egbert, H. & S. iii. 406. Mis-reading.

per dimissionem . . . abbatis] Signified no doubt by 'litterae dimissoriae,' *ἐπιστολαὶ ἀπολυτικάι*. These letters allowing a monk to settle in another monastery, or a clerk to settle in another diocese, or (which is the sense which has survived to modern times) to be ordained by a bishop of another diocese, are different from the 'litterae commendaticiae' mentioned below, given to a clerk who had permission to travel; v. Bright, p. 245; Ducange, s. v. 'dimissoriae litterae.' Letters dimissory.

ut nullus clericorum, &c.] For this canon, cf. Egbert's Dialogue, u. s.; and the legatine synod of 786 or 787, H. & S. iii. 451.

commendaticis litteris] Cf. 2 Cor. iii. 1, *συστατικά ἐπιστολαί*, Letters 'commendatitiae epistolae' (Vulgate), whence these terms passed into the technical language of the Church. In the Dialogue of Egbert, u. s., such documents are called 'litterae pacificae.' Letters commendatory.

excommunicationi] 'bishops dome,' 'the bishop's doom,' AS.

- Excommu- vers. The only instance which Bede gives of the exercise of this  
 nication. power is by Cedd, iii. 22, p. 173.  
 ut episcopi atque clerici, &c.] Cf. Dialogue of Egbert, u.s. p. 407.
- Clovesho. Clofeshoch] This place has never been successfully identified.  
 It was almost certainly in Mercia, and probably near London.  
 'It is singular that no recorded Council of Clovesho occurs until  
 . . . seventy years subsequent,' i.e. the famous council of 747;  
 H. & S. iii. 122. But, as M. & L. point out, a council at Clovesho  
 in 716 is given in H. & S. iii. 300, 301.  
 consecrationis] Here some of the best MSS. and editions (in-  
 cluding that of Smith) 'mira oscitantia' read 'congregationis.'
- Division of sed de hac re . . . siluimus] A sentence ominous of the troubles  
 dioceses. which resulted from the attempt to carry out this resolution. In  
 the letter to Archbishop Egbert, §§ 8, 9, *inf.*, pp. 411-413, written  
 towards the end of 734, Bede gives us his view of what the limit  
 of a diocese should be, and of the need for further division still  
 existing. The process has gone on continuously to our own days,  
 and is not completed yet. This clause 'sed . . . siluimus' is  
 omitted in the AS. vers., probably because this need for 'silence'  
 had passed away.
- Remar- p. 217. quod si quisquam . . . coniugi] This canon, which, in  
 riage after the case of a dissolution of marriage on the one ground allowed by  
 divorce. Christ, forbids the remarriage even of the innocent party, went  
 beyond the actual law of the Church, which discouraged, but did  
 not prohibit, such marriages. In his Penitential (if his views are  
 accurately represented there) Theodore is much less strict on this  
 point; H. & S. iii. 199; v. Bright, pp. 247, 248. Bede however  
 himself takes the stricter view. See the passage cited on c. 19.  
 his itaque . . . incolumes] *om.* AS. vers.
- Kentish mense Iulio obierat] The Ann. Lindisf. et Cantuar., which are  
 chronology. of ancient English origin, give the exact day: IV Non. Iul., i.e.  
 July 4th; Pertz, iv. 2.  
 tenuit] He died Feb. 6, 685; c. 26, p. 268, where he is said (less  
 exactly than here) to have reigned twelve years. On Hlothhere,  
 cf. D. C. B. iii. 112, 113.
- East Bonifatio . . . defuncto] He was consecrated, as we have seen, in  
 Anglian 652 or 653 (v. notes on ii. 15, iii. 20). Therefore his death must  
 diocese be placed in 669 or 670; and the consecration of Bisi must fall  
 669 x 673. From the position of Bisi's name in the list of prelates  
 attending the Council of Hertford it has been argued that he was  
 the first bishop consecrated by Theodore.
- divided. duo . . . episcopi] Æcce to Dunwich in Suffolk, the original East  
 Anglian see, and Badwine to Elmham, the new see for Norfolk;

v. Bright, p. 250, and cf. on iii. 18, p. 162. It is commonly stated that this division took place in 673. This, as far as I can see, is a mere inference from the fact that Bede mentions it here immediately after the Council of Hertford. But when we remember Bede's manner of grouping his facts by subjects rather than chronology such an inference seems highly precarious. R. W. places it in 674, i. 163.

## CHAPTER 6.

P. 218. *Non multo . . . tempore*] The (twelfth century) Peterborough additions to the Sax. Chron. E. *sub ann.* 656, *ad fin.*, represent Wynfrid as deposed in 673 by the Council of Hertford. This at any rate is contrary to Bede's narrative. Flor. Wig. places the deposition of Wynfrid in 675, and this has been generally accepted; though it may be doubted whether it represents more than his own estimate of the value to be assigned to Bede's '*non multo . . . tempore.*' If, as Bede implies, c. 12, p. 229, the district of Lindsey was separated from Sexwulf's diocese in consequence of Egfrid's conquest of Wulfhere, then Sexwulf's accession cannot be later than 675, as Wulfhere died in that year. This would dispose of the assertion in G. P. p. 221, that Wynfrid was expelled by Ethelred, Wulfhere's successor, because he favoured his enemy, Egfrid of Northumbria. The charter of Osric of 676, signed by Sexwulf as bishop (K. C. D. i. 17; Birch, i. 69, 70), is open to suspicion; v. H. & S. iii. 129; and should not be cited as evidence. But Sexwulf was certainly bishop of Mercia in 676, when Putta of Rochester took refuge with him; c. 12, p. 228. Eddius, c. 25, *seems* to represent the expulsion of Wynfrid as contemporary with that of Wilfrid in 678: '*eo tempore . . . Winfrithus . . . expulsus,*' &c. On crossing to the Continent he fell into the hands of the agents of Ebroin and Theodoric, who had been bribed by the enemies of Wilfrid to lay hands on the latter, but were deceived by the similarity of name; '*bono errore,*' says Eddius, though it may be doubted if Wynfrid thought it so. If we could accept the statement of G. P. (v. s.), this would fit in very well with the date 678, as Ethelred's hostility to Egfrid culminated in the battle on the Trent in 679, whereas up to 676 his arms were directed principally against Kent; c. 12. But in face of Bede's narrative it seems impossible to place Wynfrid's deposition so late as 678. We must either suppose Eddius to be mistaken, or understand '*expulsus*' to mean '*having been (previously) expelled.*'

Date of deposition of Wynfrid.

*per meritum . . . inoboedientiae*] It has been commonly supposed Cause of it.



that Wynfrid's disobedience consisted in resisting (like Wilfrid) the division of his diocese in accordance with the decree of the Council of Hertford; and this is confirmed by the tradition that some division of the diocese did take place under his successor Sexwulf; Fl. Wig. i. 36, 239, 240, 243. But the subject is beset with extraordinary difficulties; v. H. & S. iii. 127-130; D. C. B. iv. 929. We are again reminded of Wharton's words, Ang. Sac. i. 423: 'nusquam crassiores tenebrae . . . quam in successione Episcoporum Merciensium.' If the division took place as Fl. Wig. says in 679 or 680, it seems strange that Theodore should have waited so long after Wynfrid's deposition; and this might furnish an argument for a later date for that event.

Sexwulf  
and the  
foundation  
of Peter-  
borough.

**Sexuulfum . . . Medeshamstedi**] The legends connected with the foundation of Medeshamstead (Peterborough) are given in the Peterborough additions to the Sax. Chron. E. See under the years 654, 656, 675, and notes. According to the same authority Sexwulf was succeeded as abbot by Cuthbald. This, as a Peterborough fact, may probably be accepted; see my edition, pp. 33, 36, 37. Cuthbald has been identified with the abbot of Oundle mentioned in v. 19, *ad fin.*; D. C. B. iv. 590, 591. The Sax. Chron. A. B. C. place Sexwulf's death in 705, but wrongly; he must have died before 692, as in that year, at latest, Wilfrid, on his second expulsion, succeeded to his functions; v. v. 19, notes; H. & S. iii. 129.

**Gyruiorum**] See on iii. 20, *ad init.*

Wynfrid's  
journey to  
the Conti-  
nent.

**redit . . . finiuit**] The story quoted above from Eddius shows that in 678 Wynfrid attempted to make a journey to the Continent. Eddius seems to imply that this was immediately after his deposition; but we have seen that Bede's narrative is opposed to this. Wharton, Ang. Sac. i. 426, makes the very natural suggestion that Wynfrid, like Wilfrid, may have intended to appeal to Rome. If so, it seems again strange that he should have waited three years before doing so. Eadmer however, Vita Wilfridi, c. 29; H. Y. i. 190, speaks of him as 'tunc in peregrinationem pro Dei amore euntem.' He also speaks of him as 'nuper depositum,' but this only shows that he derived the same impression that we do from Eddius' narrative. It may have been in consequence of his misadventure that Wynfrid returned to his monastery and died there, as Bede relates. Bede says nothing of his journey to the Continent, though he certainly had Eddius' life before him.

**tum etiam**] i.e. c. 675, according to Bede's narrative; cf. Fl. Wig. i. 33; R. W. i. 164. 'It may denote the recovery of some independent power for the East Saxons after the death of Wulf-here;' D. C. B. ii. 178.

*meminimus*] iii. 30.

*Earconwaldum*] Ini of Wessex, in his laws (690 × 693), speaks of Earconwald as 'my bishop,' which seems to show that at that time Essex must have been under the hegemony of Wessex; H. & S. iii. 214, 218, 219; cf. ib. 350. For the later lives of him, v. Hardy, Cat. i. 293-295; AA.SS. Apr. iii. 780-787; R. W. i. 164, 165. For the date of his death, see on c. 11. He was a witness of the reconciliation of Theodore and Wilfrid in 686 or 687; Eddius, c. 43. He signs two charters, one genuine, the other spurious; K. C. D. Nos. 35, 38; Birch, Nos. 81, 87. The genuine one belongs to 692 or 693. There is a letter from one Sigebald, perhaps Abbot of Chertsey, to Boniface, 732 × 745, saying that if he survives Boniface he will pray for his soul as he does for that of Earconwald; Mon. Mog. p. 167; H. & S. iii. 350.

*sorori suae Aedilburgae*] Capgrave's life, AA.SS. Oct. v. 648 ff., Ethelberg. makes her a daughter of Offa of Lindsey, of whom nothing is known. The statement that her father was (a non-existent) Offa, King of the East Angles, is not in Capgrave, but in the Bollandists' notes. This has misled Sir T. Hardy, Cat. i. 385. The mistake is perhaps due to a confusion with the Ethelberg of iii. 8, who was a daughter of Anna of East Anglia. For another suggestion, see D. C. B. iv. 68; and the confusion between East Anglia and Essex runs through many writers, mediaeval and modern. See on v. 19, *ad init.*

*regione Sudergeona*] 'Suðrigna lande,' AS. vers., which shows Surrey. that -geona is the AS. gen. plural. For the various forms in which the name occurs in the AS. Chron., see the index of place-names.

p. 219. *Cerotaessei*] 'Ceorteseig,' AS. vers. Chertsey. Both Fl. Chertsey. Wig. i. 33, and G. P. p. 143, say that Earconwald founded Chertsey, 'adminiculo Frithewoldi subreguli.' And in K. C. D. Nos. 986-988; Birch, i. 55-59, 64, 65, are grants and confirmations by Wulfhere, Frithewald and Earconwald, and in H. & S. iii. 161-164 is a privilege of Pope Agatho to the monastery of Chertsey. They are all from the same MS., Cotton, Vit. A. xiii, and they are all forgeries. Moreover we can point with tolerable certainty to the exact period at which they were forged. In G. P. u.s. we read: 'splenduit ibi religio, usque ad Danos, qui . . . locum illum pessundedere. . . . At rex Edgarus . . . illud [monasterium] refecit in solidum, undique ueteribus cartis conquisitis, quarum testimonio praedia reuocaret ad locum, quae quidam ex magnatibus seu ui, seu uetustatis auctoritate occuparent ad ius suum.' A demand of this kind never failed to create a supply. Of course in many cases the land may have been justly claimed, though the documents by which the claim was supported were forged.

Forgery of  
charters.

Barking. In *Berecingum*] Barking in Essex. The Bollandists place the foundation of Chertsey and Barking about 666; AA.SS. Oct. v. 648; cf. *Mon. Angl.* i. 436; but this is very uncertain.

## CHAPTER 7.

Earlier life of Ethelberg. *descripta habentur*] These chapters, 7-11, are evidently taken from some earlier authority which in cc. 10, 11, pp. 224, 225. Bede speaks of as a 'liber' or 'libellus,' probably some life of St. Ethelberg, as he uses the same term 'libellus' of the life of St. Fursa, from which iii. 19 is taken; cf. pp. 165, 168. This life, if extant, has not been identified. The style however of these chapters is very like Bede's, so that he has probably worked up his materials in his own way.

Plague. *saepe dictae cladis*] The only visitation of the plague which Bede has 'often' mentioned is that of 664. If that is the one meant here, the foundation of Barking must be placed a good deal earlier than is commonly done; see on cc. 6, 9, 10.

Time of matins. *expletis . . . psalmodiis*] The picturesque effect of the following story is much heightened if it be remembered that matins were said before daybreak; v. *Introd.* p. xxvi. For psalms and prayers at the graves of the departed, v. note on iii. 5.

## CHAPTER 8.

'Meditari.' P. 220. *meditari*] 'to learn his lessons;' v. on iii. 5, and critical note here. M. & L. aptly compare Chaucer's 'litel clergeoun' in the 'Prioress' Tale,' who says:

'Now certes I wol do my diligence

To conne it al, er Cristemasse is wente' (vv. 87, 88).

*tertio*] = *ter*.

## CHAPTER 9.

Date of Ethelberg's death. P. 221. *Cum autem . . . mundo*] Fl. Wig. i. 26 says that Ethelberg died on Oct. 11, 664. The knowledge of the day of her death may have been kept alive by annual commemorations; the year may be only the result of two inferences drawn from Bede's narrative by Florence, neither of which can be regarded as certain: (i) that Ethelberg died of the plague; (ii) that the plague was that of 664. See notes on c. 10.

p. 222. *cuius ut uirtus, &c.*] Cf. the cases of Hild, c. 23, p. 256;

and of Herbert, c. 29, p. 275. Cf. on Cant. v. 22: 'Est et tertia <sup>'I stand and knock.'</sup> Domini ad ostium nostrum pulsatio, cum nos de hac uita rapiendos, praemissis infirmitatibus, admonet. . . Confestim autem Domino sic pulsanti aperimus, si mortem laeti excipimus, neque ad iudicium eius induci formidamus;' Opp. ix. 299, 300. And on Luke xii. 36: 'uenit quippe cum ad iudicium properat; pulsatur uero cum iam per aegritudinis molestias esse mortem uicinam designat. Cui confestim aperimus, si hunc cum amore suscipimus; aperire . . . non uult, qui exire de corpore trepidat'; Opp. xi. 70.

in qua . . . pausare] 'þe ða sweostor in reston,' 'wherein the Dormitory. sisters rested,' AS. vers.; cf. c. 23, p. 257: 'in dormitorio . . . pausans.' So here the dormitory is meant. Hussey and Moberly take it of the death-chamber; cf. c. 24. But though 'pausare' might be used of resting in the grave, it cannot mean the act of dying.

p. 223. infirmitate decocta] So 'infirmitate decoquitur'; c. 29, p. 275.

bene uenisti] 'You are welcome'; cf. French 'bien-venir,' 'Bene bien-venu'; e.g. 'partout sont ils bien-venus,' Froissart, II. <sup>uenire.'</sup> iii. 25. Cf. 'Wilcoma [Abbess of Chelles]; quod "Bene uenias" resonat Anglica lingua,' Hardy, Cat. i. 377.

p. 224. nuntiare uenisset] For the construction cf. iii. 2, *ad fin.*

## CHAPTER 10.

Hildilid] To her, in conjunction with others, Aldhelm dedicated Hildilid. his work *De Virginitate*; Opp. ed. Giles, p. 1. She is mentioned in a letter of St. Boniface to the abbess of St. Mildred's, Thanet, in a way which shows that she was a friend of his, and that she did not die before 709; Mon. Mog. pp. 53, ff. If Ethelberg died in 664, Hildilid must have been abbess at least forty-five years; and Bede says that she was abbess 'multis annis . . . usque ad ultimam senectutem.' Fl. Wig. mentions her succession in 664, v. s.; and again in 675, which is perhaps a more likely date.

libro . . . libellus] r. on c. 7.

quisque] = 'quisquis.'

p. 225. quae famularum . . . reuersa est] Cf. iii. 9, *ad fin.*

## CHAPTER 11.

Sebbi] r. notes on iii. 22.

in regno . . . exegisset] Therefore Bede does not regard the Secular government of an earthly kingdom as incompatible with the <sup>affairs</sup> service of the heavenly kingdom; cf. ii. 20. But he thinks that <sup>sinfu</sup>l.

public and even domestic affairs can hardly be administered without some defilement: 'publicani . . . uocantur, qui . . . publicis implicantur negotiis, quae sine peccato aut uix, aut nullatenus ualent administrari'; Opp. v. 222; cf. x. 54: 'cura rei familiaris, quae uix sine culpa . . . agitur.' Bede would have all men like Abraham, sitting in the tent *door* (Gen. xviii. 1), ready to depart at any moment, not immersed in business in the midst of the tent; Opp. vii. 194.

Waldhere. Ualderi] There is a letter from him to Archbishop Bertwald, H. & S. iii. 274. He receives a grant from Swefred in 704; K. C. D. No. 52; Birch, No. 111; and signs a grant of Ethelbald of Mercia; K. C. D. No. 79; Birch, No. 153.

Earconwald. p. 226. Erconualdo successerat] Earconwald must have died 692 × 694. See on iii. 22; 'about 693,' Stubbs, in D. C. B. ii. 178. He was buried in St. Paul's; but the resting-place of his successors was involved in obscurity; G. P. p. 144; Elmham, p. 271; AA.SS. Apr. iii. 782-784.

Miracle. p. 227. Sighardo . . . Suefredo] v. notes on iii. 22. inuentum est, &c.] Similar miracles are related in connexion with the burial of Wilbrord; Alcuin's Prose Life, c. 25; Metrical Life, c. 25; Mon. Alc. pp. 57, 74; and of Anselm, G. P. p. 123. In the latter case the idea of bending the body was rejected: 'quia [nollent] corpus curuando iniuriam . . . Sancti Spiritus facere organo.'

'Doctoris gentium.' doctoris gentium] St. Paul; who so entitles himself; 1 Tim. ii. 7. Bede, however, applies the phrase also to St. Matthew; Opp. v. 222. Sebbi's tomb in St. Paul's was shown until the great fire of 1666.

## CHAPTER 12.

Quartus . . . Uini] On the early history of the West-Saxon bishopric, v. iii. 7, and notes.

West Saxon History after Cenwalh. mortuus . . . Coinualch] His death is placed in 672 by the Sax. Chron.; it was contemporary with Benedict Biscop's return from his fourth visit to Rome; Hist. Abb. § 4, where Bede speaks of Cenwalh as 'inmatura morte praereptus,' and says that he had been a great friend and benefactor to Benedict.

acceperunt . . . X] The Sax. Chron. says that Sexburgh, Cenwalh's queen, reigned for a year after him, that Æscwine, son of Cenfus, succeeded in 674 (R. W. regards him as king in 673; i. 162), that he died in 676, and was succeeded by Centwine, that in 685 Cædwalla 'began to strive for the kingdom.' Eddius, c. 40,

distinctly says that Centwine was king of Wessex when Wilfrid took refuge there in 681. Fl. Wig. notes the divergence between Bede and the Chron. In i. 272, he cites a third authority, the *Dicta regis Ælfredi*, according to which it was not Æscwine but his father Cenfus who succeeded Sexburgh. He places Centwine's death in 685, which is probably only an inference from the Chron. Aldhelm, in a poem written under Ini, distinctly says that Centwine entered a monastery before his death; Opp. pp. 115, 116; possibly compelled to do so by Cædwalla. W. M. of course buries him at Glastonbury, i. 25. Later writers draw on their imagination; cf. W. M. i. 32; G. P. p. 352; Wendover *ad ann.* 672 (followed by Matth. Paris and Westminster); cf. Rudborne in Ang. Sac. i. 194. We might reconcile Bede and the Chron. by supposing that among the contending aldermen (AS. vers for 'subreguli'), Æscwine and Centwine attained sufficient predominance to take the title of king, until Cædwalla once more united the kingdom in his strong hand; cf. W. M. i. 32. On this temporary reversion to a form of government anterior to the institution of royalty, see Allen, *Prerogative*, p. 165; F. N. C. i. 580, 581; S. C. H. i. 171. For an earlier instance in Wessex, cf. Sax. Chron. E. 626; *sup.* ii. 9, last note; Palgrave, *Engl. Com.* p. 405; F. N. C. i. 26, 27. This confusion in the kingdom of Wessex justified the abandonment for a time of the plan of dividing the diocese. 'It was . . . clear that if the West Saxons were to remain one kingdom, they must remain one diocese.' On Hædde's death these reasons no longer existed; D. C. B. ii. 874.

**Hæddi]** See notes to iii. 7, and v. 18, *ad init.* He signs two Hædde. grants of Ethelred of Mercia, both attributed to 691 x 692; the former genuine, the latter spurious; K. C. D. Nos. 32, 33; Birch, Nos. 75, 76.

**p. 228. duobus annis]** Bede places Cædwalla's abdication in 688, v. 7, 24, pp. 290, 355. Therefore he must date his accession 686. This is not inconsistent with the Chron., which merely says that in 685 he 'began to strive for the kingdom,' 'winnan æfter rice.'

**Aedilred . . . fedaret]** This ravager of monasteries afterwards Ethelred became himself a monk and abbot of Bardney; see on iii. 11, and v. 19. Theodore in 686 addresses him as 'tua miranda Sanctitas'; Eddius, c. 43; H. & S. iii. 171; Fl. Wig. i. 264, calls him 'sanctus Æthelredus'; cf. D. C. B. ii. 227; while W. M. i. 78 says that he was 'animi religione quam pugnandi exercitatione celebrior.' In G. P. p. 135, it is stated that he invaded Kent, 'nescio quo insolenti Cantuaritæ regis responso incensus.' But this is imagination.

The expedition was probably connected with the internal divisions in the Kentish kingdom, where the Mercian influence seems to have alternated with the West Saxon'; D. C. B. iv. 226. In a spurious charter of Swæbhard of Kent, Ethelred is represented as signing it while on this expedition; K. C. D. No. 14; Birch, No. 42. In another spurious charter he is called 'rex Christianissimus Merciorum, immo . . . totius . . . Britanniae'; K. C. D. No. 40; Birch, No. 89. 'Under Æthelred, Mercian history is all but a blank,' Green, M. E. p. 387.

See of  
Hereford.

accepta . . . non grandis] This has sometimes been taken as marking the foundation of the see of Hereford; H. & S. iii. 126, 130; Stubbs, Ep. Succ. pp. 3, 171; Hardy's *Le Neve*, i. 454; cf. Bright, p. 264. But the whole tenor of Bede's narrative is against the idea that Putta discharged episcopal functions after the loss of Rochester. He lived as a simple priest to the end of his life. The 'agellus non grandis' cannot refer to the extent of a diocese, but indicates the plot of land with which his church was endowed; cf. iii. 17, p. 160, of Aidan: 'utpote nil propriæ possessionis, excepta ecclesia sua et adiacentibus agellis habens.' Fl. Wig. mentions the death of a Putta, Bishop of Hereford, under 688 (cf. ib. 238; G. P. p. 298), but he says no word to identify him with Putta, ex-Bishop of Rochester. Yet this identification is the sole ground for the above statement. It is true that the see of Hereford must have been founded about this time if its first bishop died in 688. Bede, however, says nothing on the subject. Nor does it appear in Fl. Wig.'s list of sees created out of Mercia in 679, i. 240.

Bishops of  
Rochester.

Cuichelmum . . . Gebmundum] Bede gives no materials for fixing the dates of these two bishops, and (perhaps for that reason) they are not mentioned in the *Sax. Chron.* Fl. Wig. places all these transactions under 676, but no argument can be drawn from this (with *Le Neve*, ii. 555), as he has simply transferred this paragraph of Bede, almost unaltered, to his own pages. Stubbs, *Ep. Succession*, p. 4 (on what authority I know not), places the consecration of Gebmund in 678. For the date of his death, see on v. 8, *ad fin.*

qui est annus . . . VIII] See note on c. 5.

Comets.

cometa] Cf. Bede, *De Natura Rerum*, c. 24: 'Cometae sunt stellae flammis crinitae, repente nascentes, regni mutationem, aut pestilentiam, aut bella, uel uentos, aestusue portendentes . . . Breuissimum quo cernerentur spatium septem dierum annotatum est, longissimum LXXX;' *Opp.* vi. 111. This therefore was a comet of the longest duration; cf. v. 23, p. 349. There was a comet in April 1066 which was widely regarded as portentous. This how-

ever was of the shortest duration. '7 swa scean . . . seofan niht,' 'and so shone seven nights'; Sax. Chron. *ad ann.* with notes. 'Balthasar Bekker . . . and Pierre Bayle . . . overthrew the superstition,' M. & L.

p. 229. orta . . . dissensione, &c.] v. v. 19, p. 326, and notes.

Bosa] Alcuin, in his poem *De Sanctis Ebor.* vv. 846-874, gives Bosa a very favourable character of Bosa, 'uir sine fraude bonus.' He is mentioned in the so-called poetical Martyrology of Bede; Opp. i. 53; cf. AA.SS. Mart. ii. 10\*-12\*.

Eata] v. on iii. 26, p. 190.

Eadhaed] He had been sent with Ceadda in 664, when he went Eadhed. to be consecrated first to Kent, and then to Wessex, iii. 28.

Lindisfarorum] v. on iii. 11.

nuperrime] It cannot have been later than 675, as Wulfhere died in that year, possibly in consequence of this defeat.

superato . . . Uulfhere] On this Eddius, c. 20, says: 'Wlfharius Wulfhere. . . superbo animo . . . omnes Australes populos aduersum regnum nostrum concitans, non tam ad bellandum quam ad redigendum sub tributo . . . proponebat. Egfrithus uero . . . in Deum confisus . . . hostem superbum . . . cum paruo exercitu prostrauit; . . . regnumque eius sub tributo distribuit, et eo postea quacunque ex causa moriente . . . aliquod spatium pacifice imperauit.' In G. P. pp. 218, 219, Wulfhere's motive is said to have been revenge for the death of his father Penda (twenty years previously)! But 'terga turpiter nudatus, inglorius effugit, nec multis post diebus superstes partem prouinciarum [i.e. Lindesi] Northanimbriorum regi cessit.' The Hist. de S. Cuthberti, S. D. i. 200, says that he fled 'uno tantum comitante puerulo.' 'Et hoc obtinuit [Egfrid] per auxilium sancti Wilfrithi qui cum eo fuit, maxime uero per orationes sancti Cuthberti qui absens erat.' Eddius, c. 19, naturally ascribes all Egfrid's successes to Wilfrid, and all his subsequent disasters to his quarrel with him. So G. P. p. 219.

Ediluini . . . Cyniberetum] There are no means of dating the Bishops of accessions of these bishops. Edgar signs a charter of 706; K. C. D. Lindsey. No. 56; Birch, No. 116, and the Council of Clovesho in 716; H. & S. iii. 300. Cynibert supplied Bede with materials for his history; Pref. p. 7. He died in 732; S. D. ii. 30. For Ethelwine, cf. iii. 11, 27, pp. 149, 192.

habebat . . . Sexuulfum] i.e. Lindsey being then subject to Mercia, Sexwulf, as bishop of Mercia, acted as bishop in Lindsey.

post tres . . . annos] i.e. 681.

Tunberetum] He had been abbot of Gilling; Hist. Anon. Abb. Tunbert. § 2. On Gilling, v. iii. 24, p. 179.



Eata's see. remanente Eata, &c.] This seems to show that Eata had chosen Lindisfarne, and not Hexham, as the seat of his bishopric (see on iii. 26); cf. Raine's Hexham, I. xviii, xxiii; while the phrase of iv. 28, p. 273, 'Eata reuerso ad sedem ecclesiae Hagustaldensia,' points the opposite way. For the boundaries of Hexham diocese, cf. Raine, *u. s.* pp. xix. 20.

Bishopric of the Picts. Pictorum] The seat of this bishopric seems to have been in the monastery of Abercorn on the Forth, c. 26. The Picts meant are of course those Picts north of the Forth who were subject to Northumbrian rule, *v. s.* on c. 3, and references there given. After the defeat of Egfrid in 685, the Picts emancipated themselves from that rule, and Trumwine had to retire to Whitby, c. 26. In later times, when the existence of the Pictish kingdom north of the Forth had been forgotten, the name of Scots having supplanted that of Picts in those regions, and the only Picts then known being those of Galloway, the mistake was made of supposing that Trumwine's see was Whithorn or Candida Casa (so the lists of bishops in Fl. Wig. i. 246; Richard of Hexham, c. 6, and many later writers; cf. G. P. p. 254, margin); whereas Penthelm was really the first Anglian bishop of Candida Casa, v. 23, p. 351. Nicolas, prior of Worcester, writing to Eadmer in 1120 on the primacy of the see of York in Scotland, avoids this error, but says: 'Pictorum uero episcopi sedes, cuius mentionem sanctus Beda facit, ubi fuerit, penitus ignoro'; H. & S. ii. 204; cf. ib. 6, 7; S. C. S. i. 262, 268, ii. 170, 273. That Bede is not thinking of those Picts who may have spread to the south of the Forth (as Bright supposes, p. 324), is shown by c. 26, p. 267, where he distinctly says that the Forth 'Anglorum terras Pictorumque disternit. recepisset] On the date, *v. s.* on iii. 11.

Ripon. Hrypensi ecclesiae praefecit] Cf. iii. 28: 'Eadhaedus . . . postea . . . Hrypensis ecclesiae praesul factus est.' These phrases are commonly taken to indicate the establishment for a time of an episcopal see at Ripon; and so the AS. vers. takes it in both cases: 'Eadhæð he gesette to biscope Hrypsetna cirican'; 'Eadæth . . . æfter þon . . . in Hrypum was biscop geworden.' The Latin phrases are not however in themselves conclusive, for even 'praesul' is sometimes used of abbots, *v. Ducange, s. v.*, and cf. H. & S. ii. 6: 'the possible see of Ripon,' ib. iii. 130. Eddius, however, distinctly makes this attempt to convert Wilfrid's monastery of Ripon into a bishop's see one of Wilfrid's grounds of complaint, c. 45. It probably represents an attempt to divide the Deiran diocese, as the Bernician was divided between Lindisfarne and Hexham; Raine's Hexham, I. xviii.; cf. Bede's policy of

locating new bishoprics in existing monasteries, Ep. ad Egb. § 10, pp. 413-414.

## CHAPTER 13.

P. 230. On the arrangement of this and the two following chapters, see the critical notes to the headings of this and the next chapter.

Uilfrid] See on v. 19.

Wilfrid.

patria] Wilfrid's 'patria' is Northumbria, coincident in extent with his 'parrochia' or diocese. See on iii. 11, for the absence of unity among the Teutonic tribes in Britain at this time; though we trace a rudimentary feeling for it; c. 14, note.

diuertens] For the date, see on v. 19. For Wilfrid's earlier Sussex adventures with the South Saxons, *ib.* and Eddius, c. 13. On the condition of Sussex at this time, cf. Bright, pp. 183, 302; 'provincia gentilis usque ad illud tempus perseuerans uixit, quæ proprium multitudine et siluarum densitate, aliis prouinciis inexpugnabilis restitit'; Eddius, c. 41.

Aedilualoh] 'Æthelwalh,' AS. vers.; 'Æpelwald,' Sax. Chron. A.; 'Ethelwalh of Sussex,' B. E.; 'Apelwold,' C.

non multo ante] Twenty years, if the Sax. Chron. be correct in placing Wulfhere's war with Wessex, the conquest and donation of Wight in 661; but the entry is not wholly reliable, see note, a. l. and on iii. 7. It was evidently Wulfhere's policy to curtail the power of Wessex, and to add to that of Sussex, which was too small to become dangerous; cf. D. C. B. ii. 228. Eddius, u. s. seems to speak as if Ethelwalh and his queen had still been heathen at the time of Wilfrid's arrival.

loco filii] v. s. on iii. 7, 22.

Meanuarorum] The name of this tribe of 'Mean-dwellers' The Meann-survives in the hundreds of East and West Meon, and of Meonstoke ware. in Hampshire; cf. Birch, i. 548.

Eappa] On the misunderstanding of this passage by the com- Eappa. pilers of the Sax. Chron., see notes to p. 32 of my edition.

Hwicclorum] For the Hwiccas, see on ii. 2, and *inf.* c. 23, p. 255. The Hwiccas.

Eanfridi . . . fuere] It looks as if the two brothers were joint rulers of the Hwiccas. Bede does not give them the title of king, though he does to Osric, c. 23, p. 255.

p. 231. erat . . . monachus . . . Dicul] With the exception of Dicuil, Maeldub's settlement at Malmesbury, this seems to be a solitary instance of Irish missionary effort in the South of England; and

it does not appear to have had much success. (In the East of England we have the case of St. Fursa and his companions, iii. 19.) The name Dicul or Dicuil, though not one of the commoner Irish names, occurs occasionally; cf. iii. 19, p. 168; F. M. 871, 889; Vita Tripart. p. 248; *gen.* Dicollo, *ib.*; cf. F. M. 680, 793. It was an Irish monk of this name who in the ninth century wrote the well-known mediaeval geography, *De Mensura orbis terrae*; v. Dict. Nat. Biog.; cf. *Poetae Lat. Aevi Carol.* ii. 666-668; *Neues Archiv d. Gesellsch. für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, iv. 256-258.

Bosham. Bosanhamm] Bosham near Chichester. For its connexion with the story of the Norman Conquest, v. F. N. C. iii. 222.

tribus annis] *i. e.* c. 678.

impia] 'pitiless.' This incident is not in Eddius. Bede probably got it from Acca.

denique ferunt, &c.] R. W. tells a similar tale of the plague in 665, i. 159.

'Exsufflare.'

exsufflata idolatria] 'alluding to the old custom of spitting as if in abhorrence of the Evil one at the time of renouncing him and his works'; Bright, p. 306, and *reff. ad loc.*, *inf.* v. 6; Ducange, s. v. 'exsufflatio'; cf. Eddius, c. 41, 'paganorum . . . quidam uoluntarie, alii uero coacti regis imperio, idolatriam deserentes . . . in una die multa millia baptizati sunt'; see on i. 26, *ad fin.*

Union of spiritual and temporal benefits.

p. 232. quo beneficio . . . sumserunt] Cf. Opp. ix. 272: 'Dominus [primis ecclesiae magistris] . . . etiam faciendorum signorum dona contulit, ut, . . . sanatis morbis corporalibus, ad salutem animae facilius, quos erudiebant, attraherent'; cf. *ib.* 301; and Opp. v. 189: 'Nam et terrena subsidia necesse est ut subditis rector ne desint diligenter praeuideat; . . . et si quos aut spiritualibus aut etiam communibus eorum commodis aduersantes deprehenderit, horum uolentiae quantum ualet obsistat.' According to Eddius, c. 26, Wilfrid's earlier work in Frisia had been much helped by the fact that the time of his preaching there was one of great abundance.

Selsey.

terram LXXXVII familiarum] 'uillam suam propriam, in qua manebat, ad episcopalem sedem, cum territoriis postea additis LXXXVII mansionum in Seolesiae . . . nouo euangelistae . . . concedit'; Eddius, c. 41. A spurious grant of Selsey to Wilfrid by *Cædwalla* is in K. C. D. No. 992; Birch, No. 64. The forger betrays his hand by calling Wilfrid *archbishop*. See on ii. 20.

monasterium] With Eappa as abbot. See next chapter.

annos V] For the date, see on v. 19.

*libertate donando*] We should expect '*libertatem*.' On the part taken by the mediaeval church in abolishing slavery and serfdom, and see M. Yanoski's monograph, *De l'abolition de l'Esclavage au Moyen Age* (1860). The Church  
and sla-  
very.

## CHAPTER 14.

On the significance of the absence of this chapter from a certain class of MSS. see Introduction, § 27. The information on which this chapter is based was no doubt derived by Bede from Acca.

p. 233. *mortalitas saeva*] See on iii. 27.

*sacerdos*] In c. 13, and lower in this chapter he is called 'presbyter,' v. on i. 28.

*triduanum ieiunium*] Cf. on ii. 2, p. 84.

p. 234. *uerbis piissimis*] 'most pitying, or kindly words.'

*haec etenim die*] Aug. 5; iii. 9, p. 145.

*codicibus . . . depositio*] Calendars in which the obits of saints '*Annale*.' and others were noted. Lower in this chapter such a book is called an '*annale*'; (a sense of the word '*annale*' not noted by Ducange). Also called a '*Kalendarium defunctorum*.' Pertz, xxv. 629. The object of such records was to show on what days commemorative masses had to be said. The present story would seem to show that they were not always very carefully consulted. Such records often formed valuable materials for history. Thus in composing the *Historia Cremifanensis*, the author, '*sicut potuit, ex priuilegiis et ex cronicis ac ex defunctorum kalendaris colligere annotauit*'; Pertz, u. s. Such books must be distinguished from the *Liber Vitae* which was simply a list of names without any dates; see *Liber Vitae*. e. g. the *Liber Vitae ecclesiae Dunelm.*, published by the Surtees Society 1841, and by Mr. Sweet in his *Earliest English Texts*; cf. Introduction, pp. xxvii, xxviii. The term '*album*' is applied to both classes; *Introd. u. s.*; W. M. i. 261. The term, '*Computarium defunctorum*,' Pertz, x. 581, seems to apply to the former kind of document. The use of the word '*depositio*' in this connexion implies the custom of burying on the day of death. See on i. 23, iv. 19, 30.

p. 235. *ipsorum genti*] Note the beginnings of a sense of unity.

*aduenis*] This seems to be used in an ecclesiastical sense, 'converts.'

*praecelari, &c.*] On the representation of SS. Peter and Paul in art, cf. D. C. A. ii. 1621-1623.

Reserva-  
tion of  
sacrament.

simul et . . . mandauit] Cf. c. 24, *ad fin.*, p. 261, for the administration of the reserved sacrament to a dying member of the monastery (Cædmon).

p. 236. in plerisque locis] On the extent of the cult of St. Oswald, v. iii. 13, notes.

natalicius dies] Cf. *Intro.* pp. lxvii, lxviii.

## CHAPTER 15.

Cædwalla.

Interea . . . Cædualla, &c.] It would appear that in the strife for power, which, as we have seen, was going on at this time in Wessex, Cædwalla had for a time been worsted and driven into exile; 'per factionem principum a West Saxonia expulsus,' G. P. p. 233; 'factione conspiratorum in exilium actus,' W. M. i. 33. He took refuge in 'desertis Ciltine et Ondred,' Eddius, c. 42; *i.e.* the forests of Chiltern and Andred (cf. K. C. D. No. 1289). Here he gathered round him, like David, a band of hardy men, 'namque, seu miseratione fortunarum eius infracta, seu uirtute delectata, tota pubes exulem secuta'; W. M. u. s. Thus he began 'winnan æfter rice, 'to strive for the kingdom'; Sax. Chron. He first fell upon Ethelwalh, 'improuise' adds Fl. Wig. i. 39, whom he doubtless regarded as occupying districts belonging to Wessex, and slew him. He was however driven out by the king's 'aldermen' (AS. *vera*; not 'earls,' as Bright, p. 349, a title which does not come into use in this sense till centuries later), Berthun and Andhun (Æthelhun, Fl. Wig.), whom he in turn defeated, having in the meantime gained possession of the throne of Wessex. W. M. u. s. speaks of Edric as the successor of Ethelwalh; but this is probably due to a misunderstanding of c. 26, *ad fin.*; from which passage he hastily inferred that Edric was a South Saxon, whereas he really was a Kentish prince.

Ini] v. v. 7, *ad fin.*

Political  
and eccle-  
siastical  
independ-  
ence.

toto . . . nequiret] We see by this how political and ecclesiastical independence went together. The first Bishop of Selsey after Wilfrid's retirement was Eadbert, c. 709, A. D., v. v. 18, *ad fin.*

## CHAPTER 16.

Conquest of  
Wight by  
Cædwalla

regno potitus] In 686, v. on c. 12. The conquest of Wight took place the same year, Sax. Chron. W. M. i. 33 says that Wight held out against Cædwalla, relying upon Mercia, 'fiducia Merciorum,' which is very likely. It would seem that Ethelwalh at the time of his death had not made any attempt to christianise

his new possession of Wight. The Sax. Chron. *s. a.* 686 joins Mul with his brother Cædwalla in the conquest of Wight.

p. 237. *stragica caede*] This seems certainly to be the reading 'Stragicus,' required by the testimony of the MSS.; confirmed by Elmham, p. 253, and Rudborne in Ang. Sac. i. 253, who both quote this passage with the reading 'stragica;' though I can find no other instance of the adjective 'stragicus.' Ducange however cites 'stragiciosus' from Muratori, SS. xii. 563. The AS. translator must have read or misread 'troica,' which is so far in favour of 'tragica.' In iii. 1, 'tragica caede' is the best attested reading; though a few MSS. have 'stragica.'

*necdum regeneratus*] In a spurious charter of Ini, other grants are alleged to have been made by Cædwalla 'licet paganus;' K. C. D. No. 73; Birch, No. 142.

*quantam partem*] W. M. u. s. turns this into a tithe of all spoils taken by Cædwalla 'ut omnes manubias . . . Deo decimaret,' for which there is no authority, ib. II. xxv.

*forte . . . superueniens*] According to Eddius, c. 42, his coming was by no means fortuitous. 'Nam sanctus antistes . . . saepe Wilfrid  
aids Cæd-  
walla. *anxiatum exulem adiuuauit, . . . usquedum . . . regnum adeptus est. . . Cædwalla, Occidentalium Saxonum . . . monarchiam tenens, statim . . . Wilfridum . . . ad se . . . accersiu. . . [Quo] ueniente, rex . . . in omni regno suo excelsum consiliarium mox illum composuit.'* Wilfrid cannot however have stayed very long in Wessex, as in this very year 686, or early in the next, he was recalled to Northumbria. If however Bede's words 'de gente sua' are to be taken strictly, he must have regarded Wilfrid's visit to Wessex as posterior to his restoration. According to G. P. p. 233, Wilfrid gave to Cædwalla in his exile not only good counsel but 'tum equitaturas, tum pecunias.' For his motive see on v. 19. We may wonder (with Bright, p. 349) what Wilfrid felt when Cædwalla turned upon and slew the bishop's own patron and benefactor Ethelwath. It is perhaps to gloss over this difficulty that G. P. u. s. represents the collision as taking place 'aliquo infortunio.' On the chronology, see notes to v. 19.

*Arwaldi regis insulae*] This isolated notice of a kingdom of A king of Wight shows us that there may have been many petty kingdoms Wight. in various parts of the country of which we hear nothing. R. W. says: 'de duobus filiis Arwaldi Vectae insulae subreguli,' i. 182.

*Iutorum prouinciam*] 'Eota lond,' AS. vers.; cf. on i. 15.

*Ad Lapidem*] Stoneham on the Itchen, above Southampton. Stoneham.

*Hreutford*] Redbridge, Hants; a bridge in later times having Redbridge. taken the place of the older ford.

p. 238 Danihelem] *v. inf.* v. 18.

Soluenta] The Solent.

Homelea] The Hamble; the words 'ultra . . . pertinent' are omitted by the AS. vers.

## CHAPTER 17.

The Council of Hatfield.

His temporibus] A somewhat vague expression, for we now revert from the year 686 to 680. On the Council of Hatfield and the theological points with which it dealt, cf. Bright, pp. 316-322.

The Monophysites and Monothelites.

per heresim Eutyohetis] The heresy of Eutyches was Monophysite—the denial of the co-existence of the two natures, the Divine and human, in the person of our Lord after the Incarnation. It was a reaction against Nestorianism which tended to deny the unity of Person in the Incarnate Word, and was itself a reaction against Apollinarianism. See D. C. B. under these words, and under 'Person of Christ.' Eutyches was condemned by a Synod of Constantinople in 448, acquitted by the Robber Synod of Ephesus in 449, and finally condemned by the General Council of Chalcedon in 451. The heresy however which troubled the Church at this time was not Monophysitism in its original Eutychian form, but a further development of it, viz. Monothelitism, i.e. the denial of the existence and operation of two wills, the human and the Divine, in the person of Christ. This controversy (for the importance of which cf. Bright, p. 220 and *reft.*; Gore, Bampton Lectures, pp. 92 ff.), filled nearly the whole of the seventh century; it prepared the way for the iconoclastic controversy of the eighth century, and for the separation of East and West; the East being largely Monothelite. Monothelitism was finally condemned in the Sixth General Council, that of Constantinople, which sat from Nov. 680 to Sept. 681. In preparation for this council Pope Agatho held a synod of the Western Church at Rome, March 680, at which Theodore himself was expected. In his absence Wilfrid, who was at Rome on his own affairs, answered for the orthodoxy of the North of Britain and Ireland, and of the Islands; Eddius, c. 53; H. & S. iii. 140, 141; *inf.* v. 19, p. 327; and Theodore and other Metropolitans held synods of their provinces with reference to the same subject. For passages in Bede's own works on the subject of Eutychianism, *v.* *Introd.* p. lxii, note.

sacerdotum] 'biscopa,' 'bishops,' AS. vers., *v.* on i. 28.

p. 239. Hymbrensum] Norðanhymbra, AS. vers. 'Umbrensis' is used in the same sense in the heading of Theodore's Penitential; H. & S. iii. 173. See on i. 15.

indictione VIII.\*] 'The year of the eighth indiction was either Chrono- from Sept. 24, 679 to Sept. 24, 680 (Caesarean), or from Dec. 25, <sup>logy.</sup> 679 to Dec. 25, 680 (pontifical), and in both cases includes Sept. 17, 680. Baronius beginning the indiction Sept. 1, actually dates the council in 679;' H. & S. iii. 144 (against Kemble, C. D. I. lxxx). Bede, in v. 24, p. 355, distinctly dates this council 680. This agrees best with the regnal years of the kings mentioned. On Egfrid's regnal year, v. s. c. 5, note. Ethelred of Mercia succeeded in 675; v. 24, p. 354; cf. iii. 24, notes. His sixth year cannot therefore be earlier than 680. As to Aldwulf of East Anglia, see on ii. 15. Hlothhere of Kent is the only difficulty; for his seventh year runs from July 679 to July 680. However most of the data favour Sept. 17, 680 as the date of the Council of Hatfield. The absence of any mention of Wessex should be noted. It 'was at this time (A.D. 676-685) divided among its under kings (c. 12), or at the best in a very disturbed state;' H. & S. u. s.

ciuitatis Doruuernis] We have 'in Doruuerni metropoli, ciuitate,' i. 26, v. 23, pp. 47, 350. The nominative does not occur. Later writers use the form Dorobernia or Dorubernia.

praepositis . . . euangelis] v. D. C. A. i. 478 a; cited by M. & L. <sup>'Symbolum' = Creed.</sup>  
 symbolum] 'herebeacen *id est* Credo,' 'the war-standard, i.e. the Creed,' AS. vers. This seems to show that the use of the word 'symbolum' in the sense of 'standard' was common in the translator's time. Ducange however only gives one instance from Richer, iii. 69: 'exercitus . . . ibat . . . per cuneos simbolo distinctos.' It has this meaning occasionally in Greek; see Liddell and Scott. Not this however, but another military use of the word is the origin of its application to the Christian Creed, which is thus regarded as the watchword or sign by which the soldiers of the Christian army recognise one another. It is first used in the sense of 'creed' by St. Cyprian (third century); D. C. A. s.v. 'creed.' Later writers wrongly explained this meaning of the word as resting on the supposed fact that each of the Apostles had contributed (*συμβάλλεσθαι*) an article to the Apostles' Creed. To this was due the translation of the Greek term by the Latin 'collatio,' which is as early as St. Augustine: 'Quod Graece *symbolum* dicitur, Latine *collatio* nominatur, . . . quia in unum collata catholicae legis fides. . . Petrus dixit; Credo in Deum Patrem, &c.' Sermon. 115 de Tempore (cited by Ducange). But apart from the mythical character of the supposed fact, *σύμβολον* never means 'contribution.' It may be noted that 'symbolum' is here nominative to 'tradidit' and not accusative after it as the AS. translator takes it.



Hypostasis,  
Substance,  
and Subsistence.

in tribus subsistentiis, uel personis] The word *ὑπόστασις* has two different applications in Greek theology. In its earlier meaning it signifies the real nature, the underlying essence of a thing, and is equivalent to *οὐσία*. Cf. Socrat. H. E. iii. 7: *οἱ νεώτεροι τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀντὶ τῆς οὐσίας τῇ λείπει τῆς ὑποστάσεως ἐχρήσαντο* (cited by Liddell and Scott). In this sense it is used in the Nicene Creed. But in later theology it means the special or characteristic nature of a person or thing, and is directly opposed to *οὐσία*. In this sense it is nearly equivalent to the earlier use of the word *πρόσωπον*. Hence as applied to the doctrine of the Trinity *ὑπόστασις* has two diametrically opposite meanings. In the earlier sense there is but one *ὑπόστασις* in the blessed Trinity, in the later, there are three *ὑποστάσεις*. To deny the former statement is to 'divide the substance,' to deny the latter is to 'confound the Persons.' In the earlier sense the Latin equivalent is 'substantia' (so in the Athanasian Creed); in the later the Latin equivalent is generally 'persona,' but sometimes 'subsistentia,' as here, and also in the acts of the Constantinopolitan Council of 680, where we have in the Greek: *τριῶν ὑποστάσεων μίαν οὐσίαν*, and in the Latin: 'trium Subsistentiarum unam Substantiam;' Mansi, xi. 290.

The  
General  
Councils.

p. 240. in Nicaea] The First General Council, A.D. 325. Cf. on these councils the parallel passage in Bede's Chron. Opp. Min. pp. 197-199.

in Constantinopoli] The Second General Council, A.D. 381, 382. Eudoxius, eighth Bishop of Constantinople, A.D. 360-370, was an extreme Arian. Macedonius, his predecessor, was a Semi-Arian, who also elaborated a heresy of his own on the nature of the Holy Spirit.

in Efeso] The Third General Council, A.D. 431. On Nestorianism, v. s.

in Calcedone] The Fourth General Council, A.D. 451, v. s.

in Constantinopoli] The Fifth General Council, A.D. 553. To Theodore, Bishop of Mopsuestia, 392-428, though he himself died 'in the peace of the Church,' the real origin of Nestorianism is to be traced. Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, c. 423-457, and Ibas, Bishop of Edessa, 435-457, were two of his most distinguished disciples, and both of them strong opponents of Cyril of Alexandria, who in his zeal against Nestorianism came very near to, if he did not actually fall into Apollinarianism. The condemnation of the council embraced (i) the works of Theodore, (ii) the letter of Ibas to Maris, Bishop of Hardasir, in praise of Theodore, (iii) the refutation (*ἀνατροπή*) of the Anathematisms of Cyril with the prefatory letter addressed

to John, Bishop of Antioch, at whose request it was written, by Theodoret. The meaning of the sentence would be clearer if we might read 'contra Theodorum, et Theodoreti et Iba epistulas contra Cyrillum, et eorum dogmata.' But there is no manuscript authority for the change.

**synodum . . . Roma]** The First Lateran Council, 649 A.D. It was anti-monothelite: 'contra eos maxime qui unam in Christo operationem et uoluntatem praedicabant,' c. 18, p. 242; cf. Opp. vi. 325. The canons of this council are given in H. & S. iii. 145-151.

**Constantino]** 'corrigé, *Constante*,' Hussey. But Constans II, in whose reign this Lateran Council was held, is also known as Constantinus IV (D. C. B.), so that there is no need for any correction.

**ex Patre et Filio inenarrabiliter]** On this express confession of the doctrine of the double procession of the Holy Spirit, v. Bright, pp. 319, 320, who attributes its insertion to the influence of Abbot Hadrian. Some spurious documents purporting to be connected with the Council of Hatfield are in H. & S. iii. 153-160.

## CHAPTER 18.

**archicantator]** So H. & S. iii. 134. In Hist. Abb. § 6, Arch-  
'archicantor,' p. 369, and so Fl. Wig. i. 34; 'archicantor, Primi-  
cerius scholae cantorum,' Ducange. On 'Primicerius,' v. ii. 19,  
note.

**p. 241. per iussionem papae]** According to a document printed in H. & S. iii. 131-136, he was sent by a council held at Rome in 679. The character of this document is somewhat doubtful; see on v. 19. The sending of John by the council may nevertheless be a fact. It is true that Eddius does not mention it, but then it did not specially concern his hero Wilfrid. In Hist. Abb. § 6, Bede, writing from a different point of view, speaks as if the sending of John had been merely due to the request of Benedict Biscop for some one to teach ecclesiastical music at Wearmouth.

**Biscopo . . . Benedicto]** On him cf. Hab. §§ 1-7, 9-14; Haa. Benedict §§ 5-18; Introd. §§ 2, 3, and notes *ad ll.* On this visit of his to Rome, see Hab. § 6, and notes. He returned with John in 679, or early in 680.

**cuius supra meminimus]** Benedict Biscop has not been previously mentioned. Either therefore this is a mere slip, or Bede is referring to the Hist. Abb. I only know however four MSS. which contain both works, D. P. H<sub>2</sub>. Bu<sub>2</sub> and in all these the Hist. Abb.

follows, and does not precede the H. E. In many MSS. these words are wanting; and the presence or absence of them is an important test of the character of any MS. See *Introd.* § 27.

Foundation  
of Wear-  
mouth.

monasterium Brittaniae] 'A monastery in Britain.' Bede often uses the names of countries, as if they were names of towns, without prepositions. 'Brittaniae' is a locative.

iuxta ostium . . . Uiri] 'in þære stowe þe mon hateð Æt Wiramupan,' 'in the place which they call at Wearmouth.' AS. vers.

Ceolfrid.

Ceolfrido] On him, see *Hab.* §§ 7, 13, 15-19, 21-23; *Haa.* §§ 1-11, 14, 16-37; *Introd.* §§ 2, 3, and notes *ad ll.*

Roman  
chanting.

cursum canendi] On the Roman mode of chanting. v. ii. 20, note. quæ hæcenus . . . seruata] 'seo . . . oð þis is gehealden,' 'which is maintained to the present time.' AS. vers.

transcripta] See next note but three.

excepto . . . munere] *i.e.* besides or in addition to the duty, &c.

The Mono-  
thelites.

p. 242. synodum . . . Martini] See notes on last chapter. 'Non multo ante,' therefore means a period of about thirty years.

qui unam . . . prædicabant] cf. the very similar phrase, v. 19, p. 326.

MSS. lent  
for tran-  
scription.

transscribendam commodauit] This transcript Bede had no doubt often seen and used. It was at this very time, 679 or 680, that he entered Benedict's monastery at the age of seven. On the system of lending MSS. for transcription, &c., v. Introduction, p. xix; cf. *sup.* p. 241. The phrases 'synodum adferre, transcribere' show that 'synodus' is here used loosely for 'synodica or synodalis epistola'; *i.e.* the formal document containing the record of the resolutions of the council; so 'lectio synodi,' 'cum . . . synodus . . . legeretur,' v. 19, p. 327; cf. 'synodi gesta,' *ib.* p. 326.

The Mono-  
thelites.

uicti sunt] *i.e.* in the Council of Constantinople, 680, 681.

unde uolens, &c.] So the Council of Toledo held a little later. 684, on the same subject: 'placuit . . . satisfaciētes Romano Pontifici . . . nostræ fidei sensum . . . depromere . . . de . . . gemina uoluntate et operatione Iesu Christi,' &c.; cited by M. & L. castus] v. s. on iii. 28.

sancti Martini . . . Turonis] This was the monastery over which Alcuin afterwards presided.

## CHAPTER 19.

St. Ethel-  
thryth, or  
Audrey.

P. 243. Accepit, &c.] Fl. Wig. i. 24 places the marriage of Egfrid and Ethelthryth in 660; if this is correct, her retirement to Coldingham must be placed in 672, as Bede says that she

lived with Egfrid for twelve years; cf. also Opp. vi. 327; Opp. Min. p. 199. She must have left him therefore soon after his accession. And as Egfrid died in 685 aged forty, c. 26, he can only have been fifteen at the time of his marriage; and Ethelthryth, who had then been five years a widow (see next note but one), must have been much older than he. When Bede in the next chapter says of her, '*bis sex regnauerat annis*' he is speaking very inexactly, as Egfrid did not come to the throne till 670 or, more probably, 671; see on c. 5. Even if he was before that sub-king of Deira (see on iii. 1), this would still be inexact, as he cannot have held that position till 664. For later lives of her, cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 278-284; ii. 104-106, 553. Ælfric's homily (in verse) is wholly taken from Bede, as he himself confesses. Lives of Saints, pp. 432 ff. Of the later lives the most important is that in the *Historia Eliensis* of Thomas of Ely, printed in an abridged form in Ang. Sac. i. 593 ff.; and *in extenso* by the Anglia Christiana Society, ed. D. J. Stewart (cited as *Liber Eliensis*). According to this she was born at Exning in Suffolk, p. 16. Her name has come down to us in the corrupted form of Audrey, from which (by adhesion of the final *t* of 'Saint') comes our word 'tawdry.' This first occurs in the phrase 'a tawdry lace,' i. e. necklace; which is commonly explained as meaning a necklace bought at St. Audrey's fair held on Oct. 17th, the day of her translation. Nares however very ingeniously connects the phrase with the narrative of Bede, and supposes it to be a reminiscence of the '*superuacua moniliorum pondera*' which the Saint had worn in the days of her frivolous youth, *inf.* p. 246; v. Skeat, Etymol. Engl. Dict. s. v.

**Anna]** On him and his saintly progeny, v. iii. 7, notes.

**princeps . . . Gyrulorum]** 'Suðgyrwa aldormon,' 'alderman of the South-Gyrwas,' AS. vers.; cf. on iii. 20. The *Liber Eliensis* says that she was married to him two years before the death of her father; i. e. in 652, that he died within three years, i. e. in 655, and that from him she received the Isle of Ely as a dowry, pp. 5, 18, 19. For the Suðgyrwas, cf. Birch, i. 414, which gives them a territory of 600 Hides.

**cuius consortio . . . gloriosa]** Alcuin, De Sanctis Ebor, v. 759, and Egfrid. says: 'Virginis alma fides, regis patientia mira.' Cf. S. D. i. 223: 'Egfridus . . . Etheldridam . . . nomine tenus coniugem duxerat.' On Bede's views as to marriage, which in this point alone seem unscriptural, v. s. on i. 27.

**mihi . . . Uilfrid . . . referebat]** It would be interesting to know on what occasions Bede and Wilfrid met. For Bede's view of Wilfrid, see on v. 19. This matter may have had much to do with

alienating Egfrid from Wilfrid. If the Lib. Eli. p. 33 may be trusted Wilfrid was guilty of gross dissimulation.

nec diffidendum] Cf. Lib. Eli. pp. 19-21.

Incorruption.

signum diuini miraculi] v. on iii. 8, *ad fin.* So Eddius, c. 19, of Ethelthryth: 'cuius corpus uiuens ante impollutum post mortem incorruptum manens.'

Separation and re-marriage.

ubi . . . inpetrauit] Separation without the consent of both parties was unlawful, cf. *sup.* c. 11; e.g. Theodore's Penitential, II. xii. 7, 8, 12 (H. & S. iii. 199, 200). Cf. Bede on Mark x. 9-12: 'Una ergo solummodo causa est [sc. uxoris dimittendae] carnalis, fornicatio; una spiritualis, timor Dei, ut uxor dimittatur, sicut multi religionis causa fecisse leguntur. Nulla autem causa est Dei lege perscripta [? prae-] ut, uiuente ea quae relicta est, alia ducatur;' Opp. x. 153. As to remarriage in the case of divorce for 'causa carnalis,' v.s. on c. 5. As regards the 'causa spiritualis,' Egfrid certainly married again before Ethelthryth's death. This occurred 679 or 680 (see below); and Egfrid was certainly married to his second wife Eormenburg at the time of Wilfrid's expulsion in 678, which is ascribed largely to her influence; Eddius, c. 24. Eadmer indeed writes as if Egfrid had married again immediately on Ethelthryth's withdrawal to Coldingham; H. Y. i. 186. Stevenson on Bede's Vita Cudb. c. 27, makes the serious mistake of supposing that Ethelthryth was still Egfrid's wife at the time of his death in 685, five or six years after her death, and thirteen years after she had taken the veil. Mr. Arnold makes the same mistake; S. D. i. 32. Smith might have kept them right.

Ebba.

Aebbæ . . . Eogfridi] 'Soror uterina regis Osuii;' Bede, Vit. Cudb. c. 10. If Oswy was the son of Ethelfrid and Acha (see on iii. 14, *ad init.*), and Ebba was only his uterine sister, it follows that she cannot have been the daughter of Ethelfrid, and that Acha must have married again after Ethelfrid's death, or have been married previously. Besides the monastery at Coldingham she also founded one at a place called from her Ebchester on the Derwent; cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 288-290. She was a great friend of St. Cuthbert's, Bede, Vita Cudb. c. 10; Vita Anon. § 13, who visited her at Coldingham. She had much to do with the release of Wilfrid in 681; Eddius, c. 39. She is commemorated as St. Ebbe at Aug. 25. Her relics were translated from Coldingham to Durham in the eleventh century; Raine's Hexham, I. liii. St. Abb's Head is called from her; cf. c. 25, *inf.*

Coldingham.

Coludi urbem] 'Coludesbyrig,' AS. vers. and Vita Anon. Cudb. § 13; Eddius, c. 39. Coldingham near Berwick, and so it is called by S. D. i. 59; see on c. 25. The legend of her wanderings from

Coldingham to Ely is given in Lib. Eli. pp. 36-44, on the authority of Coldingham tradition. It seems quite mythical.

p. 244. post annum] i. e. in 673, according to what was said Ely. above; and this is the date which the Sax. Chron. gives for the foundation of Ely.

lineis . . . laneis] This is a recognised feature of the ascetic life. 'To go M. & L. cite Pope Zacharias, 741-752: 'Monachi . . . lanea indu- woolward.'  
menta . . . sine intermissione utantur; . . . apostolis quippe diuinum  
datum est mandatum duas tunicas non habendi; tunicas dixit  
Christus, utique laneas, non lineas;' Migne, Pat. Lat. lxxxix. 932.  
The practice gave rise to the curious English phrase, 'to go  
woolward,' of which M. & L. have also collected many interesting  
illustrations.

raro . . . in . . . balneis] 'Quae enim lota erat corde, non necesse Abstinence  
erat ut lauaretur corpore;' Lib. Eli. p. 50. Cf. St. Jerome ad from the  
Heliodorum: 'qui in Christo semel lotus est, non illi necesse est bath.  
iterum lauare;' Opp. IV. ii. 11 (ed. Bened.); and other reff.  
collected by M. & L. This too is a regular feature of the ascetic  
life. Of Sexburgh, Ethelthryth's sister and successor, Thomas of  
Ely says: 'balnearum usus tanquam seminaria uenenata refugit';  
Ang. Sac. i. 596. Of St. James the Just, Bede following Hegesippus  
in Euseb. H. E. ii. 23, says: 'neque unctus est unguento, neque  
usus est balneo;' Opp. xi. 13. Cf. Aldhelm, Opp. p. 124 (of the  
same): 'Thermarum penitus neglexit pectore pompam;' cf.  
Morison's St. Bernard, p. 144 (of the Templars); D. C. A. ii. 1318.

epifaniae] 'þy twelftan dege ofer Geochol,' 'the twelfth day Epiphany.  
after Yule,' AS. vers. Cf. Sax. Chron. 1065, C. D. 'sacratissima  
Dominicae Apparitionis dies;' Bede, Vit. Cudb. c. 10. 'It is  
curious to find the Epiphany taking the place of Christmas';  
Bright, p. 253; cf. Ep. ad Egb. § 15, p. 419. There may however  
be special reasons for this here. The primary idea of the festival  
in the Eastern Church was the manifestation of the Trinity at the  
Baptism of Christ, and though in the Western Church this idea  
was subordinate to that of the manifestation of Christ to the Magi,  
it was not lost sight of. Thus in the Roman Missal the Gospel  
for the Octave of the Epiphany is John i. 29-34, and there is  
a homily of Bede on this gospel; Opp. v. 271-278. And in our  
own Church St. Luke's account of the Baptism has always been  
the Second Lesson at Matins on the Epiphany itself. A third  
manifestation, that at Cana, is commemorated in the Gospel for  
the Second Sunday after the Epiphany, while in the Gallican  
Liturgy all three references are combined in the services for the  
festival. Owing to this association of Epiphany with the Baptism

of Christ, it was in early times, with Easter and Pentecost, one of the great seasons for administering baptism. This was afterwards discouraged, and the administration of baptism restricted as a rule to Easter and Pentecost; D. C. A. s.v. 'Epiphany.' But the idea of the season as appropriate for a solemn washing may have continued. For that a religious significance was attached to the use of the bath seems clear. Just as the wearing of their crown by the English kings at the three great festivals (Sax. Chron. 1086; my edition, p. 219), was a memorial of their coronation, so the bath was a memorial of baptism.

lotis prius . . . famulis Christi] Cf. what is said of Matilda, daughter of Otho II: 'Nullius unquam septimanae sabbatum, quo tantum balneo uti liceret, praeteriit, quin aliquem de turba inopum . . . ablueret;' Pertz, xi. 400.

'Obsequium.'

obsequio] That the word 'mandatum' is used in a technical sense (based on John xiii. 14, 15, 34), to signify the solemn washing of the feet of others in imitation of Christ's example, and in literal obedience to His command, is well known, v. Ducange, s.v. And this use has given us our word 'Maundy.' But that the correlative word 'obsequium' is used in an equally technical sense to signify that literal obedience, has not been recognised. Yet that is almost certainly the meaning here; it is so still more clearly in G. P. p. 163: 'Birnstanus . . . dominici exempli ardentissimus exsecutor, pedes egenis omni die . . . lauabat. . . . Obsequio consummato,' &c. Bede uses it of the anointing of our Lord's feet: 'qui diligentius inuestigant, inueniunt eandem mulierem . . . bis eodem functam fuisse obsequio;' Opp. xi. 53. In this sense the word passed into Irish in the form *ósaic* (with prosthetic *f*, *fósaic*); and by a curious prolepsis it is constantly applied to Christ's own washing of the disciples' feet. So entirely was the feeling for the origin of the word lost, that it comes to be applied to feet washings in which there is no ceremonial or charitable purpose; e. g. Battle of Magh Rath, p. 10; Aislinge Meic Conglinne, p. 47. Another Irish word used in the same technical sense is *umaloit*, which is the Latin 'humilitas'; cf. Lismore Lives of Saints, pp. 43, 48; Aislinge, &c., p. 13 (though the editors have failed to see this). I cannot at present point to any passage in which 'humilitas' is used in this special sense. On the foot-washing as a religious and charitable act, cf. Opp. v. 463; Opp. Min. pp. 85, 86, 106, 265, 276; D. C. A. ii. 164; Introd. p. xxvi.

semper . . . persteterit] v. Introd. p. xxvi.

Synaxis.

matutinae synaxeos] i. e. Matins. 'Synaxis' is used: (1) of

any Christian assembly; the term being perhaps chosen by way of distinction from the Jewish *סעודה*; (ii) specially of the celebration of the Eucharist, v. Suicer, *Thesaurus*, s. v.; (iii) of the whole course of offices for the canonical hours; (iv) as here, of the celebration of any one of the offices.

*pestilentiam*] See on iii. 27.

*rapta est . . . suscepere*] June 23; cf. Opp. iv. 84. If she became abbess of Ely in 673, v. s. this would bring her death to 680. The Sax. Chron. places it in 679 (so R. W. i. 170), perhaps calculating the seven years from her taking of the veil. So Lib. Eli. p. 58, and see below.

*ligneo . . . locello*] We more often hear of stone coffins; cf. 'Loculus' p. 245, *infra*, c. 11. pp. 226, 227. The choice of a wooden coffin seems to be a mark of Ethelthryth's humility. As to the form of the word we find both 'loculus' and 'locellus' in this very chapter. The former is the classical form, the latter survives in the Welsh 'llogell,' which means 'a pocket.' We find a sarcophagus given to Cuthbert as a present; Vita, c. 37; Opp. Min. p. 118; cf. *inf.* v. 5 and Lib. Eli. p. 26.

*Sexburg*] See above iii. 8, p. 142. For later lives of her, cf. Sexburg. Hardy, Cat. i. 265, 360-362. The Lib. Eli. cites a book of her 'Gesta,' and says: 'in Anglico . . . legimus' that she received the veil at the hands of Archbishop Theodore in Sheppey Church, pp. 76, 77; cf. ib. 52, 53; AA.SS. Iul. ii. 346.

*sedecim annis*] i. e. in 695 or 696. The day of her translation is Oct. 17; Lib. Eli. p. 70. The fact that Oct. 17 fell on a Sunday in 695 is in favour of that year, which is given also by Mon. Angl. i. 457; and this would fix her death to 679. See above.

*quosdam e fratribus*] i. e. Ely was a double monastery; cf. Lib. Eli. p. 46, and note on iii. 8.

*ad ciuitatulam . . . desolatam*] This illustrates the way in which Roman sites served as quarries for later generations. Thus in the ninth century the monks of Auxerre sent some of their body to Marseilles to seek for marbles for building their church: 'eruderatis itaque aedificiorum ueterum circumquaque ruinis, ingentem marmorum pretiosorum copiam . . . congregarunt;' Pertz, xiii. 403. To prevent this in the case of the Colosseum, Benedict XIV, in the last century, hit upon the plan of consecrating it.

p. 245. *Grantacaestir*] Grantchester, outside Cambridge.

*inuenerunt . . . tectum*] For another case of a Roman sarcophagus used for a later burial, cf. H. & S. II. xxii; and the famous instance of the Graeco-Roman sarcophagus, sculptured 'con bellissima maniera' (cf. Bede's 'pulcherrime factum'), in which was



deposited the body of the mother of the great countess Matilda ; and which, coming under the notice of Niccolò Pisano, occasioned, according to Vasari's life of him, the renaissance of sculpture in Italy.

Bodily incorruption. *in*corruptum] W. M. i. 260, enumerates five English saints in whom this miracle was shown ; Ethelthryth, Wiburg, Edmund of East Anglia, Alphege, Cuthbert ; cf. *inf.* c. 30.

Burial on day of death. *defuncta, siue . . . condita*] *i.e.* they buried on the day of death as a rule ; and hence the festival of a saint is often called his 'depositio.' Cf. Bede's Martyrology, Opp. iv. 72, 92, 100, 131, &c. ; cf. on c. 14.

*leuius habere*] Cf. John iv. 52 : 'hora . . . in qua melius habuerit.' *tertia . . . die*] 'Plerumque dies tertia grauior esse uulneratis, et prolixiorum molestiam generare afflictis ;' Lib. Eli. p. 57.

Use of tents. *extento . . . papillione*] So at the funeral of Wilfrid : 'extento foris tentorio, sanctum corpus balneauerunt ;' Eddius, c. 65. So when Herebald fell from his horse : 'tetenderunt papillionem in quo iacerem,' v. 6, p. 290. So when Aidan fell sick, 'tetenderunt . . . ei . . . tentorium,' iii. 17, p. 160. Tents were also used by Cuthbert on his preaching tours, Opp. Min. pp. 109, 277 ; 'tabernaculo solemus in itinere uel in bello uti,' Opp. xii. 249 ; cf. viii. 390.

Necklaces. p. 246. *superuacua monilliorum pondera*] Cf. Bede on 1 Pet. iii. 3 : 'auro et margaritis et monilibus adornatae, ornamenta cordis ac pectoris perdiderunt ;' Opp. xii. 224 ; cf. on c. 23. The form 'monilliorum' is attested by four out of the five most ancient MSS. ; M. B. C<sup>1</sup>. H<sub>1</sub>.

*usque hodie*] 'oð þisne ondweardan dæg,' 'to this present day,' AS. vers.

*ita aptum*] Cf. Lib. Eli. pp. 69-71.

*est . . . Elge*] On the topography of the Isle of Ely, ib. 1-8, 81 ; on the liberties of Ely, ib. 48, 49, 55.

*unde . . . accepit*] *i.e.* Bede derives the name Élig from *ēl*, an eel, and *ig*, an island. A Hebrew (!) etymology is suggested, Lib. Eli. pp. 347. On the subsequent history of Ely, cf. G. P. pp. 322 ff.

## CHAPTER 20.

P. 247. *hymnum . . . inserere*] Alcuin alludes to this hymn ; De Sanctis Ebor. vv. 780, 781. It is found separately in a St. Omer MS. No. 115. Also in a MS. Cologne Cathedral, No. 106, originally sent by Alcuin to Arno, Archbishop of Salzburg, Mon. Alc. pp. 748, 749.

**elegiac metro]** Cf. Bede, *De Arte Metrica*, c. 10: 'hoc . . . metrum . . . elegiacum . . . uocatur. Eleos namque miseros appellant philosophi, et huius modulatio carminis miserorum querimoniae congruit . . . Quo genere metri ferunt canticum Deuteronomii apud Hebraeos et Psalmos cxviii (cxix) et cxliv (cxlv) esse descriptos'; Opp. vi. 59. Elegiac verses of this kind, in which the last quarter of the distich repeats the first, are called *echoici* or *serpentine*; L. & M. p. 353. They are also called *reciproci*. Cf. a poem by Sedulius Scottus, in this metre, in *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*. i. 216, 'Incipiunt uersus reciproci.' There is a long poem in this metre in Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* i. 26. Sporadic instances of this form of verse occur in classic poets, e. g. Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 365, 366; Martial, VIII. xxi. 1, 2, and especially IX. xcvi., where the whole epigram is based on the 'echo' of a single phrase, 'rumpitur inuidia.' These instances suggested the systematic adoption of the form by mediaeval writers, just as the occasional occurrence of rhyme in classical poetry suggested the rhyming Latin verses of the Middle Ages; cf. Trench, *Sacred Latin Poetry*, c. 2. But Bede's hymn, besides being 'reciprocal' or 'echoing,' is also alphabetic. For this, too, Bede might find a parallel in Scripture in the Book of Lamentations, and some of the Psalms, e. g. xxv, xxxiv, xxxvii, cxi, cxii, cxix, cxlv. Alphabetic and acrostic verses were a favourite exercise of ingenuity in the Middle Ages, especially in the Carolingian time; cf. *Poetae Latini*, u. s. i. 17, 24-26, 81, 82, 85, 86, 90, 91, 142-144, 147, 148, 153-159, 225-227, 416-423, 482, 620-622; ii. 4, 135, 136, 138, 139, 152, 153, 165-167, 255-257, 316-319, 421, 422, 479, 651, 652. A fine alphabetic hymn on the Day of Judgement is given by Trench, u. s. pp. 296-298; and is cited by Bede himself, *De Arte Metrica*, as 'ad formam metri trochaici . . . hymnum de die iudicii per alphabetum'; Opp. vi. 77.

**imitari . . . scripturae]** Cf. the conclusion of the *De Arte Metrica*: 'haec . . . tibi collecta obtuli, ut, quemadmodum in diuinis literis . . . imbuere studui, ita etiam metrica arte, quae diuinis non est incognita libris, te solerter instruerem'; Opp. vi. 78. 79.

**femina . . . gladios]** The virgins enumerated here are all, with the exception of Euphemia, commemorated by Aldhelm in his prose and metrical works de Virginitate: the Virgin Mary, Aldh. Opp. pp. 54, 181; Agatha, ib. 55, 183; Eulalia, ib. 61, 190; Tecla, ib. 61, 189; Agnes, ib. 60, 188; Caecilia, ib. 54, 182. It would improve the metre if for Euphemia we might read Eugenia, who is mentioned by Aldh. pp. 58, 187. Both occur in some lines of Fortunatus on the same subject (*De Virgin.* viii. 4):—

'Illic Euphemia, pariter quoque plaudit Agatha,  
Et Iustina simul, consociante Thecla,  
Et Paulina, Agnes, Basilissa, Eugenia regnant,  
Et quascunque sacer uexit ad astra pudor.'

Here, too, the metre would be improved if Eugenia and Euphemia changed places.

p. 248. bis octo Nouembres] A curious way of saying that she was buried sixteen years. The reason, probably, is that her translation took place on the 16th of the Calends of November, Oct. 17.

## CHAPTER 21.

Date of the  
battle of the  
Trent.

P. 249. Anno . . . nono] There can be no doubt that this battle took place in 679; for it was fought a year after the expulsion of Wilfrid, who, according to the story, had foretold that in a year's time "qui nunc ridetis, . . . amare flebitis." Et sic . . . euenit. Nam eo die anniuersario, Ælfwini regis occisi cadauer in Eboracam delatum est, omnes populi amare lacrymantes uestimenta et capitis comam lacerabant, et frater superstes usque ad mortem sine uictoria regnabat'; Eddius, c. 24; cf. also c. 23, *ad init.*, where 680 is spoken of as 'anno sequente.' Now if Egfrid succeeded Feb. 15, 670, the battle, to fall in his ninth year, must have been fought before Feb. 15, 679, and this, though possible, is unlikely. So that this on the whole confirms what was said on c. 5 as to the date of Egfrid's accession. This battle is mentioned in the Irish Annals, e. g. Ann. Ult. 679: 'Bellum Saxonum ubi cecidit Ailmine filius Ossu.' Elford, north of Tamworth (? Ælfwine's ford), has been suggested as the site of the battle.

sororem] It was owing to this connexion that Wilfrid, on his release in 681, was unable to remain in Mercia; see on v. 19.

Osthryth.

Osthryd] Cf. on iii. 11. W. M. makes this marriage part of the pacification after the battle of the Trent, G. P. p. 232. But Bede clearly implies that it had taken place previously.

Wergeld.

multa] i. e. the Wergeld, on which see S. C. H. i. 161, 162. Cf. Sax. Chron. 694 for another instance of peace made between two kingdoms by payment of a wergeld.

## CHAPTER 22.

Ælfwine

rex Aelfuini] He is called 'rex' by Eddius, in a passage quoted on the last chapter, and also in an earlier passage, c. 16, where

he is joined with his brother: 'inuitatis regibus Christianissimis Ecgfritho et Ælwino.' He must, therefore, have reigned jointly with Egfrid, probably as sub-king of Deira, like Alchfrid under Oswy. The following story is embodied in a homily by Ælfrie, ed. Thorpe, ii. 356-358.

de militia eius iuuenis] 'Sum geong cyninges þegn,' 'a young Royal king's thane,' AS. vers. So 'miles' and 'minister regis' below are both translated 'cyninges þegn,' which shows that the two terms are identical. Thane.

p. 250. comitem] 'gesiið,' AS. vers.

uinoula soluta] Cf. Life of St. Cadoc, § 39: 'tres peregrini circulis ferreis ligati . . . ad praefati Sancti monasterium in die solempnitatis eiusdem uenerunt. Dumque missa celebraretur illa ita ligamina ferrea . . . ruperunt'; Camb. Brit. Saints, p. 78; cf. H. Y. i. 54, 308; Pertz, vii. 300, 301. Other instances are collected by M. & L. Bonds miraculously loosed.

Tunnacaestir] Unidentified. Towcester has been suggested, but the suggestion has little to recommend it. Other suggestions are Doncaster, and Littleborough on the Trent, D. C. B. iv. 1056; but if Mr. Moberly's note on ii. 16 is correct, Littleborough must be appropriated to 'Tiowulfingacaestir.'

litteras solutorias] This passage of Bede is the only instance of this phrase given by Ducange. It indicates charms or incantations written down and worn as amulets; cf. on c. 27. Ælfrie translates it: 'ðurh drycraeft oððe ðurh rúnstafum,' 'by witchcraft or by runes'; u. s. p. 358. 'Litterae Solutoriae.'

p. 251. dignus . . . es morte] From this it would appear that any member of an army, if captured, might be held liable by the relations of any man on the other side who had fallen in the battle. Joint responsibility of the host.

cognati] Possibly 'brothers-in-law'; v. on i. 27, p. 50.

uendidit eum] On the slave-trade in England, cf. on iii. 5.

sororis Aedilthrydae] i. e. Sexburgh; cf. iii. 8; iv. 19, pp. 142, 244.

eiusdem reginae minister] 'þære cwene þegn,' 'the queen's thane,' AS. vers.

p. 252. uel . . . uel] 'ge . . . ge,' 'both . . . and,' AS. vers.

quia sacrificium . . . sempiternam] 'sunt qui de leuioribus peccatis, quibus obligati defuncti sunt, post mortem possunt absolui; uel poenis . . . castigati, uel suorum precibus, eleemosynis, missarum celebrationibus absoluti,' Opp. ix. 96; Introd. p. lxvi. Purgatory.

## CHAPTER 23.

Strenaeshale] v. on iii. 24.

XV. Kal. Dec.] Nov. 17; and this is her day in the calendar.

'Nepos' =  
nephew.

nepotis] Nephew, not grandson; cf. on iii. 6. As Hild was sixty-six in 680, she would be thirteen in 627. Edwin was forty-two at that time. So that if 'nepos' meant grandson, Hild would only be twenty-nine years younger than her great-grandfather. Fl. Wig. has however fallen into this mistake, i. 254, 268, making Hereric son of Edwin's son Eadfrid, ii. 14, 20. On the true view we must confess that we do not know the name of Hereric's father; cf. Green, M. E. pp. 247, 248; Wülker, Glossaries, i. 173: '*Nepos, suna sune, uel broðer sune, uel suster sune, þæt is nefa,*' '*nepos, son's son, or brother's son, or sister's son, that is, nephew.*'

Hild.

Her sister  
Hereswith.

p. 253. relicto habitu saeculari] In 647.

propinqua regis illius] Because her sister Hereswith had married Ethelhere, brother and successor of Anna, who (Anna) at this time, 647, was king of the East Angles. Therefore Hereswith must have left her husband for the monastic life before his accession to the throne; and he seems to have married again; v. on ii. 15, iii. 18. The Lib. Eli. wrongly makes her wife of Anna, pp. 15, 25, 26, which has misled Smith on c. 19.

Cale] v. on iii. 8.

peregrinam . . . uitam] v. on iii. 19.

Sojourn in  
East  
Anglia.

praefata prouincia] This refers to East Anglia, not to Gaul; for the phrase 'proposito peregrinandi' implies that the design was not carried out. It has, however, been understood the other way; v. Hardy, Cat. i. 285; by Lib. Eli. pp. 23, 24; and by Menard and Harpsfeld, cited by Mabillon, Ann. Bened. i. 444, who rightly understands it as meaning that she did not actually go to Gaul. So Smith and Stevenson.

unius familiae] Contrary to its usual practice, the AS. vers. does not translate familia by 'hid,' 'hide;' but by another derivative of the same root, viz: 'hiwscipe.'

Heruteu] See on iii. 24.

Heiu] Cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 284, 285.

propositum] Cf. c. 24, p. 260, '*monachicum suscipere propositum*'; M.

Tadcaster.

Kælcæaestir] Tadcaster. 'The village of Healaugh, about three miles north of Tadcaster, is believed to mark the site of St. Heiu's foundation, and possibly preserves her name'; Murray's Yorkshire, p. 486, cited by M. 'In the cemetery of that place

Mr. D. H. Haigh detected an ancient gravestone bearing Heiu's name'; D. C. B. iv. 879, and references there given.

p. 254. aliquot annos] Eight; from 649 to 657, when Whitby was founded, two years after the battle of the Winwæd; v. iii. 24, notes.

omnibus . . . communia] Bede is fond of quoting this communion of the Early Jerusalem Church; *inf. c. 27, ad fin.*; Opp. vii. 371; viii. 34, 377, 427; ix. 54, 249, 280. As to the rigour with which this rule was carried out in monasteries, see some curious references collected by M. & L., and Ep. ad Egb. §§ 16, 17, notes.

tantæ autem . . . inuenirent] For women as teachers in the church, cf. Bede on Ezra, ii. 65: 'bene autem cantoribus etiam cantatrices iunguntur propter sexum uidelicet foemineum, in quo plurimæ reperiuntur personæ, quæ non solum uiuendo, uerum etiam prædicando, corda proximorum ad laudem sui Creatoris accendant, et quasi suauitate sanctæ uocis ædificantium templum Domini adiuent laborem'; Opp. viii. 378. Certainly 'the labour of those who built the temple of the Lord' in Britain was greatly helped by the work of women. Many of them, like Hild, were of royal or noble race, though none of them seem to have equalled her in influence outside their own monasteries. Such were Ebba, cc. 19, 25; Elfled, iii. 24, iv. 26; Ethelthryth, c. 19; Eanfled, iii. 24; and notes *ad ll.* Lappenberg sees in this position allowed to women a survival of the old Germanic feeling: 'inesse [feminis] sanctum aliquid et prouidum putant'; Tac. Germ. c. 8; Lapp. i. 188.

de primo supra diximus] v. on c. 12, p. 229.

de secundo . . . Dorciocæstræ] This appointment of Ætla to Dorchester is brought by Fl. Wig. i. 239, 240, into connexion with his theory of a general division of the Mercian diocese in 679, which, as we have seen, on c. 6, is beset with such great difficulties. The special difficulties here are: (i) that 'besides this [passage of Bede] there is no evidence of a see at Dorchester from the time when the West Saxon see was extinguished, to the time when that of Leicester was transferred'; (ii) That there is no direct evidence that Dorchester was Mercian before the battle of Bensington, 777 A. D., permanently transferred that district to Mercia; H. & S. iii. 130. The solution favoured by H. & S. l. c., that Ætla is to be identified with Hædde, the Bishop of Wessex, who, according to popular views, transferred the West Saxon see from Dorchester, has little to recommend it: (i) Bede nowhere gives any hint of the identity. (ii) We have seen (on iii. 7), that the alleged transference of the West Saxon see from Dorchester to Winchester by Hædde is a myth. Dorchester ceased to exist as a bishop's see on the retire-

Women as  
teachers  
in the  
Church.

See of Dor-  
chester.

ment of Agilbert. Thus Hædde could not be spoken of as 'consecrated to the bishopric of Dorchester.' I am inclined to think (i) that Dorchester really was Mercian about 679. Ethelred, who attacked Kent and Northumbria so vigorously, iv. 12, 21, may well have continued Wulfhere's policy of curtailing Wessex (see on c. 13), and gained possession of Dorchester (cf. R. W. i. 140: 'processu temporis subacta ciuitate illa a regibus Merciorum'). (ii) That he did set up Ætla as Mercian bishop of Dorchester, 675 x 685. (iii) That Cædwalla, after his accession in 686, recovered this and other districts belonging to Wessex (see on cc. 15, 16). (iv) That, consequently, the Mercian bishopric of Dorchester disappeared after a very few years of existence. This would account (i) for the non-appearance of Ætla's name in any of the lists of bishops, which H. & S., *u. s.*, regard as 'a circumstance extremely difficult to dispose of;' (ii) the want of evidence for any see at Dorchester between the dates named above. If this view is correct, the case (as H. & S. remark) is not unlike that of Lindsey; cf. on iii. 11; iv. 12; Green, M. E. p. 343.

primus Hagustaldensis] See v. 2-6.

secundus] This is Wilfrid II; cf. v. 6, *ad fin.*

Double  
monas-  
teries.

in utroque . . . monasterio] Therefore Hartlepool as well as Whitby must have been a double monastery, for men and women; see on iii. 8.

p. 255. Romam . . . aestimabatur] See on v. 7.

The bishop-  
ric of the  
Hwiccas.

prouinciam Huiciorum] On the Hwiccas, cf. ii. 2, *ad init.* The foundation of their bishopric (with the bishop's seat at Worcester) is also brought by Fl. Wig. into connexion with the alleged division of Mercia into five dioceses in 679; i. 239, 240. That the diocese of the Hwiccas was founded about this time is certain, but it seems impossible to fix the dates exactly. Offfor was consecrated after Wilfrid's second expulsion, and during the vacancy in the see of Canterbury after Theodore's death, *i. e.* between 691 or 692 (see on v. 19), and Aug. 693; Fl. Wig. fixes it to 691; i. 42; and says that he died in 692; ib. 43. This is, however, very doubtful; D. C. B. iv. 71. He certainly signs a genuine charter which cannot be earlier than 693; K. C. D. No. 36; Birch, i. 121; H. & S. iii. 232. He was succeeded by St. Egwin: 'de quo quid miraculi sit quod Beda tacuerit, nondum per me potui aduertere uel per alios addiscere;' G. P. p. 296; Bright, p. 381.

Florence also seems to place Bosel's consecration in 680. This is difficult to reconcile with Bede's statement that Tatfrid's election (and therefore *a fortiori* Bosel's consecration) took place 'shortly before' (*paulo ante*) the election of Offfor. A charter of Osric's, K. C. D. No. 12; Birch, i. 69, would, if genuine, throw

the date still further back, as it speaks of the see as already constituted in Nov. 676. But the charter, though not marked as spurious by Kemble, is suspicious, H. & S. iii. 129, and this line of argument throws yet further doubt on it. I am inclined to think that the charter was made up from this passage in Bede by someone who understood it to imply that Osric was sub-king of the Hwiccas when the see was constituted. Bede says nothing of the kind, but merely that Osric was reigning when Offfor came to the Hwiccas, and as he remained there 'multo tempore,' there is nothing in Bede inconsistent with Florence's account, i. 239, that Oshere was the sub-king under whom the see was founded. Florence, in his Chronicle, i. 37, places a grant by Oshere under the year 680, but this entry seems taken from the spurious charter, K. C. D. No. 17, Birch, i. 84; the forger may however have known the date of Oshere. There is a genuine charter of Oshere's (cited above) not earlier than 693; and a son of Oshere is mentioned in a charter, K. C. D. No. 83; Birch, No. 157, of the date, 723 x 737.

I cannot believe in the identification of Osric of the Hwiccas with Osric. Osric of Northumbria, v. 23. Dr. Stubbs seems inclined to accept it, D. C. B. i. 72; iv. 161-2, though it is inconsistent with his own more probable suggestion, ib. ii. 16, that Osric of the Hwiccas was a son of the Eanfrid of the Hwiccas, mentioned in iv. 13; see on v. 23.

Uilfridum] v. on v. 19.

Cerdice] Perhaps the Ceretic whose death is mentioned in the *Cerdic*. Ann. Camb. at 616. As Hild was born in 614, the date would suit very well; cf. on ii. 14.

p. 256. monile] Cf. Bede on Cant. i. 9: 'in collo ecclesiae, 'Monile.' doctorum persona designatur . . . Monilia autem sunt ornamenta, quae uirginum solent collo pendere. Quamuis et monilium uocabulo plerumque omnium matronarum ornamenta designentur;' Opp. ix. 222, 223; A similar legend is told of the mother of St. Brendan; Lism. Lives, pp. 349, 350.

pio] 'pitiful.'

Hild's sickness,

uirtus . . . perficeretur] Cf. *supra*, on c. 10.

numquam . . . praetermittebat] Cf. Benedict Biscop, Hist. Abb. § 11, p. 374; and Bede himself, *Introd.* § 19.

communio[n]is] 'pære . . . gemæsumnesse Cristes lichoman 7 his blode,' 'the communion of Christ's body and of his blood,' AS. vers. 'That . . . the laity received under both kinds from the foundation of the Church . . . to the twelfth century is admitted on all hands;' D. C. A. i. 416.

mortem uidit] That her remains were translated to Glaston- and death. bury by King Edmund, G. P. p. 198; cf. W. M. i. 36, is only



part of the great Glastonbury myth; cf. Stubbs' *Dunstan*, p. cxvi. Rudborne has another story, that Edmund brought them to Gloucester; Ang. Sac. i. 214.

Hackness. p. 257. *Hacanoe*] Hackness, thirteen miles from Whitby, as Bede himself says below; cf. Murray's *Yorkshire*, p. 179.

Begu. Begu] She is not to be confounded, as is often done, with Heiu (*supra*), or with the very mythical Irish saint Bega, whose name is preserved in St. Bees; see additional critical notes.

*pausans*] See on c. 9.

Bells. *notum campanae sonum*] Cf. *Introd.* p. xxvii. For the use of bells in monasteries, see the references collected by M. & L.

*aspexit . . . lucem*] See on iii. 8.

Prioress. *quae tunc . . . praefuit*] 'was Hilde gingre,' 'was Hild's junior, or deputy,' AS. vers.; *i. e.* prioress. Thus in Alfred's *Laws*, 38, § 2, 'cyninges ealdormannes gingra,' 'the king's alderman's deputy.' *psalmis*] See on iii. 5.

p. 258. *priusquam . . . cognouisset*] This, as Bright, p. 323. remarks, seems hardly consistent with the account of Hild's last communion; '*arcessitis . . . monasterio*;' *supra*. Bede only introduces the story with '*ferunt*.' The whole paragraph is omitted by the AS. vers.

*ubi nuper, &c.*] *i. e.* the cell of the novices; *Introd.* p. xxvi.

'*Conuersatio*.' *conuersationem*] 'Conuersatio' must here be used in the technical sense of the monastic life; cf. '*monachica conuersatio*' a little above, p. 257. Ducange gives no instance of this meaning. 'Conuersio' is often used of entry into a monastery; cf. c. 5, p. 216: '*monachi . . . tempore suae conuersionis*.' We have even such phrases as '*conuersionem intrare*;' Ducange, *s. v.* We might be inclined to suggest '*conuersionem*' here; and so several later MSS.

## CHAPTER 24.

I confine the notes on this chapter to the illustration of Bede's text. Some account of the critical questions which centre round the name of Cædmon will be given in a separate note.

*pietati*] '*Pietas*,' is here of course 'piety,' not 'pity' as so often in Bede.

Harpers, and poets. p. 259. *cantare*] 'be hearpan singan,' 'to sing to the harp.' AS. vers. This was the national instrument of our forefathers. Harpers however seem sometimes to have been imported from the Continent. Cuthbert, Abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, writes to Lullus, Archbishop of Mainz: '*delectat me quoque citharistam habere, qui possit citharizare in cithara, quam nos appellamus*

rottae [v. Ducange, s. v. rocta] quia citharam habeo, et artificem non habeo;’ Mon. Mog. p. 302. Alcuin would not have approved of this introduction of the harper into the cloister. He writes in 797 to Higbald, Bishop of Lindisfarne: ‘uerba Dei legantur in sacerdotali conuiuio. Ibi decet lectorem audiri, non citharistam; sermones patrum, non carmina gentilium. Quid Hinieldus [v. Haupt, Zeitschr. für deutsches Alterthum, xv. 314] cum Christo? . . . Non uult rex coelestis cum paganis et perditis nomine tenus regibus communionem habere;’ Mon. Alc. p. 357. It was to gratify the national love for poetry and song that poets like Cædmon and his successors wrote poems on Christian subjects; Cædmon, while by other hands materials, originally mythical and heathen, were worked up, as in the Beowulf, into a form not inconsistent with Christianity. Of the former mode of procedure an interesting instance is that of the monk Otfried of Weissenburg, who, in the ninth century, translated the Gospels into German verse; cf. his letter to Liutbert, Archbishop of Mainz: ‘Dum rerum . . . sonus inutitium pulsaret aures quorundam . . . uirorum, eorumque sanctitatem laicorum cantus inquietaret obscenus, a quibusdam . . . fratribus rogatus [sum], maximeque cuiusdam uenerandae matronae uerbis nimium flagitantis, nomine Iudith, [ut] partem euangeliorum: eis Theotisce conscriberem [cf. ‘Franzisce compositam,’ later in the letter; ‘in frenkisga zungun’ in the poem itself]; ut aliquantulum huius cantus lectionis ludum secularium uocum deleteret, et in euangeliorum propria lingua occupati dulcedine, sonum inutitium rerum nouerint declinare;’ Mon. Mog. p. 328 (the whole letter is most interesting). The ‘matrona Judith,’ has been identified by some with the daughter of Charles the Bald, who in 856 married Ethelwulf of England and afterwards his son Ethelbald. For the same princess Professor Cook supposes that the Anglo-Saxon poem of Judith was composed (see his edition, pp. xviii. ff.). Both theories must be regarded as very uncertain; but both are very suggestive, and of great interest to English readers.

nomine Cædmon] The name has been explained to mean ‘boat-man’ from ‘cæd,’ ‘a boat’; and in a seaside place like Whitby this may well have been a common appellation. The name Cædmon. This is at any rate a more probable etymology than the Chaldaean one which Palgrave proposes, Archæologia, xxiv. 342; cf. Wülker, Grundriss, p. 117.

nunc laudare . . . creauit] On the Saxon verses corresponding to this Latin, which are found in some MSS., see the separate note A.

p. 260. non autem ordo] Each language has of course its own peculiarities in the arrangement of words in a sentence; here, poems. Translations of

however, there are special causes of divergence due to the transpositions of words necessitated by the laws of alliterative poetry.

neque enim possunt . . . transferri] Dante, in his own positive way, has said the same: 'nulla cosa per legame musaico armonizzata si può della sua loquela in altra trasmutare, senza rompere tutta sua dolcezza e armonia,' 'nothing that is harmonised by poetical connexion can be changed from its own language to another, without destroying all its harmony and sweetness;' *Convito*, i. 7.

ad ullicum . . . praeerat] 'to ðæm tūngerefan þe his ealdormon wæs,' 'to the townreeve who was his superior,' AS. vers.

propositum] v. c. 23, p. 253.

'Ruminare.'

quasi . . . ruminando] This metaphor, based on Lev. xi. 3, Deut. xiv. 6, is a very favourite one with Bede: e.g. 'haec [mysteria] quasi munda animalia nunc oris locutione ruminanda, nunc cordis penetralibus retractanda seruemus;' *Opp.* v. 31; cf. ib. 13; vii. 35, 354; viii. 32, 340; ix. 109, 348, 358; x. 340; xii. 47.

p. 261. genesis] 'þæt is seo æreste Moyses boc,' 'that is the first book of Moses,' inserts AS. vers.

sacrae scripturae] 'þæs halgan gewrites canones boca,' 'of the books of the canon of holy writ,' AS. vers.

Character of Cædmon.

erat enim . . . accensus] Cf. the character of Lazarus in Brown-ing's *Karshish*:

'Thus is the man as harmless as a lamb;  
Only impatient, let him do his best,  
At ignorance and carelessness and sin—  
An indignation which is promptly curbed.'

casa, in qua . . . solebant] v. *Introd.* p. xxvii; 'untrumra monna hus,' 'a house for the sick,' AS. vers.

Reservation of the Sacrament.

si eucharistiam . . . haberent] 'husl,' 'housel,' AS. vers. The practice of the early Church seems to have been somewhat lax in regard to the reservation of the Sacrament; and in times of persecution greater liberty was necessary, in order that in sudden emergencies the faithful might be able to communicate. The abuses which grew out of this liberty led to its restriction. Exception was always made in favour of the sick, and this exception was retained in our own Church in the first prayer-book of Edward VI (1549), though it was abolished by the second (1552). Here it would seem that the reserved Sacrament was kept in the infirmary of the monastery, so as to be ready in case of any of the inmates becoming suddenly worse; cf. *sup.* c. 14, p. 235; Bright, pp. 278, 279, 344.

p. 262. placidam ego . . . gero] The AS. vers. is very simple

and beautiful here: 'mine broðor mine þa leofan, ic eom swiðe Anglo-Saxon  
bliðemod to eow 7 to eallum Godes monnum,' 'my brothers, my version.  
dear ones, I am in very friendly mood towards you and towards  
all God's men.'

laudes nocturnas] *n.* Introd. p. xxvi. 'uhtsong,' AS. vers.

signans se, &c.] On the virtue of the use of the sign of the cross, Sign of the  
cf. Ep. ad Ecgb. § 15, p. 419. St. Bernard's mother died in the cross.  
very act of signing herself: 'Cum . . . chorus . . . iam peruenisset  
ad illam litanie supplicationem, "Per passionem et crucem tuam  
libera eam Domine," necdum cessans a supplicatione . . . eleuata  
manu, signans se signaculo sanctae crucis, in pace reddidit spiritum.  
. . . Manus, sicut erat erecta ad indicandum signum crucis, sic  
remansit;' S. Bern. Opp. ii. 1283; Morison's St. Bernard, p. 7.  
On the antiquity of this use of the sign of the cross, see D. C. A.  
i. 815.

reclinavit . . . finivit] Cf. the beautiful and most touching Death of  
account of Bishop Thorlak's death; Orig. Island. i. 498. Cf. also Cædmon.  
the account of Wilfrid's death; Eddius, c. 64.4

uitam finivit] The death of Cædmon is often placed in 680 (*e.g.* Date  
by Thorpe, Cædmon, p. xxix; Bouterwek, p. ccxxvi; Wülker,  
Grundriss, p. 116), but for this there is absolutely no evidence,  
except the fact that the narrative of his death in Bede follows on  
that of Hild, which does belong to that year; but this, in the case  
of a writer like Bede, is a most unsafe ground to argue upon. The  
all-devouring Glastonbury has annexed the bones of Cædmon also;  
G. P. p. 254.

## CHAPTER 24. NOTE A.

At the end of the Moore MS., in a hand different from, but Cædmon's  
nearly contemporary with, the hand which wrote the bulk of the hymn,  
MS., occurs the following: Northumbrian ver-  
sion.

'Nu scylun hergēn hebaen ricaes uard  
metudæs maecti end his modgidanc  
uerc uuldur fadur sue he uundra gihuaes  
eci drietin<sup>1</sup> or astelidæ  
he aerist scop aelda barnum  
heben til hrofe haleg scepen.  
tha middun<sup>2</sup> gearð moncynnæs uard  
eci dryetin æfter tiadæ  
firum fold'u' frea allmeectig.'

<sup>1</sup> The scribe at first wrote *n* for *c*, dryetin M<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The scribe at first wrote *min*.

West  
Saxon  
version.

This version is Northumbrian. The hymn occurs on the margin of iv. 24, in other MSS., in a West-Saxon form. The oldest of these MSS. that I have examined is W., where it runs:

'Nu we<sup>1</sup> sculon<sup>2</sup> herian<sup>3</sup> heofonrices we[ard]<sup>4</sup>  
metoðdes<sup>5</sup> mihte<sup>6</sup> 7 hi[s] modgeþanc  
weorc<sup>7</sup> wu[l]dor<sup>8</sup> fæder swa he wu[n]dra gehwile<sup>9</sup>  
ece<sup>10</sup> drih[ten] word<sup>11</sup> astealde  
he<sup>12</sup> [æ]rest<sup>13</sup> gescop<sup>14</sup> ylða<sup>15</sup> [bear]num  
heofen to rofe<sup>16</sup> [halig] scippend<sup>17</sup>  
middan ear[de]<sup>18</sup> mann cynnes<sup>19</sup> weard  
ece<sup>10</sup> drihten æfter tid[a]<sup>20</sup>  
fyrum<sup>21</sup> on<sup>22</sup> foldum<sup>23</sup> frea ealmihti<sup>24</sup>.'

It also occurs in a closely-allied form in the Anglo-Saxon version of Bede. The variations are given below in the critical notes, with the signature Ælf. (for Ælfred). The close connexion of Ælf. and O<sub>3</sub> should be noted. Evidently the scribe or corrector of O<sub>3</sub> simply copied from a MS. of the AS. vers.

Relation  
between  
them.

There can be no doubt: (i) that the Northumbrian and West-Saxon versions are too much alike to be independent of one another. (ii) That the Northumbrian version is very much older than any of the West-Saxon versions. (iii) That being Northumbrian it is more likely to represent what Cædmon actually sang than any of the others. (The transference of poems from one dialect to another is a common feature of AS. literature; cf. Wülker, Grundriss, p. 115.) (iv) That being extant in a MS. not much later than the date of Bede's death, the Northumbrian version must represent what was believed in his time to be a genuine work of Cædmon. The greater number of critics have accepted it as genuine, though some few have regarded it as a mere retranslation of Bede's Latin; cf. Wülker, pp. 117-120. The resemblance between this hymn and the opening lines of the biblical poems which commonly go by the name of Cædmon, is too vague and general to form an argument either for the genuineness of the hymn, or for the authorship of the poems. See the following note.

<sup>1</sup> we om. Ælf.    <sup>2</sup> sceolon O<sub>3</sub>, sculon O<sub>14</sub>.    <sup>3</sup> heri- repeated and underlined MS.; herigeaen Ælf.    <sup>4</sup> MS. defective here and elsewhere.  
<sup>5</sup> metudes O<sub>1</sub>, O<sub>3</sub>, O<sub>11</sub>, O<sub>17</sub>.    <sup>6</sup> myhte O<sub>1</sub>, michte O<sub>14</sub>, meahle Ælf.    <sup>7</sup> wurc O<sub>1</sub>, O<sub>7</sub>.    <sup>8</sup> wulder O<sub>3</sub>.    <sup>9</sup> gehwæs O<sub>3</sub>, Ælf.; gehwylc O<sub>14</sub>.    <sup>10</sup> eche O<sub>11</sub>.    <sup>11</sup> ord O<sub>1</sub>, O<sub>11</sub>, O<sub>7</sub>; ór Ælf.; word astealde om. O<sub>3</sub>; astalde O<sub>17</sub>.  
<sup>12</sup> þa he O<sub>3</sub>.    <sup>13</sup> ærust O<sub>14</sub>.    <sup>14</sup> gesceop O<sub>1</sub>; sceop O<sub>3</sub>, Ælf.    <sup>15</sup> eorðe O<sub>3</sub>.    <sup>16</sup> hrofe O<sub>1</sub>, O<sub>3</sub>, O<sub>11</sub>, Ælf.    <sup>17</sup> scyppend O<sub>1</sub>, O<sub>3</sub>, O<sub>11</sub>, O<sub>17</sub>, Ælf.; O<sub>3</sub> puts these two words at the end after 'frea ealmihtig.'  
<sup>18</sup> -gearde O<sub>7</sub>; þa middangeard O<sub>3</sub>, Ælf.    <sup>19</sup> man- O<sub>1</sub>, O<sub>17</sub>; mon- O<sub>3</sub>; -kynnes O<sub>14</sub>.    <sup>20</sup> teode O<sub>3</sub>, Ælf.    <sup>21</sup> firum O<sub>1</sub>, O<sub>14</sub>, O<sub>17</sub>.    <sup>22</sup> on om. Ælf.    <sup>23</sup> folden O<sub>3</sub>; foldan Ælf.    <sup>24</sup> ealmihtig O<sub>1</sub>, O<sub>3</sub>, O<sub>11</sub>, O<sub>7</sub>, Ælf.

## CHAPTER 24. NOTE B.

In the Bodleian Library at Oxford there exists a unique MS. (Junius xi) which contains four poems, or parts of poems, on biblical subjects. Of these the first three are based on Old Testament themes, Genesis, Exodus, Daniel; while the fourth is founded on the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus. This last is however in a different hand from the rest, and is generally admitted to stand on a different footing; it may therefore be left out of the discussion. Junius, who received this MS. as a present from Archbishop Usher, first published these poems in 1655. Other editions are: Thorpe, 1832; Bouterwek, 1851-1854; and Grein, in his *Bibliothek*, 1857 (now in course of republication by Wülker). Junius attributed these poems to Cædmon, mainly on the ground of the similarity of their subjects to those on which Cædmon is said by Bede to have written. And this attribution though not uncontested, was on the whole accepted until comparatively recent times. That the dialect of the poems is not Northumbrian is not in itself sufficient to disprove the authorship of Cædmon; for we have seen that the transference of poems from one dialect to another was not uncommon. But it must be confessed that there is no evidence, beyond the similarity of subject, to connect these poems with Cædmon; nor is there any evidence, beyond their occurrence in the same volume, to connect them with one another as the work of the same poet. It is possible, if not probable, that all the three poems are by different authors. Nor can we exclude the possibility of modifications and additions by later hands as the poems passed from mouth to mouth, and from dialect to dialect. The individual poet counted for little in those days. He was, as Ten Brink has finely said, only a ripple on the stream of the popular poetry (in Wülker, p. 114). Hence the number of anonymous early poems. The attempt however to separate these later additions, though one to which German critics are extremely partial, is as a rule a hopeless one, and rests on grounds too subjective and arbitrary to carry assurance to any except the particular critic himself, who has often assurance enough and to spare. One such addition however has been proved to exist by arguments which rest on strong objective grounds. Sievers has shown conclusively in his monograph, *Der Heliand und die angelsächsische Genesis* (1875), that the account of the fall of the angels and of the fall of man (Genesis, vv. 246-851) is based on an Old-Saxon original, now lost, nearly related to, or (as Sievers maintains) by the actual author of the

The poems  
of the  
Junius MS.

Attributed  
to Cædmon.

The attribution  
doubtful.

Relation  
to the  
Heliand.

Old-Saxon poem known as the Heliand. If the second part of Sievers' theory were as certain as the first, this would give us a *terminus a quo* for dating the Anglo-Saxon Genesis, for Windisch has shown incontestably that the Heliand is under large obligations to Rhabanus Maurus' commentary on St. Matthew, which was written in the year 820 or 821. But the weak point about this second part of Sievers' theory is that we have no remains of Old-Saxon poetry except the Heliand, and therefore we cannot certainly tell how far the points in which the Genesis resembles the Heliand were peculiar to the author of the latter, or were common characteristics of Old-Saxon poetry; cf. Wülker, pp. 127, 128. And whatever the obligations of the Anglo-Saxon poem to the poetry of the old country, the possibility is not excluded that both may be products of the impulse given by the cowherd bard of Whitby in earlier days; especially if we remember the ecclesiastical intercourse between the two countries from the days of St. Boniface onwards, and the sense of their common origin which survived in the insular and continental Saxons; see on v. 9. On the other hand similar needs and circumstances call forth similar effects; and the Old-Saxon bard may have been led quite independently to use his gift of song to bring nearer to the hearts of his own people the knowledge of that Saviour, Whom it was his mission to preach (cf. the case of Otfried, cited above). Whether, in the one point at which the two cycles of poetry touch, the contact was due to an Anglo-Saxon bard translating from the Old-Saxon, as Sievers thinks, or to an Old-Saxon who settled in Britain, as Ten Brink opines, can never be known. On the whole then we must conclude that, with the exception of the hymn given above, there is nothing that we can, with any degree of certainty, suppose to be the actual work of Cædmon himself. On the other hand, the poems which we do possess, may well enough be due to the impulse which he first gave, and be the work of disciples like those who, as Bede testifies, imitated, without attaining, the master's skill.

## CHAPTER 24. NOTE C.

Parallel  
traditions.  
Hesiod.

The story of poets receiving poetical inspiration supernaturally in a dream or vision is a very ancient one. It is told e.g. of Hesiod; Tzetzes' account is as follows: *συνέβαινε τὸν Ἡσίοδον τοῦτον ἄφρας ἐν τῷ Ἐλικῶνι ποιμαίνειν. φασὶ δὲ ὡς ἐννέα τινὲς ἐλθοῦσαι γυναῖκες, καὶ δρεψάμεναι κλώνας δάφνης: ἐλικωνίτιδος αὐτῷ ἐπεστίτισαν, καὶ οὕτως σοφίας*

ποιητῆς ἐνεμφόρητο [! ἐνεμφορήτο]. Tzetzes then goes on to explain the occurrence as a dream, and to give it an allegorical interpretation. Bouterwek, p. cccxvii cites the Icelandic parallel of Hallbjörn Hallbjörn. the shepherd-bard of Þingvöllr. See Flateyjarbok, i. 214, 215; or Fornmanna Sögur, iii. 102-104. But the closest parallel, if only it were an independent one, would be the following 'Praefatio in librum antiquum lingua Saxonica conscriptum.'

'Cum plurimas reipublicae utilitates Ludouicus piissimus Augustus summo atque praeclaro ingenio prudenter statuere atque ordinare contendat; maxime tamen quod ad sacrosanctam religionem aeternamque animarum salubritatem attinet, studiosus ac deuotus esse comprobatur. Hoc quotidie solícite tractans, ut populum sibi a Deo subiectum sapienter instruendo ad potiora atque excellentiora semper accendat<sup>1</sup>, et nociua quaeque atque superstitiosa comprimendo compescat. In talibus ergo studiis suis iugiter beneuolus uersatur animus, talibus delectamentis pascitur, ut meliora semper augendo multiplicet, et deteriora uetando extinguat. Verum, sicut in aliis innumerabilibus infirmioribusque rebus, eius comprobari potest affectus, ita quoque in hoc magno opusculo sua non mediocriter commendatur beneuolentia. Nam cum diuinorum librorum solummodo literati atque eruditi prius notitiam haberent, eius studio [atque imperii tempore, sed Dei omnipotentia atque inchoantia mirabiliter] actum est nuper, ut cunctus populus suae ditioni subditus, [Theudisca loquens lingua,] eiusdem diuinae lectionis nihilominus notionem acceperit. Praecepit namque cuidam uiro de gente Saxonum, qui apud suos non ignobilis Vates habebatur, ut uetus ac nouum Testamentum in Germanicam linguam poetice transferre<sup>2</sup> studeret, [quatenus non solum literatis, uerum etiam illiteratis sacra diuinorum praeceptorum lectio panderetur.] Qui iussis imperialibus libenter obtemperans [nimirum eo facilius, quo desuper admonitus est prius], ad tam difficile tamque arduum se statim contulit opus: [potius tamen confidens de adiutorio obtemperantiae, quam de suae ingenio paruitatis.]

'Igitur a mundi creatione<sup>3</sup> initium capiens, iuxta historiae ueritatem quaeque excellentiora summatim decerpens, et interdum quaedam, ubi commodum duxit, mystico sensu depingens, ad finem totius ueteris ac noui Testamenti interpretando more poetico satis faceta eloquentia perduxit. [Quod opus tam lucide tamque eleganter iuxta idioma illius linguae composuit, ut audientibus ac

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bede: 'ad . . . appetitum sunt uitae caelestis accensi,' p. 259.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bede: 'in modulationem carminis transferre,' p. 260.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bede: 'canebat . . . de creatione mundi,' ib.



intelligentibus non minimam sui decoris<sup>1</sup> dulcedinem praestet.] Iuxta morem uero illius poematis omne opus per uitteas distinxit, quas nos lectiones uel sententias possumus appellare.

'Ferunt eundem Vatem dum adhuc artis huius penitus esset ignarus<sup>2</sup>, in somnis esse admonitum<sup>3</sup>, ut sacrae legis praecepta ad cantilenam propriae linguae congrua modulatione coaptaret<sup>4</sup>. Quam admonitionem nemo ueram esse ambigit, qui huius carminis notitiam, studiumque eius compositoris atque desiderii anhelationem habuerit. Tanta namque copia uerborum, tantaque excellentia sensuum resplendet, ut cuncta Theudisca poemata suo uinceat decore<sup>5</sup>. Clare quidem pronuntiatione sed clarius intellectu lucet. Sic nimirum omnis diuina agit scriptura. Vt quanto quis eam ardentius appetat, tanto magis cor inquirentis quadam dulcedinis suauitate demulceat<sup>6</sup>. Vt uero studiosi lectoris intentio facilius quaque, ut gesta sunt, possit inuenire, singulis sententiis iuxta quod ratio huius operis postularat, capitula annotata sunt.'

This 'praefatio' is followed by certain 'Versus de poeta,' of which the following are the most important ;

'iuuencos . . .

Laetus et attonitus larga pascebat in herba,  
Cumque fatigatus patulo sub tegmine, fessa  
Conuictus somno tradidisset membra quieto<sup>7</sup> :  
Mox diuina polo resonans uox labitur alto,  
O quid agis, Vates, cur cantus tempora perdis ?  
Incipe diuinas recitare ex ordine leges,  
Transferre in propriam clarissima dogmata linguam.  
Nec mora post tanti fuerat miracula dicti  
Qui prius agricola, mox et fuit ille poeta.

No MS. authority for these pieces has ever been discovered. They were printed first by Flacius Illyricus in 1562 in the second edition of his *Catalogus testium ueritatis*, pp. 93, 94 ; p. 1035 of the ed. of 1608 ; and have been reprinted frequently since, e. g. in Bouquet, vi. 256, and in Sievers' *Heliand*, pp. 3-6. That they are not sixteenth-century forgeries (as J. W. Schulte maintained, *Zeitschr. f. deutsche Phil.* iv. 49 ff.), is shown in the case of the prose,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bede : 'carmina . . . decoris ac dignitatis,' p. 260.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bede : 'nil carminum aliquando didicerat,' p. 259.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bede : 'adstitit ei quidam per somnium,' ib.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bede : 'in sua, id est, Anglorum lingua proferret'; ib. and v. s. p. 255, note<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Bede : 'nullus eum aequiparare potuit'; ib. and v. s. note<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Bede : 'uerbis poeticis maxima suauitate,' p. 258.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Bede : 'membra dedisset sopori,' p. 259.

as Sievers points out, *Heliand*, p. xxv, by the use of the word *uitica* = AS. *fit*, *fit*, ME. *fitte*, a song or poem; which no renaissance scholar could have hit upon; while had any such written the verses, they would have been more classical.

These pieces have always been understood as referring to the Old-Saxon poem of the *Heliand*, to which allusion has already been made. How far they give a true account of its origin need not be discussed here. I would however say that I cannot see that strong contradiction which Sievers and others find between the first and second parts of the 'praefatio.' The subject suggested by the incident, whatever it was, which first revealed to the *Heliand* bard his poetic powers, may have been afterwards executed under imperial orders; just as *Cædmon* is represented as using the materials supplied him by his teachers for the execution of the task which was laid upon him in his dream; and the foot-notes will show that points of contact with Bede's narrative occur in the earlier part of the Preface, as well as in the later. This view of Sievers' necessitates the further assumption of interpolations in the earlier part of the Preface. I have indicated by brackets the portions which Sievers and others believe to be interpolated. It is possible that this may be so in some cases; but I have no great faith in these arbitrary excisions, based on no external authority or evidence. It is true that some of the sentences are clumsy; that others exhibit traces of repetition; but these are phenomena which occur even in the writings of German critics. One sentence ('*nimirum . . . prius*') implies the view taken above that there is no necessary inconsistency between the first and second part of the preface, and therefore must of course be excised. It should be noted that the statement that the *Heliand* bard was originally a herdsman occurs only in the verses and not in the prose preface. Clearly the verses have been much more influenced by the *Cædmon* story than the prose; though the possibility that the latter has also been influenced by it to some extent cannot be excluded. And this possibility diminishes somewhat the interest of the parallel, which if it were wholly independent would be extremely great. The statement that the poet began his work 'a mundi creatione,' lends some slight support to Sievers' view that he was the actual author of the Old-Saxon poem on which is based the interpolated passage in the Anglo-Saxon *Genesis*.

The story of *Cædmon* and others like it rest on two truths; the first, that poetry, like 'every good and perfect gift,' is 'from above'; the second, that in moments of heightened feeling, when 'We feel that we are greater than we know,'

men acquire, or at any rate first become conscious of, the possession of powers previously dormant or non-existent. That some such moment occurred in the life of Cædmon we need not hesitate to believe; though the record of it may have taken on some legendary features. At any rate we shall not seek with Palgrave to get rid of his personality altogether by means of a Chaldaean etymology.

## CHAPTER 25.

Colding-  
ham a  
double  
monastery.

P. 262. *monasterium uirginum*] It is, however, evident from what follows that it was a double monastery of monks and nuns; and so it is expressly described by S. D. i. 59: 'erant siquidem in eodem loco, diuersis tamen separatæ mansionibus, monachorum sanctimonialiumque congregationes, qui paulatim a regularis disciplinae statu defluentes inhonesta inuicem familiaritate decipiendi occasionem inimico præbuerant.' To these disorders S. D. traces the exclusion of women from Cuthbertine churches. Other and still more mythical explanations are given in the so-called Irish Life of St. Cuthbert; Misc. Biogr. pp. 83 ff., on which life, *v. s.* The fact is that the rule is Columbite, and not specially Cuthbertine.

Coludi Urbem] Coldingham. See on c. 19.

Destroyed  
by fire.

per culpam incuriæ] Cf. Sax. Chron. E. 679: 'Her . . . Coludes burh forbarn mid godecundum fyre,' 'Here Coldingham was burnt with heaven-sent fire.' This is improving a little on Bede; though the whole course of his narrative implies that the fire, if caused proximately by human carelessness, was a divine punishment for guilt. On the frequency of fires, cf. on ii. 14. This very phrase occurs ii. 7, p. 94; Vit. Cudb. c. 14. The date given in the Sax. Chron. must be wrong, as Bede clearly implies that the disaster did not take place till after Ebba's death, and we have seen that she was alive in 681. See on c. 19.

Adamnan  
of Colding-  
ham.

p. 263. Adamnanus] The four Masters, *sub. ann.* 703, confuse this Adamnan with the abbot of Iona, who was the biographer of St. Columba.

Sunday  
and Thurs-  
day festal  
days.

die dominica et quinta] Sunday was of course a festal day because of the Resurrection, Thursday because of the Ascension. Cf. AA. SS. Hib. ex Cod. Salm. col. 408: 'angelus Domini ad sanctum Fintanum salutandum duobus in ebdomade diebus semper ueniebat, scilicet die dominica et quinta.'

triduanum] *v. s.* on ii. 2.

p. 264. Aebbæ] *v. s.* on c. 19.

Parallel  
story.

uidi adstantem mihi, &c.] A somewhat similar story is told of Alcuin's monastery at Tours: 'In dormitorio beati Martini duo

Angeli ingressi sunt, unus extendebat indicem; alter monachum, quem ille ostendebat, percutiebat. Unus solus uigilans euasit. . . . Monachi illi . . . nimis delictiosi uiuebant, et sericis induebantur uestibus; calciamenta erant uitrei coloris;’ Bouquet, v. 380.

p. 265. domunculae] The monastery would seem to have been built in the Irish fashion; an enclosure with the church and other public buildings standing up (‘sublimiter erecta,’ *sup.* p. 264) in the centre, and round about them the lodgings of the community, detached huts, probably of wattle or wood. And these Irish monasteries seem to have been built very much on the model of the Eastern *Lauras*—clusters or avenues of cells round the conventual buildings; cf. *Rs. Ad.* p. 360; *D. C. A. i.* 329; *ii.* 1239, 1240.

Structure of monasteries.

comessationum, &c.] ‘Quicumque abrenunciato uinculo coniugali uirginitatem suam Domino consecrauerint, mores simul oportet uirginitati condignos ostendere. Abstineant ab otiosis eloquiis, ira, rixa, detractatione, habitu impudico, comessationibus, potationibus, contentione, et aemulatione; et e contrario uigiliis sanctis, orationibus, lectionibus diuinis, et psalmis, doctrinae et eleemosynis, caeterisque Spiritus fructibus operam impendant, ut qui futurae uitae in professione tenent, in qua non nubent, neque nubentur, sed sunt sicut angeli Dei in coelo;’ *Opp.* viii. 282. The language of the Council of Clovesho, 747 A. D., is strikingly like Bede’s: ‘non sint sanctimonialium domicilia turpium confabulationum, commessationum, ebrietatum, luxuriantiumque cubilia; . . . magisque . . . canendis psalmis, quam texendis et plectendis uario colore inanis gloriae uestibus studeant operam dare,’ c. 20; *H. & S.* iii. 369; cf. *ib.* 374. Cf. also *D. C. A. ii.* 1413, and Alcuin’s exhortations to the monks of Jarrow and Wearmouth, of Lindisfarne, and of Hexham; *Mon. Alc.* pp. 190–193, 197 ff., 374, 375.

Disorders in monasteries.

subtilioribus indumentis] Cf. Bede on Luke vii. 25: ‘nemo existimet in luxu atque studio uestium peccatum deesse, qui si hoc culpa non esset, nullo modo Ioannem Dominus de uestimenti sui asperitate laudasset;’ *Opp.* xi. 47. (This comes ultimately from St. Gregory, and is quoted also by Aldhelm, *Opp.* p. 74). So Bede on 1 Pet. iii. 3: ‘quia, sicut Cyprianus ait, sericum et purpuram indutae Christum induere non possunt;’ *Opp.* xii. 224; cf. xi. 166. The complaints as to excess of apparel in monasteries are extraordinarily frequent. Compare, besides the passages already quoted, *Mon. Alc.* pp. 180–184, 331–336, 366–369, 616–618 = *H. & S.* iii. 494, 502, 520, 532. Aldhelm, *Opp.* p. 77, gives a most curious account of the extravagances of dress in his time.

Luxury in dress.

p. 266. conpresbyter] So ‘conleuita,’ ‘fellow-deacon;’ *Opp.* vi. 78. ob desolationem] i.e. after the fire.

## CHAPTER 26.

Egfrid's  
invasion of  
Ireland.

**Egfrid rex . . . Hiberniam . . . uastauit]** The motive of this invasion is not clear. It may have been mere ambition, the desire of Egfrid to extend his overlordship over the Scots of Ireland, as well as over their kinsmen in Britain. Skene thinks that he wished to prevent the former from helping the latter to throw off the Northumbrian yoke, C. S. i. 265; so, practically, Green, M. E. p. 378; while Rhys suggests that he suspected the Irish of helping the Picts, C. B. pp. 171, 172. Moberly, following Stevenson, thinks that it was connected with the harbouring of Aldfrid among the Irish. But though Aldfrid may have been in Ireland during part of his exile, he was certainly at this time in Iona; see below. Whatever the motive, Bede clearly regards it as an unjust aggression. The Irish Annals naturally mention this invasion; e.g. Ann. Ult. 684: 'Saxones campum Breg uastant, et ecclesias plurimas in mense Iuni.' 'Campus Breg,' in Irish Magh Bregh, was 'in the east portion of ancient Meath. In after times the name was applied to the extensive tract of country reaching from Dublin northwards to near Dundalk, and north-westwards to the Fewa Mountains;' Rs. Ad. p. 74.

Imprecations  
of  
Irish  
saints.

pietatis] 'pity,' so that 'impietatis' below probably means 'cruelty,' though the sense of 'impiety' would also suit well.

imprecationibus] Drs. Reeves (Ad. p. lxxvii) and Bright (p. 330) have both called attention to the fondness of the Irish saints for this weapon. It would be easy to add largely to the references which they have given. The frequency with which Irish saints distribute curses both temporal and eternal, is indeed remarkable in persons with a reputation for holiness. There is a regular technical name in Irish, *fácbala* (lit. 'leavings'), for the blessings or curses left by Irish saints to particular families or territories; Three Fragments, p. 186. For alleged fulfilments of these particular curses see H. H. p. 109; R. W. i. 196; and Notes to Sax. Chron. 699 E.

Egfrid and  
the Picts.

**Pictorum prouinciam]** On the probable course taken by Egfrid's invasion see S. C. S. i. 266. At the beginning of Egfrid's reign, before his separation from Ethelthryth, the Picts, 'populi bestiales Pictorum,' had tried to throw off the 'Saxon' yoke, but unsuccessfully: 'et in seruitutem redacti populi usque ad diem occisionis regis captiuitatis iugo subiecti iacebant;' Eddius, c. 19; cf. Eadmer's Life of Wilfrid, cc. 20, 21. But after his quarrel with Wilfrid all went wrong with Egfrid, Eddius, c. 24; cf. on c. 12.

Cudbercto] On him v. cc. 27-32. A year before he was said to

have prophesied the death of Egfrid to his sister Elflæd; Baed. Vit. Cudb. c. 24; Vit. Anon. § 28. At the time of Egfrid's death he was with the queen Eormenburg at Carlisle, and received a revelation of the issue of the fray; Baed. Vit. Cudb. c. 27; Vit. Anon. § 37. Eormenburg, after the death of Egfrid, took the veil, 'de lupa post occisionem regis, agna Dei, et perfecta abbatisa, materque familias optima commutata;' Eddius, c. 24. There is an extraordinary story in Eadmer's life of Wilfrid, c. 43, how that Wilfrid, while celebrating mass in Sussex, not merely saw the death of Egfrid, but saw his soul carried off to hell by two evil spirits. In c. 57 he adds this: 'illud quod dixi de damnatione regis Ecfredi fateor nusquam legi; sed tot talesque uiri id ita se habuisse confirmant, ut eis nolle credere magnæ impudentiæ esse crediderim.'

The Irish annals mention this battle also; e.g. Ann. Ult. 685, 'Bellum Duin Nechtain <sup>xx<sup>mo</sup></sup> die mensi Maii, sabbati die factum est, in quo Etrith [Ecfrið] mac Ossu rex Saxonum, <sup>xv<sup>mo</sup></sup> anno regni sui consummato, magna cum caterua militum suorum interfectus est;' Tigh. adds, 'la [per] Bruidi mac Bili regis Fortrenn.' May 20 was a Saturday in 685. S. D. i. 32 says: 'Rex Egfridus . . . extinctus est apud Nechtanesmere, quod est stagnum Nechtani, die xiii. Kal. Iuniarum, anno regni sui xv, cuius corpus in Hii, insula Columbae, sepultum est.' 'Dún Nechtain,' 'Nechtan's fort' is Dunnichen near Forfar, called Dunnechtyn in a charter of William the Lion. 'Nechtan's Mere' is Dunnichen Moss; Rs. Ad. pp. 186, 187. The Sax. Chron. E. 685 says that Egfrid fell 'be norðan sæ,' 'to the North of the Sea,' i.e. of the Forth. Nennius, § 57, calls the battle: 'Gueith Linn Garan,' i.e. 'Fight of the pool of Garan.' He also says: 'Echfrid . . . fecit bellum contra fratruelem suum, qui erat rex Pictorum, nomine Birdei [= Brude mac Bili], et ibi corruit cum omni robore exercitus sui.' The relationship indicated by 'fratruelem' (itself a vague word, v. Ducange) is here very vague. Brude mac Bili seems to have succeeded according to the Pictish law of succession in right of his mother, a daughter of Talorg, son of Eanfrid, Oswy's eldest brother; see on iii. 1; P. & S. p. cxxi. Thus he was Egfrid's first cousin twice removed. He died in 692; Ann. Ult.

p. 267. regni . . . XV.] See on c. 5.

Scottiam] Ireland, as always in Bede.

nam et Picti, &c.] Nennius u. s. says: 'et nunquam addiderunt Saxones ambronum [? Humbronum = Hymbronensium; c. 17, *supra*; cf. Nenn. § 63, where this also yields a good sense, and where one MS. gives the absurd gloss: id est, Ald Saxonum] ut a Pictis uectigal exigerent.' Capgrave, in his life of Wilfrid, H. Y. i. 503,

Legends about Egfrid's death.

Battle of Nechtanesmere.

says : 'expulsi . . . sunt Angli de prouincia illa, et pars regni Berniciorum a mari Scotorum (the Forth) usque Twedam, usque tunc regibus Northanhumborum subiecta, omnino ablata est, nec usque ad nostram aetatem in statum pristinum et subiectionem, occulto Dei aduersante iudicio, redigi potuit.' But this is a transference to 685 of a later state of things. The frontier probably remained at the Forth, but much exposed to inroads of the Picts, so that Bishop Trumwine had to fly, and a small body of nuns, 'timore barbarici exercitus,' took refuge in Cuthbert's diocese; Vit. Cudb. c. 30. Sig. Gembl. sums up the situation thus: 'Picti, Scotti, et Brittones Anglos nimis premunt, et libertate . . . recepta, multam Angliae partem inuadunt;' Pertz, vi. 327.

per annos . . . XLVI] *i.e.* Bede wrote about 731.

Aebbercurnig] See on i. 12. H. H. calls Trumwine 'abbas Ebercurni,' p. 106.

**Boundaries of the Picts and Angles.** Anglorum terras Pictorumque] This refers to the limits of the territories (terras) of the two powers, and does not exclude the possibility that elements of both populations may have coexisted on either side of the Forth; cf. P. & S. p. cvii; S. C. S. i. 133; Rhŷs, C. B. p. 112.

**Dispersion of religious houses.** eosque . . . commendans] So in later times, owing to the incursions of the Scots, the archbishop of York had frequently to beg shelter for the Augustinian canons of Hexham in other religious houses; Raine's Hexham, I. lxxxvi, xcii f.

conditus est] His remains also were absorbed by Glastonbury; G. P. p. 254.

**Hereditary succession in monasteries.** Aelbfled, una cum matre Eanflæde] In many Irish monasteries a system of clanship prevailed, and the abbacy and other chief offices were as a rule in the hands of members of the founder's clan. In some cases this clan system developed into strict hereditary succession; the result of which was the practical alienation of the endowments from ecclesiastical uses; Rs. Ad. pp. lxxiii. 84, 113, 335, 336, 342; cf. Maine, Early Institutions, p. 238. Nothing answering to the Irish clan system ever prevailed in English monasteries; but there are indications of a tendency to something like hereditary succession. Benedict Biscop cautions the monks of Wearmouth against electing an abbot 'secundum genus;' Hist. Abb. § 11; 'iuxta successionem generis;' Hist. Anon. Abb. § 16. Here we have Eanflæd and her daughter Elfled ruling Whitby (cf. App. I. § 18, and a similar case in Mon. Mog. pp. 66 ff.); in v. 3 we are told of Cwenburg, daughter of Hereburg, Abbess of Vetadun (Watton), that the latter 'abbatissam eam pro se facere disposuerat.' Moreover the letter to Egbert, § 12, complains that men

'emunt sibi sub praetextu construendorum monasteriorum territoria, . . . et haec . . . in ius sibi haereditarium regalibus edictis faciunt asseribi.' An instance of one of these hereditary monasteries occurs in a charter given in H. & S. iii. 337, 338; K. C. D. No. 82; Birch, i. 225, 226. Other cases are quoted S. C. H. i. 223-225; cf. also H. & S. iii. 408. We have brothers succeeding one another, S. D. i. 281, 282.

quarum . . . mentionem] iii. 24, p. 179, q. v.

p. 268. Aldfrid] In Vit. Cudb. c. 24, Bede speaks much as here Aldfrid. 'qui ferebatur filius fuisse [Osuiu];' but lower in the same chapter, and in Vita Metr. c. 21, he calls him Egfrid's 'frater nothus;' cf. Ælfrie, Hom. ed. Thorpe, ii. 148: 'cyfeshoren.' A year before, Cuthbert had foretold his succession: 'et tunc in insulis Scottorum ob studium literarum exsulabat.' Vita Cudb. u. s. The Vita Anon. § 28, says more definitely: 'tunc erat in insula quam Hy nominant.' He had been for some time an exile: 'non paucis antea temporibus in regionibus Scottorum lectioni operam dabat, ipse ob amorem sapientiae spontaneum passus exsilium;' Vita Cudb. c. 24; Vita Metr. c. 21. The 'regiones Scottorum,' may well include Ireland, and so W. M.: 'in Hiberniam . . . secesserat,' i. 57. Egfrid had wished to make him a bishop, perhaps with the idea of excluding him from the succession to the crown, but he declined on the ground of his unworthiness; Vita Anon., and Vita Cudb. u. s. Hence we may doubt if his exile was wholly voluntary; and so W. M. u. s.: 'seu ui seu indignatione secesserat.' He was known as Fland Fina among the Irish; Fina, according to the Irish authorities, being the name of his mother; Rs. Ad. p. 185. Irish poems attributed to him are still extant. Cf. LL. 31-38; ib. Introd. p. 20; L. Br. 12 b-29; Rs. Ad. pp. xlv. f. 185, 186, 376; Three Fragments, p. 111; Hardiman's Irish Minstrelsy, ii. 372. If he was half Irish by birth, his Irish predilections are accounted for. All authorities agree as to his great learning. Bede calls him here 'uir . . . doctissimus,' below, v. 12, p. 309: 'uir undecumque doctissimus;' Eddius, cc. 44, 49, calls him 'rex sapientissimus.' Alcuin says of him:

'Qui sacris fuerat studiis imbutus ab annis

Aetatis primae, ualido sermone sophista,

Acer et ingenio, idem rex simul atque magister.'

De Sanctis Ebor. vv. 843 ff.; cf. W. M. u. s.: 'omni philosophia composuerat animum.' He was, in fact, the philosopher-king; cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 384. The Irish call him, 'in t-ecnaid amra, dalta Adamnain,' 'the wondrous sage, Adamnan's pupil;' Three Fragments, p. 111; 'ardsui Erenn eolusa,' 'Erin's chief sage of



learning;’ *Ra. Ad.* p. 186. We find him giving eight hides of land for a MS. of the cosmographers ‘*mirandi operis*;’ *Hab.* § 15. For his relations with the learned Aldhelm, see on v. 18. An ancient ritual in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham is said to have belonged to him, but is not really older than the ninth century; v. *Rituale Eccles. Dunelm.* p. x, *Surtees Society*, 1840. He is said to have married Cuthburga, a sister of Ini of Wessex, who left him to become a nun at Barking under Hildilid (see on iv. 10), and ultimately became foundress and abbess of Wimborne; *W. M. i.* 35; *Hardy, Cat. u. s.*; *Mab. AA. SS. III. i.* 299 ff.; *D. C. B. i.* 730.

nobiliter recuperavit] The *Vit. Anon. Cudb.* § 28, speaks of him as: ‘*Alfridus qui nunc regnat pacifice.*’ In the *Vit. Metr. c.* 21, Bede says:

‘*Utque nouus Iosia, fideque animoque magis quam  
Annis maturus, nostrum regit inclitus orbem.*’

This seems distinctly against the assertion of *W. M. u. s.* accepted by Smith, that he was older than Egfrid, as in that case he would be more than forty at the time of his accession. *W. M.* adds: ‘*summa pace et gaudio prouinciae praefuit; nihil unquam, praeter in persecutione magni Wilfridi, quod liuor edax digne carpere possit admittens.*’

Death of  
Hlothhere  
of Kent.

VIII. Id. Febr.] i.e. Feb. 6, 685. In *a. 5. ad fin.* Bede says that he reigned eleven years and seven months, which is more correct, seeing that he succeeded in July, 673, ib.

Edric.

Edric . . . regnauit] ‘*sine amore et reuerentia Centensium,*’ adds *H. H. p.* 106. In the *Ann. Lindisfarn. et Cantuar.*, *Pertz*, iv. 2, his ‘*depositio*’ is noted at Aug. 31, 687. Bede’s statement that he reigned a year and a half, would place his death in Aug. 686. Prior to his exile he seems to have reigned in conjunction with his uncle Hlothhere. There is a short Kentish Code which bears their joint names. *Thorpe, Ancient Laws*, i. 26 ff. *Schmid, Gesetze*, pp. 10 ff.

Irregular  
succession  
in Kent.

aliquod . . . spatium] If Edric died Aug. 686, and Witred succeeded, Oct. 690 (see on v. 8, 23), the ‘*aliquod spatium*’ would be rather over four years. *Elmham* makes it six years, p. 253; but then he includes the reign of Edric ‘*infra perturbatae regiae successionis . . . limites,*’ p. 287; cf. next note.

reges . . . externi] *Sig. Gembl.* seems to understand this as a regular foreign invasion of ‘*England,*’ 687; ‘*Edrich Anglorum rege mortuo, externi reges regnum Angliae disperdunt et discindunt annis IV.*’ 691: ‘*Wichtred . . . gentem Anglorum ab oppressione exterorum liberat;*’ *Pertz*, vi. 327, 328. The sense given to the

phrase by H. H. p. 106: 'extraneus a regali prosapia,' is doubtless the right one, though he wrongly makes Edric himself one of these 'reges extranei.' This disturbance of the Kentish succession was due to the encroachments of Wessex under Cædwalla and his brother Mul; v. Sax. Chron. 685-687, 694; Mul being apparently set up for a short time as king. Elmham, pp. 237, 252, 253: 'iste uero Mulo in catalogo regum Cantiae annotari non debet.'

Uictred] See on v. 8, *ad fin.*

## CHAPTER 27.

Cudberetum] 'No saint has left so deep an impression on the St. Cuthbert. memory of the Anglo-Saxon nation as Cuthbert;' Werner, p. 66. For later lives of him, see Hardy, Cat. i. 296-317, ii. 256; and add to the list there given, the Metrical life in Northern English, recently edited for the Surtees Society by the Rev. J. T. Fowler, of Durham, from a MS. at Castle Howard; cf. also Opp. Min. pp. 200, 201. For the alleged Irish origin of St. Cuthbert, see the Libellus de Ortu printed in Biogr. Misc. pp. 63-87, of which an analysis may be found in Hardy, i. 310-313. The whole composition is of the most worthless character, in the most abject style of hagiology. It is extraordinary that Dr. Reeves (Adamn. pp. ix-xi, 296, 297), should have attached any value to its statements. Mr. Skene (C. S. ii. 205), goes so far as to suggest that Bede *suppressed* the Irish origin of St. Cuthbert in deference to criticisms. 'The Irish life' (i.e. the Libellus), he says, was 'recognised by the monks of Durham as *early* (!) as the fourteenth century,' i.e. seven hundred years after the saint's death. When we remember that an Irish pedigree has been made out for St. Gregory (v. s. on ii. 1), we shall know how to estimate these statements. The editors of the AA. SS. Mart. iii. 95, 96, have spent more labour on the criticism of this composition than it is worth. There is an excellent article on the same question by the Rev. George Phillips in the Ushaw Magazine for June, 1892, for a copy of which I am indebted to the author's kindness. There is a good sketch of Cuthbert by Canon Raine in D. C. B.; cf. his Hexham, i. 26.

Farne] For his life on Farne, cf. the next chapter, and cc 17-22, of Bede's Prose life, with the corresponding §§ 20, 23-27, of the Vita Anon.

pueritiae] For a story of his childhood, v. Bede, Vita Cudb. c. 1; Vita Anon. §§ 4, 5.

p. 269. Mailros] Melrose. His entry into the monastic life was

He enters  
Melrose.

occasioned by a vision which he had on the banks of the Leader of the soul of Aidan being taken up to heaven; *Vita Pros.* c. 4; *Vita Anon.* § 8. It must therefore have been in 651; and so *Ann. Lindisf.*, Pertz, xix. 504.

*propositus*] 'profost 7 regolweard,' 'provost and guardian of the rule,' *AS. vers.* For the latter word, cf. *K. C. D.* No. 226; *Birch*, No. 330.

Boisil.

*Boisil*] For his reception of St. Cuthbert, see *Vita Pros.* c. 6; which rests on the evidence of the eye-witness who was still alive when Bede wrote. There is nothing corresponding to this in the *Vita Anon.* His name is perpetuated in the little town of St. Boswells on the Tweed, east of Melrose, famous for its sheep fair, and in the dedication of the church at Tweedmouth; *Bright*, p. 186; *Bates*, *On the Names . . . in the early lives of St. Cuthbert*, p. 8; cf. the name of Bosel, Bishop of the Hwiccas, c. 23, p. 255, and the family name Boswell.

His death.

*postquam migravit ad Dominum*] See the beautiful account of his death, so like Bede's own, in *Vit. Pros.* c. 8. On the date, cf. on iii. 27. Durham claimed to possess his relics, obtained by the great relic hunter Alfred the sacrist; *S. D. i.* 88, 221.

Amulets.

*fyllacteria*] 'amulets.' The word in the *Vita Cudb.* is 'ligaturas'; v. *Ducange* under both words. St. Boniface in 742 complains to Pope Zacharias that these things were said to be not unknown in Rome itself: 'dicunt . . . se uidiase ibi mulieres pagano ritu filacteria et ligaturas et in brachiis et cruris (sic) ligatas habere, et publice ad uendendum uenales ad comparandum aliis offerre'; *Mon. Mog.* p. 115. Zacharias, in 743, declares that he has suppressed these practices, *ib.* 120-121. Alcuin complains of the same thing to Ethelhard, Archbishop of Canterbury (793-805): 'Multas uidebam consuetudines que fieri non debebant . . . Nam ligaturas portant quasi sanctum quid estimantes'; *Mon. Alc.* p. 719; cf. *ib.* 886; *D. C. A.* i. 78, 79, ii. 990-992. The word is used, without any bad significance, of a cross containing relics; *Raine's Hexham*, i. 55; cf. *Ltft.*, *App. Ff. II.* ii. 534. On magic, &c., cf. *Cockayne*, *Anglo-Saxon Leechdoms*, I. xxix. ff., cited by *M. & L.* p. 351.

Early zeal.

*erat quippe moris, &c.*] Cf. *sup.* iii. 26, *ad fin.*; *Ep. ad Egb.* § 4, *ad fin.* See also Bede on *Mark* iii. 20: 'utinam, Domine Iesu, et in nostri temporibus aevi tantum gratiae tuis fidelibus largiaris, qui doctores suos assiduitate discendi . . . ab ipsa quoque panis quotidiani perceptione praepediant'; and on vi. 31: 'ubi magna temporis illius felicitas de labore docentium simul et discen- tium studio demonstratur, quae utinam nostro in aeuo rediret, ut.

tanta ministris uerbi frequentia fidelium insistat auditorum, quae nec liberum eis curandi corporis spatium concedat;’ Opp. x. 49, 93; cf. Introduction, p. xxxv.

p. 270. in Mailronensi monasterio] ‘in Mægilros ðæm mynstre,’ AS. vers.

Eata] Cf. on iii. 26. He had originally admitted Cuthbert as Eata, monk; Vita Pros. c. 8. For the date of Cuthbert’s transference to Lindisfarne, see on iii. 27 and next note.

auctoritate propositi] Cf. Ann. Lindisf. 664: ‘Committitur . . . Cuthbert ecclesia Lindisfarnensis Eatano abbati, ubi Sanctus Cuthbertus prior of constituitur prior;’ Pertz, xix. 504; cf. Fl. Wig. ad ann. 664. Lindis-  
farno. Part of the ‘regularis disciplina’ which Cuthbert would have to teach at Lindisfarne would be the observance of the Roman Easter, &c. in accordance with the decision of the Synod of Whitby. He had much opposition to endure from those, ‘qui priscae suae consuetudini, quam regulari mallent obtemperare custodiae; quos tamen ille modesta patientiae suae uirtute superabat,’ &c.; Vita Cudb. c. 16. The whole passage is very beautiful.

familiariter] i. e. ‘in the manner of a familia, as his household,’ ‘heowesclice,’ AS. vers.

Aidan qui primus, &c.] See note on iii. 4.

p. 271. omnia communia] See on c. 23, p. 254. After this in Vita Pros. c. 16, comes a most beautiful sketch of Cuthbert’s character; cf. ib. c. 22. For traditional accounts of his personal appearance, cf. S. D. i. 204, 231, 232.

## CHAPTER 28.

peruenit] In 676. Ann. Lindisf. ‘Cuthbertus intrat Farne, ubi Cuthbert  
ix annos terit;’ Pertz, xix. 504. So Fl. Wig. i. 34; cf. Ang. Sac. on Farne. .  
i. 155; S. D. i. 30.

de uita illius . . . conscripsimus] On Bede’s two lives of Cuthbert and the dates at which they were written, v. Introduction, pp. xlv, cxlvi, cxlviii; *infra*, p. 297.

spirituum . . . accommodus] Cf. Rs. Ad. p. 206; Camb. Brit. Saints, p. 8: ‘Sanctus Bernacus . . . locum illum a spiritibus im-mundis liberauit, quem ipsi omni nocte oberrantes . . . usque ad illum diem inhabitabilem reddiderunt.’

circumuallante aggere] ‘mid dice 7 mid eorðwealle utan ymb-sealde,’ ‘surrounded it outside with a ditch and earth-wall,’ AS. vers.

p. 272. multis . . . annis] Over eight, v. s. note 1; for the Synod of Twyford was in 684, ‘imminente hieme,’ p. 273; and Cuthbert

was consecrated at the following Easter of 685; *infra*, and cf. c. 27, *ad init.*; H. & S. iii. 166; Fl. Wig. i. 38. Twyford has been identified with Alnmouth; Bright, p. 331. A spurious grant by Egfrid to Cuthbert is represented as made in this synod; K. C. D. No. 25; Birch, No. 66.

omnium consensu] 'ealra þara weotena,' 'of all the wise men, or counsellors,' AS. vers.

eligeretur] 'ab Egfrido rege et episcopis Saxonum;' Vita Anon. § 30.

Trumwine. Trumuine] It may have been on this occasion that Cuthbert told him the story of his childhood, Vit. Pros. c. 1, which Bede introduces with the words: 'sicut . . . Trumuine episcopus ab ipso Cudbercto sibi dictum perhibebat;' cf. Vita Anon. § 4, where, and in § 30, Trumwine is called Tuma.

multum renitens] Cf. ii. 1, p. 74 note.

Boisil. Boisil] 'þæs mæran *biscespes* Bóisiles,' 'the glorious bishop Boisil;' Ælfrie, Hom. ed. Thorpe, ii. 148. This is an inference (probably a wrong one) from the term 'sacerdos,' applied to Boisil in c. 27; see on i. 28.

p. 273. in ipsa . . . paschali] Easter Day in 685 was on March 26. primatum] 'ealdordom,' AS. vers.

Deposition of Tunbert. depositus] 'post triennium pro culpa cuiusdam inobedientiae;' Vita Eatae in Biogr. Misc. p. 123. As Tunbert was consecrated in 681 this date is correct. The cause assigned for his deposition is identical with that which Bede gives in the case of Wynfrid; c. 6.

cui . . . ordinatus] This is not quite accurate; see notes on iii. 26; iv. 12.

The gift of tears. profusus . . . lacrimis] Cf. Bede on Exod. xxx. 18: 'labrum hoc ablutionem nobis compunctionis et lachrymarum commendat, qua semper opus habemus, maxime autem cum mysteriis coelestibus ministraturi appropriemus;' Opp. vii. 364. So of Dunstan it is recorded: 'quoties aliquod . . . opus . . . exerceat . . . in quibuslibet rerum diuinarum institutionibus, hoc semper nimio rore lacrymarum peregit, quas inuisibilis habitator, Sanctus quoque Spiritus . . . ex oculorum riuulis potenter elicit;' Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 50; cf. ib. 379. Dr. Stubbs, in his Preface, speaks of 'that gift of tears which is so curiously unintelligible at the present day;' ib. lix. Of Alcuin, on the other hand, it is said: 'orationem . . . multis cum gemitibus, nam lacrimas perraro habere poterat, fundebat;' Mon. Alc. p. 20.

## CHAPTER 29.

P. 274. Duobus . . . peractis] Therefore in 687.

repetiit insulam] Smith suggests that Cuthbert may have retired in order to avoid a conflict with Wilfrid on his restoration; p. 754-

uel uitae magis] v. Intro. p. lxvii.

in insula stagni illius, &c.] St. Herbert's Isle in Derwentwater. Herbert of Smith has printed in his Bede, App. xxiii, an instrument of Thomas Appleby, Bishop of Carlisle 1374, addressed to the Vicar of Crosthwaite, saying that he had been recently reading Bede's account of Herbert and St. Cuthbert, 'et quia hoc sanctum factum plurimis ac fere omnibus credimus esse incognitum, . . . tibi mandamus . . . quatenus . . . XIII<sup>o</sup> die Aprilius ad . . . insulam Herberti accedens, . . . missam de Sancto Cuthberto etiam cum nota facias celebrari, . . . adiiciens ad hoc quod omnibus . . . dicto die ad locum praedictum causa deuotionis et in honorem Sancti Cuthberti et ad memoriam dicti Herberti accedentibus XL dies Indulgentiae concedimus per praesentes;' where 'Kal.' has been omitted before 'Apr.' See below. The Vita Anon. § 38, speaks of Herbert as coming to Cuthbert 'ab insulis occidentalis maris'; where 'mare' corresponds with the English 'mere'; and the 'occidentale mare' is the 'west mere,' which we get corrupted in the name Westmoreland. So of the marshes round Ely: 'pisces capiuntur in aquis quae maria uocantur;' Lib. Eli. p. 4. One of these, the 'Mare de Straham,' is mentioned by name, ib.

Deruentionis fluii] 'Deorwentan streames,' AS. vers. The Derwent.

hic cum . . . deuenisse] As he used to visit St. Cuthbert annually, this last visit must have been in 686, the year before Cuthbert's death; and the Vita Pros. c. 28 places it 'non multo post' the death of Egfrid in 685.

qui dum, &c.] The AS. vers. inserts: 'hie . . . spræcon be haligra fædera life,' 'they spoke about the life of holy fathers;' cf. c. 3, *supra*, p. 211: 'cum . . . de uita priorum patrum sermonem facerent;' where the AS. vers. has the same words.

p. 275. incubuit precibus antistes] 'þa aþenede se hiscop hine in 'Cross-cruc 7 hine gebæd,' 'then the bishop extended himself in a cross and prayed,' AS. vers. So when Cuthbert saw the vision of Aidan's soul taken to heaven (*v.s.*), the later life, printed in S. D. i. 196 ff., says: 'cum dormientibus sociis suis super pecora uigilaret, et in modum crucis positus oraret, uidit animam,' &c. Alcuin, on the outbreak of a fire in his monastery going to the tomb of St. Martin

'extendit se super terram in cruce,' and the fire was stayed; Mon. Alc. p. 26; cf. ib. 20: 'orationem cum manuum diutina crucis extensione . . . fundebat.' So in Poetae Lat. Aevi Carol. ii. 269: 'in ipsa . . . immensitate timoris anxius proruit in terram . . . distenso omni corpore in crucis modum;' cf. ib. 313; Pertz, xxvi. 216. The Irish called it 'crosfigil'; see O'Clery's Glossary, s. v. It was a recognised form of penance, especially in monasteries, v. Ducange, s. v. *crux* under the heading 'Ad Crucem extensis Brachiis stare.' Ducange gives only instances of the penitential use, which was often combined with the recitation of penitential and other psalms; cf. D. C. A. ii. 1320. It occurs frequently in the Irish Penitential previously cited from MS. Rawl. B 512 ff. 42-44.

XIII<sup>o</sup> Kal. Apr.] March 20, a Wednesday in 687.

diutina] Smith followed by M. H. B., Stevenson, Hussey, and Moberly has the absurd reading 'diuina,' against all MSS., and against the Vita Pros. and the AS. vers.

Cuthbert's  
death,

obiit autem, &c.] See the account of his last sufferings and death, derived from an eye-witness, in Vita Pros. cc. 37-40: 'cuius obitum . . . relatione didici . . . Herefridi, . . . deuotae religionis presbyteri, qui etiam tunc Lindisfarnensi monasterio abbatis iure praefuit;' ib. c. 37. His death was signalled to Lindisfarne where the monks were celebrating 'nocturnae psalmodiae sollemnia' (Matins). As the messenger entered the church they were singing Ps. lix (lx) 'Deus repulisti nos,' which forms part of the office for Matins on Wednesday both in the Roman and Benedictine Breviaries. This coincidence was regarded as prophetic of the troubles which fell upon the monks between the death of Cuthbert and the election of Eadbert, the nature of which is not explained.

multum deprecatus] The reason which he gave was the trouble which would be brought upon the monastery by criminals and other fugitives taking refuge at his tomb; Vita Cudb. c. 37; Opp. Min. p. 121.

and burial.

deponeretur] He was buried in a sarcophagus which had been given him by Abbot Cudda as a present, Vita Pros. c. 37; 'capite sudario circumdato, oblati super sanctum pectus positus, uestimenta sacerdotalia indutus, in obuiam Christi calceamentis suis praeparatis, in sindone cerata curatus;' Vit. Anon. § 42. For the 'oblata' ('hostia nondum consecrata') and the custom of placing such oblatæ on the breast of the dead, v. Ducange, s. v., who only gives one other instance of the custom besides the present passage. The 'calceamenta,' though a Christian significance is given to them, 'in obuiam Christi,' are probably derived from the 'hell-shoon' with which it was the custom in heathen times to bind the

feet of a corpse; cf. *Gísla Saga*, Orig. Isl. ii. 208: 'þat er tízka . . . at binda mönnum hel-skúa, þá er þeir skulu ganga á til Valhallar,' 'that is customary, to bind hellshoon on men on which they may walk to Valhalla,' cf. Dasent, *Gisli the Outlaw*, pp. xxiv, 44, 45.

**Eadbert**] He has been mentioned at the beginning of iii. 25. Eadbert. Alcuin, *De Clade Lindisf. Monast.* vv. 169, 170, attributes a miracle to him which is not related by Bede:

'Conposuit precibus Eadbert minitancia mortem

Flabra, pius praesul uester et ipse pater.'

*elimosynarum*] v. *Introd.* § 17, *ad fin.*

## CHAPTER 30.

P. 276. annis XI] i. e. 698.

quod . . . placuisse] 'þæt him ðæt licede 7 leof wære gif hit his willa wære,' 'that they were minded and desirous if it were his will,' AS. vers.

antistiti suo] 'medio ferme quadragesimae tempore,' Vit. Pros.

die depositionis eius] 'quae est XIII<sup>a</sup> Kal. Apr.,' ib.; which shows that he was buried on the day of his death; cf. *supra*, cc. 14, 19. 'ðy dæge þe his gemynddæg wære, 7 his forðfór,' 'on the day which was his anniversary and his obit,' AS. vers.

inuenerunt corpus, &c.] The same was found to be the case in 1104 when the body was transferred to the new cathedral at Durham; S. D. i. 247-261. Simeon himself took part in the translation: illi gratias referamus, quibus incorruptum corpus eius CCC<sup>o</sup> et XVIII<sup>o</sup> dormitionis eius anno, quamuis indignis diuina gratia uidere et manibus quoque contrectare donauit,' ib. 34, 35; cf. Reginaldi Dunelm. Libellus de Beati Cuthb. Virtutibus, c. 40 (Surtees Soc.). See for the history of St. Cuthbert's relics, Raine, *St. Cuthbert*, 1828. Dunstan enforced the truth of the incorruption of the remains of St. Edmund by asserting to Abbo of Fleury: 'quia sanctus . . . Cuthbertus . . . non solum adhuc expectat diem primae resurrectionis incorrupto corpore sed etiam perfusus quodam blando tepore;' Stubbs' *Dunstan*, p. 379.

in hoc . . . agere] So of St. Kentigern: 'omni quadregesimali tempore ad deserta loca secedebat;' N. & K. p. 188.

p. 277. pridie Non. Maias] May 6.

migrauit ad Dominum] 'impetrato ab Eo munere, quod diligentiissime petierat, uidelicet, ut non repentina morte, sed longa excoctus aegritudine, transiret e corpore;' Vita Pros.

cuius corpus, &c.] Cf. *Hist. Abb.* § 20. His relics shared the

Translation  
of St. Cuth-  
bert.

Death of  
Eadbert.



wanderings of those of Cuthbert, and ultimately rested with them at Durham; D. C. B. ii. 3.

*quae nos nuper audisse contigit*] When Bede wrote the preface to the Prose Life of Cuthbert he was already in possession of additional materials which he did not care to use; Opp. Min. p. 47. In MS. Fairfax 6 the two following chapters are added to Bede's Prose Life of St. Cuthbert, in order to make it more complete.

### CHAPTER 31.

p. 278. *hospitum . . . deseruiens*] Cf. Introd. p. xxviii. *hospitale*] 'cumena bur,' 'guest's bower,' AS. vers. Cf. 'cumena hús,' Ælfric, Hom. ed. Thorpe, ii. 136.

*paralysis langore*] 'mid þa aðle . . . þe Grecas nemnað *paralysis* 7 we cweðað lyft adl,' 'with that disease which the Greeks name paralysis and we call "lyft-adl,"' AS. vers. So Bede, Vita Cudb. c. 45: 'ea quam Graeci paralysin uocant infirmitas;' Opp. Min. p. 133.

p. 279. *Domino . . . referens*] '7 þæm halgan were his ful-tomes gyfe,' 'and to the saint for the gift of his help,' adds AS. vers.

### CHAPTER 32.

*ante triennium*] i. e. in 728.

*Dacore*] A small stream which gives its name to the parish and Castle of Dacre near Penrith; cf. W. M. i. 147.

*pigmentorum*] 'pigmentum, potio ex melle et uino et diuersis speciebus confecta;' Ducange.

p. 280. *qui nunc . . . est*] 'se æfter wæs,' 'who afterwards was,' AS. vers.

### BOOK V. CHAPTER 1.

Ethelwald,  
anchorite  
of Farne.

p. 281. *Oidiluald*] In the metrical life of Cuthbert, c. 45, Bede narrates an anecdote of him which he has not reproduced in any of his prose works. Fl. Wig. says of him: 'cuius meritum et uita qualis fuerat, innumera declarant ab eo patrata miracula;' i. 40. His relics shared the wanderings of St. Cuthbert's body till both reposed at Durham; cf. AA. SS. Mart. iii. 463-465.

Guthfrid.

*Gudfrid*] At the time when Bede visited Lindisfarne in order to read to that community his prose life of Cuthbert, Guthfrid was 'mansionarius' of the monastery, an officer defined by Ducange as 'custos et conservator aedis sacrae, aedituus;' cf. D. C. A. s. t. From the same passage, Opp. Min. p. 47, it appears that one of the

duties of this officer was to enter the names of persons to be prayed for in the 'album congregationis'; v. *Introd.* p. xxvii, and see on iv. 14. From Bede's language here, 'præfuit,' it would seem that in 731 Guthfrid was dead.

p. 282. XII annis . . . defunctus] He succeeded Cuthbert on his death, March 687. He would seem, therefore, to have died in 699. Death of Ethelwald. His day is variously given in the Martyrologies; the Bollandists, *u.s.* decide in favour of March 23. He was in turn succeeded by an anchorite named Felgeld, who at the time when Bede wrote the *Prose Life* of Cuthbert was still alive, though more than seventy years old; *Vita Pros.* c. 46. The life of a twelfth-century successor of St. Cuthbert as anchorite of Farne, named Bartholomew, is given in *S. D. i.* 295 ff. On pp. 312, 313, there is an interesting description of Farne. Various grants to the monks of Farne are in Raine's *North Durham*, App. dxcvi. ff. On the history of Farne; *ib.* 339-362.

Aldfridi regis] He reigned not quite twenty years, from 685 to Aldfrid. 705; v. c. 18 *ad init.* Therefore the years of Ethelwald's sojourn on Farne, 687-699, fall well within his reign.

## CHAPTER 2.

Cuius regni principio] The *Sax. Chron.* E. places the consecration of Bishop John to Hexham under 685; but the passage is a confused one, and may not be intended to be strictly chronological; at the best it is probably only an inference from this passage, and the same may be said of the passage in Raine's *Hexham*, i. 27, 28; cf. *ib.* xxvi, which places both the death of Eata and the succession of John in 685, and of R. W.'s date, 686; i. 178. They are inconsistent with the very precise statement of *Sax. Chron.* D. E. that Bishop John died in 721 after an episcopate of thirty-three years, eight months, and thirteen days (so *H. Y. i.* 525). He died, according to *Fl. Wig. i.* 50, on May 7 (so *H. Y. i.* 526, and this was the day observed at Beverley as the festival of his deposition; *ib.* 314; it is his day also in the *York Missal*). Hence his consecration would fall in August, 687. Bede at the end of c. 6 says that he died in 721 after an episcopate of thirty-three years; but he may either be speaking roughly, or he may be allowing something for the fact that before his death he gave up active episcopal work, and retired to Beverley. But he seems to imply that his retirement did not long precede his death, and *Florence, u.s.*, places both in the same year, 721.

Death of  
Eata.

*defuncto Eata*] If, as Bede seems to imply, Bishop John succeeded him at once, his death would have to be placed in 687. But according to H. & S. iii. 171, quoted below on c. 19, Eata died in 686, and Wilfrid (on his restoration) administered the see for a year, *infra*, p. 326. I do not know what the authority for this statement is. According to his life in Misc. Biogr. (pp. 124, 125) he died of a dysentery. He was buried at first to the south of the sacristy, whence he was translated to a shrine inside the church (cf. Raine's Hexham, i. 49). In 1113 Archbishop Thomas II of York attempted to remove his relics to York, but was prevented by an angry vision of the saint himself. A further translation of his relics took place in 1154; Raine, *u.s.* lxxii. f. 200. On translation of relics, cf. D. C. A. ii. 1773. Early Christian feeling was strongly opposed to it.

*Iohannes*] This is the bishop who ordained Bede both deacon and priest; v. c. 24, p. 357. After the death of Bosa he was translated to York in 705 (he is wrongly called *archbishop* in H. Y. i. 254; cf. *sup.* on ii. 20), Wilfrid, on his return from his second exile, being appointed to Hexham; cc. 3, 19. For later lives of him cf. Hardy, Cat. i. 423-430. Most of these have been printed in H. Y. i. 239-347, 511-541. He had been a pupil of Archbp. Theodore, and an inmate of Whitby under Abbeas Elfled; *ib.* 244. His connexion with Theodore is alluded to in the next chapter; his connexion with Whitby in iv. 23, p. 254; cf. Bright, pp. 355, 356; D. C. B. iii. 377, 378.

Berthun.

p. 283. *Bercthun*] In H. Y. i. 325, he and Bishop John are spoken of as joint founders of Beverley.

*Inderauuda*] Afterwards Beverley.

St. John's  
See.

*est mansio*] This is called Herneshaw by Folcard, H. Y. i. 246; and by Richard of Hexham; Raine's Hexham, I. viii. xxv. f. 15-18. It has been identified with St. John's Lee, near Hexham, the name of the saint having superseded the older name; see notes on the passages cited.

*clymeterium*] 'gebæd hus 7 ciricean,' 'oratory and Church,' AS. vers.

p. 284. *gae . . . etiam*] 'yea;' cf. *sup.* iii. 25, p. 188. On English y from AS. *ge*-v. Skeat, English Etymology, i. 363, 375.

Anglo-  
Saxon  
version.

*diu claudi*] 'þe lange halt wæs, 7 swa geboren of his modorhrife, þæt hiene his eldran beran scolden, 7 he gan ne meahte,' 'who was long halt, and so born from his mother's womb, that his parents had to carry him, and he could not walk,' AS. vers.

*acciperet*] 'gif him þæt leofre wære,' 'if he preferred it,' inserts AS. vers.

## CHAPTER 3.

P. 285. Uilfrid] v. on c. 19, p. 329.

defuncto Bosa] Fl. Wig. places the death of Bosa and the translation of John to York under 686; but this is simply due to the fact that he supposed the return of Wilfrid, which Bede alludes to here, to be that of 686 instead of the second return in 705. (Wharton, Ang. Sac. i. 695, says 687.) John was certainly bishop of Hexham when he ordained Bede priest in 702 x 703; c. 24, p. 357; Bosa was certainly believed to be still alive in 704 when John VI wrote to Ethelred of Mercia and Aldfrid communicating the decision of the Roman Council of 704 in the matter of Wilfrid. Bosa must therefore have died 704 x 705. Raine says 705, v. Hexham, i. 28, 29. So Stubbs, Ep. Succ.

Uetadun] This place was identified by Smith with Watton in the East Riding of Yorkshire, which is nearly half-way between Driffield and Beverley. In Folcard's Life of Bishop John it appears as Betendune, with a r. l. Yatadini; H. Y. i. 247.

in studio] 'Under treatment.' I cannot recollect any other instance of this meaning of 'studium'; but in Wright's AS. Glossaries, ed Wülker, col. 216, I find: '*cura*, i. *studium uel medicina, curatio uel lœnung*' (healing). The AS. vers. translates: '*in þære blodlæwe*,' 'during the blood-letting.'

memini enim, &c.] For Bishop John's connexion with Archbishop Theodore, see notes on c. 2. There is among Bede's scientific works a little tract of doubtful authenticity: '*De minutione sanguinis siue de plebotomia*'; Opp. vi. 349-352. The precepts there given do not agree with this of Theodore. As to the proper parts of the body for blood-letting, it says: '*de brachio tren, . . . capitanea linea, matricia, capsale*'; ib. 350. In the *De Temp. Rat.* c. 28, there are some curious precepts taken from SS. Ambrose and Basil as to the proper days of the moon for doing certain things: '*nam et defectui eius compatiuntur elementa, et processu eius . . . cumulantur*'; Opp. vi. 199-201. As to the special sympathy of the moon and the tide, '*quod Graeci rheuma uocant*,' ib. c. 29 [cf. *Vita Pros. Cudb.* c. 17].

nam et abbatissam, &c.] On the hereditary tendency in monasteries v. note on iv. 26.

## CHAPTER 4.

P. 286. comitis] *geaſðmannes*, AS. vers. i. e. a thane.

Aliud quoque] Very similar stories are told of Cuthbert; *Vita Pros.* cc. 25, 29; *Vita Anon.* §§ 36, 32.

- South Bur- uilla] 'uilla quae Australis Burton dicitur;' Folcard's Life,  
ton. H. Y. i. 249: 'South Burton, now called Bishop Burton, is distant  
between two and three miles from Beverley. North Burton is now  
called Cherry Burton'; note *a.l.*
- Commuta- p. 287. daturum] '7 his fæsten aliesan,' 'and redeem his fast.'  
tion of AS. vers. On the commutation of fasting for other penances and  
fasting. for alms, cf. H. & S. iii. 333, 334, 429, 431.
- Holy water. de aqua . . . quam . . . consecrauerat] For the use of holy water  
in the dedication of a church, cf. Egbert's Pontifical, pp. 34-39;  
York Pontifical, pp. 53, 55, 62-67, 70, 75. (Surtees Soc. 1853, 1873.)  
On the use of holy water, and miracles alleged to have been wrought  
thereby, see D. C. A. i. 777-779.
- Peter's socrum beati Petri] cf. Bede on Mark i. 31, Lk. iv. 39:  
mother- 'naturale est fabricantibus incipiente sanitate lassescere, et aegro-  
in-law. tationis sentire molestiam. Verum sanitas quae Domini confertur  
imperio, simul tota redit. Nec solum ipsa redit, sed et tanto  
robore comitante, ut eis continuo, qui se adiuuerant, ministrare  
sufficiat'; Opp. x. 18, 388, 389.

## CHAPTER 5.

- P. 288. puerum comitis] 'gesiðmannes cniht,' AS. vers.
- Addi of Addi] 'Earl (*i.e.* thane) of North Burton gave that manor with  
North Bur- the advowson of the church to Beverley;' Mon. Angl. ii. 127.  
ton. bene . . . cito] 'truma þec hræðe 7 wel,' 'strengthen thyself  
quickly and well,' AS. vers.

## CHAPTER 6.

- Herebald. P. 289. Heribald . . . Tini . . . praeest] Cf. Folcard, H. Y. i.  
251, 253. His death is mentioned by S. D. ii. 39, under the year  
745.
- p. 290. casu . . . uel potius] The AS. vers. omits these three  
words.
- hora . . . septima] 'ðæt is an tid ofer midne dæg,' 'that is one  
hour past mid-day,' explains AS. vers.
- Validity of p. 291. non es perfecte baptizatus] The view which ultimately  
baptism. prevailed in the Western Church was that baptism, even by here-  
tics, if in the three-fold name, was valid. Bede himself is emphatic  
on this point. On John iii. 4, he says: 'siue enim haereticus,  
siue schismaticus, siue facinorosus quisque in confessione sanctae  
Trinitatis baptizet, non ualet ille qui ita baptizatus est, a bonis  
catholicis rebaptizari, ne confessio uel inuocatio tanti nominis

videatur annullari,' Opp. v. 110. He decides in the opposite way where the baptizer has not been himself baptized; on Acts xix. 5: 'quaestio crebro ventilatur, utrum illi qui per ignorantiam forte a non baptizatis sed tamen rectae fidei aliquibus baptizati sunt, iterum baptizari debeant; quam hoc capitulo expositam reor,' Opp. xii. 74, 75. So Theodore Penitential, II. ii. 13: 'Si quis presbyter . . . deprehendit se non esse baptizatum . . . omnes, quos prius baptizavit, baptizentur;' cf. I. ix. 12. In other points Theodore differs from the Western view; e.g. ib. 12: 'Presbyter fornicans si, postquam compertum fuerit, baptizaverit, iterum baptizentur illi quos baptizavit;' I. v. 6: 'Si quis baptizatur ab heretico, qui recte Trinitatem non crediderit, iterum baptizetur.' This may perhaps be due to Theodore's Eastern training, for the Eastern Church was much less decided in its views on re-baptism than the Western; v. D. C. A. i. 172, 173. Theodore, however, says: 'qui bis ignorantes baptizati sunt, . . . non possunt ordinari;' I. x. 1. (H. & S. iii. 181, 185, 192; cf. ib. 405, 406.) An almost exact parallel to the case in the text is contained in a letter of Pope Zacharias to St. Boniface in 746, rebuking him for re-baptizing certain persons because an ignorant priest had baptized them with the formula: "'Baptizo te in nomine patris et filia et Spiritus Sancti.'" . . . Sed . . . non possumus consentire, ut denuo baptizentur. Quia . . . quicumque baptizatus fuerit ab hereticis in nomine Patris, &c. . . nullo modo rebaptizari debeat, sed per solam manus inpositionem purgari;' Mon. Mog. pp. 167, 168. Apart from this question one might think that Bishop John would have done better to refuse this man priest's orders, than to confer them and then inhibit him from the exercise of priestly functions.

**exsufflante illo]** Cf. Opp. viii. 106: 'Recti ordinis est, ut doctores **Exsufflation.** veritatis prius ab auditorum praecordiis omnem spiritum immun- dum exsufflando et catechizando abigant, et sic eos . . . societati . . . sanctorum mysteriis salutaribus imbuendo aggregent.' This 'is a reference to the . . . custom of breathing on the catechumen's face at the first exorcism;' Bright, p. 306. There is a reference to this in Wulfstan's Homilies, ed. Napier, p. 29. We have had a reference to a different kind of 'exsufflation' above, iv. 13, p. 231.

**uocavit . . . medicum]** In the story as told by Bede there is **Heightening of the nothing distinctly miraculous.** It is much heightened by Folcard, and the physician is suppressed: 'imponit praesul . . . manus **miraculous.** confracto capiti, . . . cruce signat, et subitam medelam Deus praestat;' H. Y. i. 253. A very instructive instance of the gradual heightening of a story may be found in an incident of Wilfrid's

life as told first by Eddius, then by Frīdegoda, and lastly by Eadmer; H. Y. i. 33, 129, 185. On Bede's own tendency to do this. v. Introduction, pp. xlvī, lxiv.

*mansit autem, &c.*] See on c. 2, *ad init.*

Wilfrid II. p. 202. Uilfrido] This is Wilfrid II, 'Wilferð se iunga' of the Sax. Chron. 744. In 732 he resigned and was succeeded by Egbert, the prelate to whom Bede addressed his famous letter. See on Ep. ad Egb. § 1, *ad init.* Wilfrid died in 745, Cont. Baed. *inf.* p. 362; S. D. ii. 38, 39; or 744, Sax. Chron.; Ann. Lindisf.; having been thirty years bishop, says Sax. Chron., which would throw back his consecration to 714, which is obviously too early. Stubbs, Ep. Succ. pp. 5, 180, says that he *died* in 732. But Alcuin, De Sanctis Ebor. vv. 1235 ff. distinctly refers to his retirement:

'At sua facta bonus postquam compleuerat ille

Pastor in ecclesiis, specialia septa petiuit,

Quo seruire Deo tota iam mente uacaret;' &c.

He gives him a very high character, *ib.* 1215, ff. He had been 'uicedomnus et abbas' of York; *ib.* 1217; G. P. p. 245. (For 'uicedomnus' v. Ducange, s. v.) Fl. Wig. makes the converse mistake of delaying Egbert's accession till after Wilfrid's death in 744; i. 55.

## CHAPTER 7.

Anno . . . praeesset] v. iv. 12, notes.

Cædwalla's  
resigna-  
tion,

relicto imperio propter Dominum] Note that (like Aldhelm below) Bede says 'imperio,' not 'regno.' He therefore regards Cædwalla as bearing sway beyond the limits of his own kingdom, though he does not include him among the so-called Bretwaldas. Dr. Bright lectures Cædwalla in a very edifying manner for deserting his duty, and Bede for not condemning him sufficiently (p. 360; cf. p. 431, and Fuller, cited by M. & L. p. 310). But to give up earthly power and position for what is believed (even if mistakenly) to be the cause of Christ, is not such a common error that we need to be seriously cautioned against it.

and jour-  
ney to  
Rome.

uenit Romam] Aldhelm, in a poem written under his successor Ini, tells of Cædwalla's pilgrimage and death (Opp. Aldh. ed. Giles, pp. 115, 116):

'Post hunc [Centwino] successit bello famosus et armis  
Rex Cadwalla potens regni possessor et haeres.  
Sed mox imperium mundi sceptrumque reliquit.

Cuius in aduentu gaudet clementia Romae,

Dum mergi meruit baptismi gurgite felix.

Post albas igitur morbo correptus egrescit,

Donec mortalis clausit spiracula uitae.

On his way to Rome he is said to have given thirty solidi to St. Vulmar for the construction of his church, 'in uilla Siluiaco,' now Samer in the Pas-de-Calais, a corruption of St. Vulmar. Bouquet iii. 626: 'Ex uita S. Vulmari abb. Siluiacensis,' printed in Mab. AA. SS. iii. 234-238; AA. SS. Iul. v. 84-89. This life is ancient, but its date cannot be fixed; ib. 83. He was well received by Cunibert, King of the Lombards: 'Cedoal rex Anglorum Saxonum, qui multa in sua patria bella gesserat, ad Christum conuersus Romam properauit. Qui per Cunincpertum regem ueniens ab eo mirifice susceptus est;' Paul. Diac. Hist. Langob. vi. 15 (who borrows the rest of his account from Bede). Cunibert (whose name is identical with the Anglo-Saxon Cyniberht) had married an English wife: 'Cunincpert rex Hermelindam ex Saxonum Anglorum genere duxit uxorem;' ib. v. 37. His father Perctarit (the Berththere of Eddius, c. 28) was nearly flying for refuge 'ad Britanniam insulam Saxonumque regem,' when he heard that his enemy Grimwald, Duke of Beneventum, was dead; (671) ib. v. 32, 33; cf. Art de Vérif. i. 418, 419. The resemblance of Cædwalla's name to those of certain Welsh kings has not only caused a legendary prolongation of the reign of Cadwallon, son of Cadvan, beyond all possible bounds (v. on iii. 1); but also given rise to a legend that Cadwalader, son of Cadwallon, died at Rome; cf. additional critical note to p. 292, and Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 680: 'ac yn y vlwydyn honno y bu uarw Kadwaladyr uendigeit, uab Kadwallawn, uab Catuan, brenhin y Brytanyeit, yn Rufein y deudecuet dyd o Vei. Megys y proffwydassei Vyrddin kyn no hynny wrth Wrtheyrn gwrtheneu. Ac o hynny allan y colles y Brytanyeit goron y teyrnas. Ac yd ennillawd y Saeson hi,' 'In this year died Cadwalader the blessed, son of Cadwallon, son of Cadvan, King of the Britons, in Rome, the twelfth day of May, as Myrddin (Merlin) had prophesied to Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheneu (Vortigern). And from that time forth the Britons lost the crown of empire and the Saxons gained it.' The epithet 'blessed' is probably due to the confusion with the West-Saxon pilgrim; the date, May 12, is certainly taken from Bede's 'xii<sup>o</sup> Kal. Mai. die.' According to the oldest MS. of Ann. Camb., Cadwalader died of the plague in 682, though later MSS. make him fly to Armorica (Brittany) to avoid the plague (possibly a confusion with 'Armonica,' 'Arvon'; see on iii. 9). Nenn. § 64, places his death under Oswy; which arises from the assumption that the plague in which he died was the great plague of 664 (see

Confusion  
with Cad-  
walader.



on iii. 27); cf. H. & S. i. 202. For an instance of hopeless confusion of Cædwalla and Cadwalader, cf. Elmham, pp. 254 ff. 268 ff.; R. W. i. 181; Introduction, p. cxvi.

pontificatum agente Sergio] Sergius I, 687-701 A.D.

die . . . sabbati paschalis] This was the proper day for baptisms; v. s. ii. 9, 14. In 689 it fell on April 10.

'In albis.'

in albis adhuc positus] 'under Cristes claðum,' 'under Christ's clothes;' Sax. Chron. E. 688. It was a very ancient custom for the newly-baptized to be clad in white garments (*ἱσθηρὴ φωτιστικῇ*, *alba*) to symbolise their purification. In these garments and with lighted tapers they appeared daily for a week with their sponsors in the church, finally laying them aside on the octave of the baptism-day; cf. Alcuin to Charles the Great, Febr. 798: 'Clausum paschae quo die alba tolluntur uestimenta a nuper baptizatis;' Mon. Alc. p. 399. The term 'exalbari' is also found: 'pueris nondum exalbatis;' Pertz, xx. 738, answering to 'in albis adhuc positus' here; cf. S. D. i. 278. Hence also the Sunday after Easter is called 'Dominica in albis depositis.' In the Ordo Romanus for the Saturday after Easter there is a form for 'Benedictio aquae ad albas deponendas.' With the deposition of the 'alb' was associated the 'chrisom-loosing,' the undoing of the 'chrismale' or linen fillet ('*pannus crismatis*,' Theod. Penit. II. iv. 7; H. & S. iii. 193), which was bound round the head of the newly baptized to keep the chrism or unction on the head during the week in albis; cf. Wulfstan's Homilies, pp. 31, 36; H. & S. iii. 192, 428; Earle's Chronicle, pp. 307, 308. The 'crism-lising' of Guthrum at Wedmore is mentioned in Sax. Chron. A.D. 878. Hence the AS. vers. translates 'in albis adhuc positus' by 'under crisman,' 'under chrism'; so above, ii. 14, 'albat' is translated in the same way; cf. Bosworth-Toller, s. v. In Icelandic the 'alb' is called 'hvit-váðir,' 'white-weeds,' and 'hvit-váðungr,' 'white-weedling,' is a regular name for a neophyte, or newly baptized person (cf. Mrs. Quickly's 'Christom-child,' Hen. V, ii. 3. 12); see Vigfússon, Icel. Dict. s. v. *hvitir*, who gives several instances from the Sagas of persons who died, like Cædwalla, 'i hvita-váðum.' 'White weeds' seem also to have been worn at confirmation; cf. Viga-Glúms Saga, *ad fin.* Orig. Island, ii. 466: 'en þá er Cristni kom út hingat, tók Glúmr skirn, ok lifði þrjá vetr síðan, ok var biskupaðr í bana-sótt af Kol biskupi, ok andaðiz í hvita-váðum,' 'and when Christianity came out hither [to Iceland], Glum received baptism, and lived three years afterwards, and was bishopped [*i. e.* confirmed] in his last illness by Bishop Kol, and died in his white weeds.' Newly consecrated churches were also hung with white; cf. Laxdæla Saga, ed. 1826,

p. 230; ed. 1867, p. 152: 'vár Kjartan at Borg grafinn; þá var kirkja nývígð ok í hvíta-váðum,' 'Kjartan was buried at Borg, where the church was newly consecrated, and in white weeds.' I cannot quote any non-Icelandic parallels to these two last passages (see also Ducange *s. vv.* Alba, Chrismale; D. C. A. *s. vv.* Baptism, Chrism, Chrismale, Octauae Infantium, Paschae Clausum). Strictly speaking, Cædwalla's death on April 20, the Tuesday after Low Sunday, fell outside the octave 'in albis.' But he may well have been too ill to go through the ceremony on the Saturday. Aldhelm, *u. s.* says 'post albas;' cf. Bright, p. 360.

cui etiam . . . inposuerat] The Sax. Chron. says that the Pope Cædwalla's baptized him. In the epitaph the Pope is called 'pater Fonte death, renascentis,' i. e. godfather. So Birinus both baptized and stood sponsor for Cuthred; Sax. Chron. 639; cited above on iii. 7.

p. 293. epitaphium . . . scriptum] The epitaph was composed and epitaph. by Benedictus Crispus, Archbishop of Milan († 725), Gregorovius, *Gesch. der Stadt Rom* (3<sup>te</sup> Auflage), ii. 180, 391. The AS. vers. omits the epitaph both verse and prose. It may be found in *Dei Rossi, Inscr. Christ. Urbis Romae*, ii. 70, 79, 111.

indictione II] This is right for 689.

p. 294. XXXVII annis] This would place Ini's abdication in Ini. 725 or possibly 726. The Sax. Chron. MSS. A. B. place it in 728, MSS. C. D. E. in 726; R. W. in 727, i. 205. He is said to have founded the school of the Anglo-Saxons in Rome, and to have established the 'Romescot,' or 'Peter's Pence,' for its maintenance. But there is no authority for the former statement older than R. W. i. 215, 216; though the latter is confirmed by the tract, 'De Saxonum Aduentu,' in S. D. ii 371. For the curious legend as to the means by which his wife ('dux foemina facti') induced him to abdicate, see W. M. i. 35, 36, 39. He was a great friend of Aldhelm, G. P. p. 354, who mentions him; Opp. p. 116. The date of his death is unknown. W. M. says: 'ut solius Dei oculis placeret, amictu plebeio tectus, clam consenuit cum uxore;' i. 39. Chron. F. by a misunderstanding gives 726 as the date of his death instead of his resignation. Cf. Stubbs in D. C. B. and Freeman in *Proceedings Somerset Archaeol. Soc.* vol. xx.

Gregorio] Gregory II, 715-731. See on Preface. Gibbon Gregory II. detected an allusion to the pilgrimage of Ini in a letter of this pope to Leo the Iconoclast, ed. Smith, vi. 148.

quod . . . plures . . . facere consuerunt] Gregorovius, *u. s.* ii. Pilgrimages to Rome. 178 ff., has an eloquent passage on these numberless pilgrims to Rome: 'the magnets which drew them were dead men's bones, their goal a grave, their reward a prayer before it.' He cites the

wonderful passage of Seneca, *Ad Heluam Matrem de Consolatione*, c. 6, on the rush of men to Rome. The moral results were often disastrous enough. St. Boniface writing to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 748, says: 'bonum esset . . . si prohiberet synodus et principes uestri mulieribus et uelatis feminis illud iter et frequentiam, quam ad Romanam ciuitatem ueniendo et redeundo faciunt. Quia magna ex parte pereunt, paucis remanentibus integris. Perpaucæ enim sunt ciuitates in Longobardia, uel in Francia, aut in Gallia, in qua non sit . . . meretrix generis Anglorum;' *H. & S.* iii. 381; *Mon. Mog.* p. 208. To an English abbess who consulted him as to visiting 'dominam quondam orbis Romam, . . . sicut alii multi fecerunt et adhuc faciunt,' *ib.* 69, 70; he replies: 'nec interdicere . . . nec . . . suadere praesumo.' If she cannot find peace at home she may seek it in pilgrimage: 'quemadmodum soror nostra Wiethburga faciebat. Quae mihi . . . intimauit quod talem uitae quietem inuenisset iuxta limina S. Petri, qualem longum tempus desiderando quaesierat.' Only she had better wait, 'donec . . . minae Saracenorum, quae apud Romanos nuper emergerunt conquieuerint;' *ib.* 236. Both letters are most interesting. Cf. the epigram of Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans 788-821:

'Non tantum isse iuuat Romam bene uiuere quantum

Vel Romae, uel ubi uita agitur hominis.

Non uia, credo, pedum, sed morum ducit ad astra,

Quis quid ubique gerit, spectat ab arce Deus.'

Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini, i. 557. Cf. *sup.* iv. 23, p. 255; *inf.*, c. 19, *ad init.*; and the case of Ceolfrid, Introduction, § 3, and *reff.*; to which Bede expressly refers in the parallel passage in his *Chron.*; *Opp. Min.* p. 203; *D. C. A.* i. 774-777, ii. 1635-1642; *M. & L.* p. 309.

## CHAPTER 8.

Death of  
Theodore.

annis XXII] If this is reckoned from his consecration, March 26, 668, it is an understatement; if from his arrival at Canterbury, May 27, 669, it is an overstatement. See on iv. 2.

ecclesia . . . Petri] See on i. 33, ii. 3, pp. 70, 86.

His epi-  
taph.

p. 295. uersibus heroicis] Here and in i. 10 Bede seems to include elegiacs under the term 'heroic verses'; in his *Ars Metrica*, c. 10, he confines the latter term, as is usual, to pure hexameters. Elmham quotes these two quatrains, and in the MS. a large space is left between them, apparently in the hope that the missing verses might be recovered, p. 283.

**Pelasga**] *i.e.* Greek. Cf. Verg. Aen. ix. 154: 'cum pube Pelasga.' diem nonamdecimam] So, Ann. Lindisf. et Cantuar. 690, 'Theodorus episcopus deponitur XIII. kal. Octob. feria ii;' Pertz, iv. 2. Sept. 19 was a Monday in 690.

**Berctwald**] W. M. i. 29 identifies him with Bertwald, Abbot Bertwald. of Glastonbury, whom he represents as translated against his will to Reculver, and thence to Canterbury. The refutation of this (probably deliberate) attempt to claim for Glastonbury the honour of the archbishop's monastic training is easy, as there is extant a letter from Bertwald of Canterbury to Forthere, Bishop of Sherborne, asking him to intercede with 'Beor[t]wald' of Glastonbury for the release of a slave girl belonging to Kent. The letter gives a favourable impression of the archbishop, and an unfavourable one of his namesake; Mon. Mog. pp. 48, 49; cf. Stubbs, Dunstan, p. lxxxii. There is a letter also of Waldhere, Bishop of London, to him about the political state of Britain in 705; H. & S. iii. 274, 275. The letters of Pope Sergius I on his behalf, given in G. P. pp. 52-55, belong to the suspicious series connected with the primacy of Canterbury; and though not such glaring forgeries as some others of the series, are very unlikely to be genuine. Bertwald died Jan. 731, the very year in which Bede finished his history; cc. 23, 24, pp. 349, 356. According to G. P. p. 376, he was a friend and fellow-student of Aldhelm.

**Genladae**] Now the Yenlade or Inlade. It occurs frequently in charters as a boundary, K. C. D. Nos. 135, 157, 194, 224; Birch, Nos. 228, 257, 326, 396; cf. Hasted's Kent, iv. 288 ff.

**Racuulfe**] Reculver, on the north coast of Kent. Birchington Reculver. says: 'qui erat abbas de Genlade tunc, et nunc Recolure dicitur;' Ang. Sac. i. 3. There is a charter of Hlothhere, King of Kent, dated Reculver, May, 679, granting land in Thanet to Abbot Berctwald and his monastery; K. C. D. No. 16; Birch, i. 70. This charter is the oldest extant native charter of which we possess the absolute original; Earle, Handbook of Charters, p. 8. The grant of Reculver by Egbert to 'Bass the mass priest to build a minster (monastery) on' is noted in the Sax. Chron. under 669. For Christian antiquities at Reculver, cf. C. Roach Smith, Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne (1850); cited by H. & S. i. 38.

**electus est, &c.**] No reason is given for the long delay, nearly two years, in filling up the see, nor for the long delay of a year in consecrating the elected prelate, nor for his consecration in Gaul instead of by the English bishops. The dissensions between Kent and Wessex, which were not settled till 694, may have had something to do with the matter. Delay in his election and consecration.

Witred  
and Swæb-  
hard.

Uictredo et Suæbhardo] 'Wihtred 7 Swefheard,' AS. vers. Witred has been mentioned above, iv. 26, *ad fin.* The Sax. Chron. E. F., following Bede, speaks of Wihtred (Nihtred E) and Webheard (*sic*) as joint kings in 692. But in 694 all the MSS. speak of Witred's accession as if it were a new fact: 'her . . . Wihtred feng to Cantwara rice,' perhaps meaning his accession as sole king. In c. 23, Bede says that he died on April 23, 725, after a reign of thirty-four years and a half; which would place his accession in October, 690. Fl. Wig. places his accession under 691, and says: 'cum quo rex Sueabheardus partem regni tenuit;' but he is probably only drawing his own inferences from Bede's language here and in iv. 26. In the latter passage Bede speaks specially of Witred's 'religio'; where he is probably thinking of the ecclesiastical laws passed in the witenagemót of Berghamstye (Bersted near Maidstone) in 696, Thorpe, *Early Laws, &c.*, i. 36 ff.; Schmid, *Gesetze*, pp. 14 ff.; H. & S. iii. 233-238; and of the ecclesiastical privileges granted in the witenagemót of Bapchild, 696 x 716, on which see H. & S. iii. 238-246, 300-302, 340-342; Bright, pp. 382-385; D. C. B. iv. 1177, 1178. In a spurious charter Swæbhard is described as 'regii status lectissimus flos;' K. C. D. No. 40; Birch, No. 89. I have already, on iii. 22, expressed my scepticism as to the proposed identification of him with Swefred of Essex.

tertio die Kal. Iul. . . prid. Kal. Sept.] These were Sundays in 693; the former is also St. Peter's day.

Godwin.

Godwine] Archbishop of Lyons, 693-713. (He certainly occupied the see during these years, but the exact dates of his accession and death are unknown; Gallia Christ. iv. 50.)

Gebmund.

Gebmundo . . . defuncto] The Sax. Chron. places his death in 693, but this is a mere inference from the fact that Bede mentions it immediately after the consecration of Bertwald in that year. And it is a wrong inference, for Gebmund was present at the witenagemót of Bersted in 696; see *reff.* given above. At that of Bapchild his successor Tobias was present, and therefore this must be later than 696. The Sax. Chron. F. *seems* to place it under 694, but the reference is vague, and not strictly chronological: 'sona ðas ðe he cing was,' 'soon after he became king;' v. H. & S. iii. 232, 241.

p. 206. *Saxonica lingua*] 'in Englisc,' 'in English,' AS. vers.

## CHAPTER 9.

**sacerdos]** It is probable that 'sacerdos' here, as often, means Egbert, 'bishop.' See on i. 28. Above, iii. 27, *sub. fin.*, where Bede speaks of Egbert's 'acceptum sacerdotii gradum,' the AS. vers. says 'biscopphade onfeng,' 'he received the episcopate.' Alcuin, in his prose life of Wilbrord, c. 4, calls him 'beatissimus pater et episcopus Egbertus qui cognomento Sanctus uocabatur;' Mon. Alc. p. 43. And Ethelwerd enters him in his chronicle as 'episcopus.' M. H. B. p. 507. Ethelwulf, in his poem, de Abbatibus, written early in the ninth century, distinctly calls him 'pontifex,' and says that he consecrated and sent an altar for Ethelwulf's own monastery, which Mr. T. Arnold thinks was Crayke, S. D. i. 270-272. The life of St. Adalbert calls him: 'Egbertus Northumbrorum episcopus;' Pertz, xv. 700; cf. also the Saxon Version, cited on c. 22. Moreover he is called 'Ichtbriht epscop,' 'Egbert bishop,' in an Irish document containing an account of a synod at Birra (Parsonstown) in which the so-called 'Cáin Adomnáin,' 'Law of Adamnan' was promulgated. Of this document there is a copy in MS. Rawl. B. 512, f. 48 ff. Egbert's name occurs on f. 49d. Of the ecclesiastics attending this synod, I have identified about a dozen. Their obits in the F. M. range from 696 to 785. The synod cannot therefore be later than the former year, in which the Ann. Ult. place it, and at which time Egbert was in Ireland. Dr. Reeves had a copy of this document taken from a Brussels MS. 2324; Rs. Ad. p. 179; though he himself speaks of Egbert as only a priest; ib. 379. It illustrates the nature of Irish episcopacy that with few exceptions the abbots in this document take precedence of the bishops; v. s. on iii. 4. Egbert has been already mentioned iii. 4, 27.

**nationes, a quibus, &c.]** That the common origin of the continental and insular Saxons was distinctly recognised as a ground for the evangelisation of the former by the latter, is shown by a letter of a certain priest named Wigbert, who writes from Britain to Lullus, Archbishop of Mainz (755-786): 'si in regione *gentis nostrae*, id est Saxanorum, aliqua ianua diuinae misericordiae aperta sit, remandare nobis id ipsum curate. Quia multi cum Dei adiutorio in eorum auxilium festinare cupiunt;' Mon. Mog. p. 304; cf. H. H. p. 126.

**unde . . . nuncupantur]** Bede seems to mean that in his day the British population called their Teutonic neighbours 'Garmani.' 'Saxon' is however in all Celtic languages the name given to the English and their speech. 'Eingl' = Angli, and 'Ellmyrn' =

Common origin of all the Saxons.

Celtic names for the English.

Alemanni, are occasionally found, but Prof. Rhys tell me that he has never met with any word answering to 'Garmani'; cf. his *Celtic Britain*, p. 139. The whole sentence is omitted by the AS. translator; perhaps because it was no longer true.

Fresones] Cf. Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, pp. 136, 397-400.

Rugini.

Rugini] Probably the Rugii of Tacitus, Germ. c. 43. Their original seat was on the Baltic, where they have left their name in the Island of Rügen, and in Rügenwalde. They played a prominent part in the wars of Attila, 433-453, after which they appear on the north side of the Danube, in Austria, and Upper Hungary; Dict. Class. Geogr.; cf. Zeuss, *u. s.* pp. 154, 484-486.

Danai] 'Dæne' 'the Danes,' AS. vers.; cf. Zeuss, *u. s.* pp. 508-511.

The Huns.

Hunni] The invasion of Europe by the Huns under Attila fills a large space in the history of the fifth century. But they made no lasting settlements. It is possible that Bede includes under the name the Avars, who formed a large kingdom to the north of the Danube, and in the seventh century were the most dangerous invaders of the Roman territory; Freeman, *Hist. Geogr.* pp. 90, 96, 117; cf. Zeuss, *u. s.* pp. 706-710.

Antiqui Saxones] 'Ald-Seaxan,' AS. vers.; cf. Zeuss, *u. s.* pp. 150-152, 380-388, 490-495.

The Boructuarii.

Boructuarii] 'The Brueteri in Westphalia;' H. & S. iii. 225; between the Ems and the Lippe; Dict. Class. Geogr. s. v. Brueteri; cf. Zeuss, *u. s.* pp. 92-94, 350-353. The Brueteri are mentioned by Apollonaris Sidonius, Carm. vii. 324; cf. AA. SS. Mart. i. 70.

'Christ's knight.'

Christi miles] The Ann. Ult. adopt this phrase when speaking of Egbert's death under the year 728, and Tighernach translates it, calling him 'ridire Crist,' 'Christ's knight.'

p. 297. Boisili] v. s. iv. 27, 28, pp. 269, 272.

expletis . . . matutinalibus] v. Intro. p. xxvi.

etiam] 'gea,' 'yea,' AS. vers.; v. s. c. 2, p. 284.

Columbae monasteria] i. e. the 'muintir Coluim Cille,' 'the family of Columba;' v. s. on iii. 4.

transmontanis Pictis ad aquilonem] 'in þæm mórlandum ða ðe siondan to norðdæle Peohta rices,' 'in the mountain-districts which belong to the north part of the kingdom of the Picts,' AS. vers.

Columcille.

nunc . . . uocatur] 'þe Scottas siððan Columcille nemdon,' 'whom the Irish afterwards called Columcille,' AS. vers.; (omitting the clause 'composito . . . nomine'). This is the regular name of St. Columba in Irish sources; generally abbreviated to

C.C. Joceline, *Life of St. Kentigern*, strangely says: 'Columba Abbas, quem *Angli* uocant Colum-killum ;' N. & K. p. 229.

aratra . . . incedunt] Cf. Bede, *Opp.* i. 214 : 'etsi [lectorem] in sanctuarium prophetici sensus introducere nesciui, ab aratro tamen haereticæ deceptionis longius abduxi.' In the Irish lives of St. Brigit, from the *Leabar Brecc* and *Book of Lismore*, Stokes, *Three Irish Homilies*, p. 68 ; *Lismore Lives*, p. 45, and in one of the *Latin Lives*, printed in Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga*, *Vita IV.* ii. 27, pp. 553, 554, there is a curious vision in which the progress of the gospel under Patrick and Brigit is represented by four ploughs which plough the whole of Ireland, while the work of the false teachers is figured by four other ploughs which plough across the furrows of the first.

p. 298. remanere domi passus est] 'unrot ham ferde,' 'went home sad,' AS. vers.

Uictberot] He also is mentioned in Alcuin's life of Wilbrord, Witbert. u. s., in connexion with the latter and Egbert as 'uenerabilis . . . sacerdos Dei.' There are no criteria for dating these abortive attempts of Egbert and Witbert, except that they must be prior to 690, as that is the date of Wilbrord's mission ; v. c. 10.

Rathbedo] On him, see c. 10.

## CHAPTER 10.

p. 299. Uilbrord] At his consecration by Pope Sergius, he was given the name of Clement ; c. 11, p. 303 ; but the Roman name never became in his case the accepted name, as in the case of Wynfrid-Boniface. His life was written in Prose and Verse by Alcuin at the request of Beornred, Archbishop of Sens, and abbot of Wilbrord's monastery of Epternach (777-797) ; the former for public use in the church, the other for the private instruction of the pupils in the monastic school ; *Mon. Alc.* p. 39. Both are printed in *Mon. Alc.* pp. 39-79 ; the metrical life also in *Poetae Lat. Aevi Carol.* i. 237 ff. For earlier editions, see Hardy, *Cat.* i. 465-467. Alcuin's work was based on an earlier life by an Irishman : 'Nam primo quidam linguae ac gentis Scotticae aggressus tanti uiri gesta describere, rustico stilo detriuit dignitatem hystoriae, dein . . . Alcwinus de Britannia, uir urbanae elegantiae, utpote magni Karoli yperasspistes, . . . conatus est in urbanum lepido seponere dicto et incompta comere ;' Thiofridi *Vita Willibr.* c. 24, cited in Pertz, xxiii. 11. This earlier life is not known to exist. Wattenbach is therefore wrong in saying of Alcuin : 'Willibrordi uitam ante eum nemo scripserat,' *Mon. Alc.* p. 35. But when Wattenbach wrote, these extracts from the life by Theofrid, Abbot of Epternach



Character  
of saints'  
lives.

(† 1110), had not been published. Wattenbach also complains that the lives contain so few historical facts and so many miracles ; but it is idle to find fault with any class of literature because it does not furnish what it never professed to give ; cf. M. Fustel de Coulanges : 'il est bien certain que ces biographies n'étaient pas rédigées en vue de faire œuvre historique. . . . La biographie était comme la légende explicative des reliques que le couvent possédait, et qui faisaient sa fortune. Aussi . . . s'allongeait-elle de tous les miracles que le saint avait faits pendant sa vie, et de tous ceux qu'il produisait après sa mort ;' *La Monarchie Franque*, pp. 9-12 (cited by Dr. Stokes, *Lismore Lives*, pp. xci. f.). The whole passage is admirable. The following facts however can be made out.

History of  
Wilbrord.

Wilbrord was a Northumbrian, born in 657 or 658. His father, Wilgils, after the birth of his son, became an anchorite on a promontory at the mouth of the Humber (c. 1, a). His day was observed as a festival in the monastery of his son (c. 31), and Alcuin himself ruled the cell where his body reposed (Pref. and c. 1). As soon as the child was weaned, he was entrusted to the monks of Ripon (c. 3) ; cf. Eddius, c. 26, cited on next chapter. In his twentieth year (i.e. c. 677), he went to Ireland, where he remained twelve years with Egbert and Wigbert or Witbert (c. 4). In 690 (cf. *ib.* p. 46, note cited on c. 11, *inf.*) he set out for the Continent, landing at the mouth of the Rhine, and proceeding thence to Traiectum (Utrecht). Finding Radbod and his Frisians wholly heathen he retired to Pippin (c. 5), and this is the point where Bede's account begins. The sequel will be given in the notes to c. 11. A cleric belonging to his household was cured at Lindisfarne at the tomb of St. Cuthbert ; Bede, *Vita Cudb.* c. 44 ; *Vita Anon.* § 45. The chief modern authority for Wilbrord is Thijm, 'Willibrord, der Apostel der Niederlande' (German translation from the Dutch).

His com-  
panions.

numero XII] One of his companions was named Adalbert (i.e. *Æðelberht*), and settled at Egmond in North Holland ; *Ann. Xantenses*, 690, 694 A.D. ; *Pertz*, ii. 220. The list given in the life of Swidbert by Marcellinus is, like the rest of that life, quite spurious (*Surius*, March 1, v. H. & S. iii. 225). On the frequency of the number twelve, cf. on iii. 26.

Pippin of  
Heristal.

ad Pippinum ducem Francorum] This is Pippin of Heristal, the Austrasian Mayor of the Palace, and real ruler of the Franks. The battle of Testry, 687, had established the ascendancy of Austrasia over Neustria, and that of his family over both. The shadow of Merovingian royalty continued till 752, when his grandson Pippin set the crown of the Franks upon his head (cf. *Kitchin's France*, i. 94 ff.). This later Pippin was baptized by

Wilbrord, who is said to have foretold his future greatness: 'scitote quod iste infans . . . erit . . . omnium praecedentium Francorum ducibus maior;' Mon. Alc. p. 56; cf. Pertz, x. 557. Pippin of Heristal died in 714, and was succeeded by his son Charles Martel (+ 741), the father of Pippin the Short, and grandfather of Charles the Great.

citeriorem Fresiam] *i.e.* the part of Fresia nearest to the Franks: in other words, the south-western portion.

Rathbedo rege] Alcuin (Vita Willbr. Pros. c. 5) also calls him Rathbod. 'king.' He was continually at war with the Franks under Pippin and Charles Martel. He died in 719, having in the preceding year withdrawn from the very edge of the baptismal font on being told by the officiating prelate, St. Wulframn, Archbishop of Sens, that his heathen ancestors were 'in tartarea damnatione.' 'Qui statim pedem a fonte retraxit, dicens se non posse carere consortio praedecessorum suorum, et cum paruo numero sedere in caelesti regno;' Ann. Xant. Pertz, ii. 221; Vita Wulframni, AA.SS. Ord. Bened. iii. 361; H. & S. iii. 225; Martin, Hist. de France, ii. 170-183. St. Boniface heard of his death as he was returning from Rome; Mon. Mog. p. 446; and there is a letter from Bugga to St. Boniface congratulating him on the fall of Rathbod, 'inimicus catholicae ecclesiae.' After his death Boniface assisted Wilbrord for three years. Wilbrord wished to consecrate him bishop, but he refused to be consecrated without the licence of the Pope; Mon. Mog. pp. 446-451; cf. Pertz, xiv. 100.

Heuuald] Alcuin, De Sanctis Ebor. v. 1045, gives their name The two as Herwaldus. Their mission must be later than 690, and before Hewalds. the death of Pippin in 714 (*v. inf.*); but there are no data for fixing it more exactly; R. W. places it in 695, i. 188; cf. D. C. B. iii. 14, and *refff.*

hospitium . . . uiliol] 'sumes tungerefan giæstern,' 'the guest-house of some township reeve,' AS. vers.

satrapam . . . satrapas] 'aldorman, aldormenn,' AS. vers. For Constitution the constitutional importance of this notice see S. C. H. i. 41, 42; of the old Saxons. cf. on iv. 12.

p. 300. tabulam . . . dedicatam] In the York Pontifical Portable (Surtees Soc. 1873), pp. 124-132, there is a form for 'Benedictio altaris lapidis portabilis siue lapidis itinerarii;' but in the rubrics the word 'tabula' constantly occurs as an alternative to 'lapis,' pp. 126, 127, 131, 132, and of course a wooden altar would be much more portable. A portable wooden altar belonging to St. Cuthbert was found in his tomb, and is now in the Chapter Library at Durham; D. C. A. i. 69; cf. *ib.* ii. 1560.

Idle rage of persecutors. in Rheno proiecerunt] Cf. Bede on Luke xii. 4: 'si persecutores, sanctorum occisis corporibus, non habent amplius quid contra illos agant, ergo superuacua furiant insania, qui mortua martyrum membra . . . uel in auras extenuari, uel in undas solui, uel . . . in cinerem faciunt redigi;' Opp. xi. 157.

uicanos . . . uicum] 'tunscepe . . . tun,' AS. vers.

Vº. Non. Oct.] October 3.

radius lucis] Cf. i. 33.

p. 301. milite] 'cyninges þægn,' 'king's thegn,' AS. vers.

Church of St. Cunibert, Cologne. in ecclesia Coloniae ciuitatis] The Gallican martyrology cited by Smith says 'in collegiata S. Cuniberti.' Hanno II, Archbishop of Cologne, in 1074 translated their bodies and placed them one on each side of the patron saint, Cunibert; Pertz, xi. 482, and note, 500, 506. Frederick, Archbishop of Cologne, in 1121 gave a portion of their relics to Norbert, Archbishop of Magdeburg; Pertz, xii. 862. The church of St. Victor at Xanten, Pertz, xiii. 44, and the abbey of Gorze, near Metz, ib. xv. 976, also claimed to possess portions of their relics.

## CHAPTER 11.

Wilbrord at Rome. accelerauit uenire Romam] Wilbrord went twice to Rome; once to obtain the papal sanction to his mission (probably in 692, Mon. Alc. p. 45, note), the second time to receive consecration at the hands of the Pope in 695. The first visit is mentioned here, the second further on in this chapter. Alcuin only mentions one visit; cc. 6, 7.

Destruction of idols. destructis idolis] Wilbrord showed heroic courage in this work; witness his attack on the heathen sanctuary of the god Fosite in Heligoland, Alcuin, cc. 10, 11 (on this deity, who was a son of Balder, see Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, i. 188 ff., ed. 1875); and his breaking down of the idol at Walcheren; Alc. c. 14; cf. the letter of Boniface cited below. He extended his missionary labours 'ad ferocissimos Danos,' and their king, Ongendus (who has been identified with the Ongentheow of the Beowulf); but finding them obdurate, he brought away thirty Danish boys, baptizing them lest any of them should perish on the journey, ib. c. 9 (cf. St. Gregory's earlier idea of converting the Angles by similar means, *sup.* i. 23, note).

reliquias . . . introduceret] Cf. *sup.* on i. 30.

Growth of the parochial system. singula quaeque loca dedicaret] Cf. Alc. c. 12: 'dum per dies singulos numerus crescebat fidelium, . . . caeperunt plurimi, fidei feruore incitati, patrimonia sua uiro Dei offerre. Quibus ille acceptis, mox ecclesias in eis aedificare iussorat, statuitque per eas

singulas presbiteros, et uerbi Dei sibi cooperatores, quatenus nouus Dei populus haberet quo se . . . congregaret, . . . uel a quibus sacri baptismatis munera accepisset, et christianae reigionis regulas ediceret.' This is an interesting passage for the growth of the parochial system; cf. Lappenberg, i. 190; E. T. i. 197; iii. 2, p. 130, note.

p. 302. Suidbertum] Aleuin, De Sanctis Ebor. v. 1073, joins with Swidbert. him a certain 'Wyra sacerdos,' on whom see Jaffé's note *ad loc.*; cited also H. Y. i. 381. We have already seen that the life of Swidbert by Marcellinus in Surius, March 1, is a gross forgery.

qui eis . . . antistes] His see while bishop in Frisia was at His see. Dorostadium or Dorostat, now Wijk-bij-Duurstede on the Rhine. This appears from an entry at the end of the Vienna fifth-century Livy (Hofbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 15): 'Sutbertus episcopus de Dorostat'; Palaeographical Soc., plate 183. It would seem that amid his missionary labours he kept up a taste for classical learning.

Uilfrid] v. on c. 19.

non enim . . . reuerso] This must have been after Bertwald's election, but before his return from Gaul; i. e. between July 1, 692, and Aug. 31, 693; v. c. 8 *ad fin.*

Bliththrydæ] This is the name commonly written Plectrudis. Plectrude, After Pippin's death she tried to grasp his power, but very soon wife of Pippin. had to give way before Charles Martel, the son of Pippin by a concubine. The date of her death seems to be unknown.

In litore] Now Kaiserswerth on the Rhine, about seven miles Kaiserswerth. north of Düsseldorf. In a silver shrine in the old 'Stiftskirche' are still preserved what are believed to be the relics of St. Swidbert. Both church and shrine are of the thirteenth century; Baedeker's Rheinlande (1886), p. 412.

heredes . . . eius] 'his erfeweardas,' AS. vers. So Sax. Chron. 565 E, of Columba, translating Bede's 'successores,' iii. 4, p. 134; cf. the Irish 'comarba,' 'coarb,' literally 'heir,' constantly used of the successor of a founder.

diem . . . ultimum] 713. 'Depositio Suitberthi Episcopi;' Ann. Death of Francorum (eighth century); Bouquet, ii. 641. A corrupt entry Swidbert. in an early ninth-century chronicle, under the same year, probably refers to the same event; ib. 644. His day is March 1. The date of his death has also been given as 714, Hardy, Cat. i. 411, and 715, Smith, a. l. A homily and some verses on him by St. Radbod, bishop of Utrecht (901-918), are printed in AA. SS. March, i. 84, 85; with a long preliminary dissertation, ib. 67 ff.

p. 303. anno . . . DCXCVI] This is Wilbrord's second visit to Rome. Wilbrord's second visit It is probable that Bede has placed it a year too late; for an entry to Rome.

made in the year 728 in an old calendar belonging to the monastery of Epternach says: 'Clemens Willibrordus anno DCXC . . . ueniebat . . . in Francia, et . . . anno DCXCV, . . . quamuis indignus, fuit ordinatus in Roma episcopus a . . . Sergio Papa.' The words 'quamuis indignus' make it almost certain that this entry is genuine and by Wilbrord himself. No later writer, especially in his own monastery, would have dreamed of inserting them. The entry was discovered by Bolland; AA. SS. Ian. I. xlvi; cited Mon. Alc. p. 46, note.

His consecration.

ordinatus . . . eius] Alcuin, c. 7, says that he was consecrated in St. Peter's; but this is a very natural substitution of the better for the less known church. A difficulty has been made because neither in 695 nor in 696 did St. Cecilia's day (Nov. 22) fall on a Sunday, the usual day for consecrating bishops. But it was a festival, and in her own church would be a high festival. The church meant is Santa Cecilia in Trastevere; said to have been founded by Urban I (223-230?) and rebuilt by Paschal I (817-824); Gregorovius, *Gesch. d. Stadt Rom*, i. 80, 251; iii. 48 ff.

Utrecht and Wiltenburg.

quod . . . uocatur] 'sio alde worde jere biode is nemned Wiltaburg, Galleas nemnað Traiectum, we cweðað Æt Treocum,' 'which by an ancient name of that people is called Wiltaburg, the Gauls call it Traiectum, we say Æt Treocum,' AS. vers. 'Monet Cluuerius distinguendum locum Wiltaburg, qui hodie quoque dicitur Wiltenburg, a Traiecto, Utrecht;' note in Bouquet, iii. 642. And Zedler's *Universal-Lexicon* says that Wiltenburg is the name of a small village a mile from Utrecht, where remains are still to be seen of the city which was the seat of the bishops of Utrecht. But the two names seem to be used quite indiscriminately; e. g. Liudger (who had seen St. Boniface) writes: 'in loco qui nuncupatur Traiectum, et alio nomine Wiltaburg;' Pertz, xv. 75; cf. ii. 361. Charles Martel in 722 made a formal grant of Utrecht to Wilbrord (see the document in Bouquet, iv. 699). But in this he was probably only confirming what his father had already done.

Boniface's account of Wilbrord.

ecclesia] St. Saviour's; cf. the interesting notice of Wilbrord in St. Boniface's letter of 755 to Pope Stephen III: 'tempore Sergii . . . pontificis uenit ad limina . . . apostolorum presbiter quidam mirae abstinentiae et sanctitatis, generis Saxonum, nomine Wilbrord, et alio nomine Clemens uocatus; quem praefatus papa episcopum ordinauit, et ad praedicandum paganam gentem Fresorum transmisit in littoribus oceani occidenti. Qui per l. annos praedicans, praefatam gentem Fresorum maxima ex parte conuertit ad fidem Christi, fana et dilubra destruxit, et ecclesias construxit, et sedem episcopalem et ecclesiam in honore sancti Salvatoris

constituens in . . . castello quod dicitur Traiectum. Et in illa sede et ecclesia . . . praedicans usque ad debilem senectutem permansit. Et sibi corepiscopum ad ministerium implendum substituit; et finitis longevae uitae diebus, in pace migravit ad Dominum.' Boniface also speaks of 'fundamenta cuiusdam destructae paganis ecclesiolae, quam Wilbrordus . . . in castello Traiecto repperit, et eam proprio labore a fundamento construxit et in honore S. Martini consecrauit;' Mon. Mog. pp. 259, 260. Cf. Alcuin's description of his person and character: 'statura decens, . . . facie uenustus, corde laetus, consilio sapiens, ore iucundus, moribus compositus, in omni opere Dei strenuus;' c. 24.

monasteria] Among these the principal would be Epternach, Wilbrord's where he died and was buried. Many grants to him for this monas-  
monastery are in Pertz, xxiii. 50-64.

ipse autem . . . superest] Cf. what Bede says of him in the Date of his Chron.: 'idem Papa Sergius ordinavit . . . Willibrordum cognomine Clementem Fresonum genti episcopum, in qua usque hodie pro aeterna patria peregrinus, est enim de Britannia gentis Anglorum, innumera quotidie diabolo detrimenta et Christianae fidei facit augmenta;' Opp. vi. 328; Opp. Min. p. 200. So Eddius says of Wilfrid's work in Frisia: 'primum ibi . . . fundamentum fidei posuit, quod adhuc supraedificat filius eius in Hripis nutritus, gratia Dei Wilbrordus episcopus, multo labore desudans, cuius merces manet in aeternum.' As to the date of his death, Alcuin, Vita Metr. c. 24, says:

'Bis octona pius compleuit lustra sacerdos,  
Ter quater et menses, mensis iam iamque Nouembri  
Idibus octonis, caeli migravit ad aulam.'

i. e. he was eighty-one when he died. He was in his thirty third year in 690 (u. s.); therefore he must have died in 738 or 739. The latter is the year given in Theofrid's life of him, c. 24; Pertz, xxiii. 25. When Boniface states (u. s.) that he preached for fifty years, he is obviously using a round number. It is not far wrong, however. As to the day of his death, Alcuin (u. s.), and in the Prose Life, gives Nov. 6: Theofrid gives Nov. 7, and this is his day in the Roman Calendar. He was buried at Epternach, and his remains were translated in 1031; Pertz, xv. 1307; xxiii. 27, 34. For various notices of his relics v. Pertz, xv. 967, 970, 971, 1095, 1271, 1273, 1274, 1283. Less than fifty years after his death: 'Widukind Dux Saxonum . . . euertit Frisones a uia Dei . . . et . . . fecit [eos] Christi fidem relinquere;' Pertz, ii. 410.

tricesimum et sextum . . . annum] If Wilbrord was consecrated on Nov. 22, 695, the thirty-sixth year of his episcopate would be

from Nov. 22, 730, to Nov. 21, 731. As Bede wrote the *Hist. Eccl.* in 731, this confirms what was said above as to the year of Wilfrord's consecration. At the same time it is not quite incompatible with his having been consecrated in 696, as Bede may have written this part of his history after Nov. 21, 731.

## CHAPTER 12.

Drythelm's vision.

*His temporibus*] It is impossible to say what date Bede means to indicate by this vague reference. The dates mentioned or implied in the last chapter range from 692 to 696. The *Sax. Chron. D. E.* place Drythelm's vision under 693. 'Her . . . Drythelm [Brihthelm E.] wæs of life gelæd,' 'Here Drythelm was led forth from life' [not 'died' as I have wrongly taken it in my glossary to the *Sax. Chron.*; and as it is taken also by the writer of the article Drythelm in the *D. C. B.*]. The *Ann. Xantenses* place it under 671, which is certainly too early; Pertz, ii. 220. It must be some little time before the death of Aldfrid 705, as he used to come 'saepissime' to hear Drythelm at Melrose, *infra*. R. W. places it under 699; i. 190.

Visions of the other world.

*antiquorum simile*] Two of the earliest instances of visions of this kind which have come down to us, are contained in the Apocryphal Acts of Thomas (Salmon, Introduction N. T. 3rd ed. 1888, pp. 358 ff.) and the Apocalypse of Peter, of which about half has recently been recovered, both being at least as early as the second century. The latter, through the medium of the Apocalypse of Paul, which is of the end of the fourth century, has influenced almost the whole of this branch of mediaeval literature, which is very extensive, and reaches its culminating point in the *Divina Commedia*; cf. Robinson and James on the Gospel and Revelation of Peter, pp. 39 ff. A list of this class of literature will be found in Mr. Ward's Catalogue of Romances, ii. 396 ff. Ælfric, *Hom.*, ed. Thorpe, ii. 332, is indignant that any one should read 'the lying work called Paul's vision,' when St. Paul himself declared that it was not lawful to utter the things which he heard. In *Mon. Mog.* pp. 53-61, there is a very curious vision of a monk of Much Wenlock narrated by St. Boniface in a letter written 717 x 718. The vision itself cannot be later than 716, as Coelred of Mercia (709-716) was then alive, though in the vision he appears in torment (cf. Dante's Frate Alberigo and Branca d'Oria, *Inf.* xxxiii. 118-147). This vision presents several points of contact with Drythelm's. Another vision of the eighth century is in Ethelwulf de Abbatibus, c. 11; in S. D. i. 277-279. In 824 Hetto, Bishop of Basle, wrote the vision

of Wetinus, the monk of Reichenau, in which Charles the Great appears suffering punishment; *Poetae Lat. aevi Carol.* ii. 269 ff. This was afterwards versified by Walafridus Strabo; *ib.* 301 ff. This vision was very famous; *v. Bouquet*, vi. 225. Cf. the vision of the Emperor Charles III given from Hariulf, by *W. M.* i. 112-116. The *Chron. of Verdun* 934, has a vision of a deacon named Adelmar, who having died and received sentence of condemnation, was restored to life by the prayers of the Virgin and St. Martin; *Bouquet*, viii. 290; cf. the vision of Eadulf, 1075 x 1080, in *S. D. i.* 114-116, who expressly refers to the parallel of Drythelm. An Irish parallel which has interest for readers of Bede is the vision of Adamnan, 'Fis Adamnáin,' of which the oldest copy is in the *Leabar na h-Uidre*, a MS. of c. 1100, printed in *Windisch, Ir. Texte*, i. 169 ff., from two MSS. Though ascribed to the biographer of St. Columba, it must be later than his time; *Reeves, Ad. p.* lii. The *Visio Tnugdali* (ed. *Wagner*, 1882) and St. Patrick's Purgatory, both of Irish origin, and both of the twelfth century, were very popular in the Middle Ages; cf. *Wagner, u.s.* pp. v ff.; *Wright, St. Patrick's Purgatory*, pp. 32, 60 ff. The former vision is placed under 1149 by *Alberic of Trois Fontaines*; *Pertz*, xxiii. 840, who also gives a very interesting account of the latter; *ib.* 834-836. 'Tnugdalus' represents the Irish name *Dungal* (*Dubgal*, in *Icelandic Annal.* 1149; *Sturlunga Saga*, ii. 358), and an Icelandic version under the name 'Duggals leiðsla' is printed in *Heilagra Manna Sögur*, i. 329 ff. ('leiðsla,' lit. 'leading,' is the regular name in Icelandic for these visions of the other world; cf. 'of life gelæd,' quoted above). There is an Anglo-Saxon Homily on Drythelm in *Ælfric*, ed. *Thorpe*, ii. 348 ff. The popularity of the story is shown by the fact that this chapter often occurs separately in MSS.: *e.g.* *Troyes*, No. 1876; *Bourges*, No. 97; *Basle, University Library*, A. v. 39; *Bibliothèque Mazarine, Catalogue*, p. 144.

p. 304. *Incuneningum*] Generally identified with *Cunningham*, just within the Scotch border. Mr. Moberly in a private communication suggests *Chester-le-Street*, of which the Saxon name was *Cunungaceaster*.

ad uillulæ oratorium] 'to ðære ciricean þæs tunes,' 'to the church of the township,' AS. vers.

peruenit] '7 wearð . . . ðam abbude Æpelwolde underþeod,' 'and became subject to Abbot Ethelwald;' *Ælfric, u.s.* (on Ethelwald, see below).

contra . . . solstitialem] 'ongen norðeast roðor, swa sunnan upgong bið æt middum sumere,' 'towards the north-east quarter, where sunrise is at midsummer,' AS. vers.



Conception of the place of torment. p. 305. unum latus . . . alterum] Cf. Bede's De Die Iudicii, Opp. i. pp. 101, 102 :

'Ignibus aeternae nigris loca plena gehennae,  
Frigora mixta simul feruentibus algida flammis.  
Nunc oculos nimio flentes ardore camini,  
His miseris uicibus miseri uoluuntur in aeuum.  
Non sentitur ibi quidquam nisi frigora, flammae,  
Foetor et ingenti complet putredine nares.'

For the origin of this conception of the place of future punishment as consisting of extremes of alternate heat and cold, cf. Bede on Luke xiii. 28 : 'ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium;' 'Fletus de ardore, stridor dentium solet excitari de frigore. Ubi duplex ostenditur gehenna; id est nimii frigoris, et intolerabilis esse feruoris. Cui beati Iob sententia consentit dicentis [xxiv. 19] : 'Ad calorem nimium transibunt ab aquis niuium;' Opp. xi. 191. So, almost in the same words, ix. 179; cf. xii. 21; Wulfstan's Homilies, ed. Napier, p. 138 : 'hwylon þær eagan ungemetum wepað for þæs ofnes bryne, hwylon eac þa teð for mycclum cyle manna þær gnyrrað,' 'There sometimes eyes weep immoderately by reason of the heat of the furnace, sometimes teeth chatter for the greatness of the cold.' So Claudio in 'Measure for Measure,' III. i. 122, 123 :

'To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside  
In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice.'

sola . . . umbras] Verg. Aen. vi. 268 :

'Ibant obscuro sola sub nocte per umbram.'

In Opp. viii. 215, Bede quotes the whole line with 'usdunt,' instead of 'ibant.'

p. 306. sed et feto] Cf. Apoc. Pauli, § 41. Tischendorf, Apocalypses Apocryphae, ed. 1866, pp. 61, 62 : καὶ . . . ὁ ἄγγελος . . . ἔστησέν με ἐπάνω φρέατος . . . καὶ ἀνοίξαντος αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλθεν θυσιάζουσα ἡ οὐκ ἦν ἐπενεγκεῖν. καὶ . . . ἶδον τὸ φρέαρ . . . σκότους καὶ ζόφους πεπληρωμένον, καὶ πολλὴν στενοχωρίαν ἐν αὐτῷ.

sonum . . . promiscuum] Cf. Dante, Inf. iii. 22-30 :

'Diverse lingue, orribili favelle,' &c.

quasi fulgor stellæ micantis, &c.] See the critical note; and cf. Dante, Purg. xii. 88-90 :

'A noi venia la creatura bella  
Bianco vestita, e nella faccia quale  
Par tremolando mattutina stella.'

Cf. ib. ii. 13 ff. and Alcuin, De Sanctis Ebor. vv. 953-955, versifying this tale of Drythelm :

'Tunc mihi post tergum fulsit quasi stella per umbras,  
Quae magis accrescens properansque fugauerat hostes;  
Dux erat ille meus ueniens cum luce repente.'

p. 307. contra ortum . . . brumalem] 'suðeast on ðon roðor swa swa on wintre sunne upp gongeð,' 'south-east to the quarter where the sun rises in winter,' AS. vera.

et ecce ibi campus, &c.] This is the passage which comes closest to the Apocalypse of Peter; v. Robinson and James, v. s. pp. 49, 90, § 5.

p. 308. locus, in quo examinandae, &c.] For Bede's own view Purgatory. of Purgatory, v. Introduction, p. lxvi, note.

qui differentes confiteri] The fate of these souls in Dante is much less terrible; Cf. Purg. iii.

multos . . . adiuuant] Cf. Dante, Purg. iii. 140, 141:

'Se tal decreto

Più corto per buon prieghi non diventa.'

p. 309. multum detestatus sum] This is a common feature in these stories; cf. Lismore Lives, p. xii.

non omnibus . . . desidiosis, &c.] Cf. iii. 19, p. 167.

Aldfrido] v. on iv. 26; Introduction, p. xxxiii.

p. 310. monasterio supra memorato] i. e. Melrose.

Edilwald] He had been a servant 'minister' of St. Cuthbert; Ethelwald. Vita Anon. § 23; Vita Pros. c. 30. When the former life was written he was 'Praepositus' or 'Prior' of Melrose, when the latter was written he was abbot; Opp. Min. pp. 277, 107. If the date of his abbacy could be fixed, it would help to fix the date of this vision of Drythelm, and of Bede's life of Cuthbert. He became bishop of Lindisfarne after Eadfrid, who died 721. The date of Ethelwald's consecration is generally given as 724. This is an inference from the fact that S. D. ii. 32 says that he died in 740 (so Cont. Baedae, *infr.* p. 362; 739, Fl. Wig.; 737, Sax. Chron. D. E.), while in i. 39 he says that he was bishop sixteen years. But this seems insufficient ground on which to traverse the statement of Fl. Wig. that he succeeded in 721; which is also the more probable date, as no vacancy of the see is anywhere hinted at. He caused a beautiful stone cross to be erected with his name at Lindisfarne, which shared the wanderings of St. Cuthbert's body till it reposed at Durham; S. D. i. 39. He also caused a cover of gold and jewels to be made for the copy of the Gospels which his predecessor Eadfrid had written in honour of St. Cuthbert; S. D. i. 64-68 (where the adventures of this book are narrated. In visions of St. Cuthbert, the saint appears holding this book; ib. 204, 232). It is now in the Brit. Mus., Cott. Nero D. iv., but Ethelwald's cover had been removed before it came into the possession of Sir Robert Cotton;

and the existing cover is modern, the gift of Bishop Maltby. There is an interesting account of the MS. by Sir E. Maunde Thompson in *Bibliographica*, Part ii. pp. 129-138. He sees no reason to doubt the local tradition recorded in the colophon appended by the Priest Aldred who, in the tenth century, added the Northumbrian gloss to the MS. He thinks the illuminations were done by special artists under Eadfrid's directions. There are facsimiles also in the series issued by the Palaeographical Society, plates 3-6, 22; but no facsimile can give any idea of the exquisite beauty of the original. It is the fairest MS. that has ever come under my notice; cf. D.C. B. ii. 7; and Dom Germain Morin, in the *Revue Bénédictine*, 1891, pp. 481, 529, cited by Sir E. M. Thompson.

Asceticism. solebat . . . insistere] So Kentigern: 'nudum . . . se reddens, aquis uehementibus et frigidis se inmergebat; . . . ibique in frigore et nuditate . . . totum ex integro decantabat psalterium;' N. & K. p. 185; 'hyemali tempore, bruma . . . cuncta . . . congelante, iuxta morem in frigidissimis aquis nudus persoluit psalterium;' ib. 205; cf. Introduction, § 9.

## CHAPTER 13.

Centred of  
Mercia.

P. 311. temporibus Coenredi] He reigned from 704 to 709, v. *infr.* c. 24, pp. 355, 356; therefore this incident must be placed between those years; R. W. places it under 707, i. 200. The Sax. Chron. MSS. D. E. record his accession both at 702 and at 704. The former entry is probably due to the uncritical copying of some authority of which the chronology is antedated by two years.

officio militari positus] 'cyninges þeng,' 'a king's thane;' AS. vers.

tempore sequente] 'þonne he eldra wære,' 'when he should be older,' inserts AS. vers.; which inserts the same phrase again lower down, before the words 'cum . . . resurgeret.'

The vision.

p. 312. codicem horrendae uisionis] Cf. Apoc. Pauli, § 10; Tischendorf, u. s., pp. 39, 40: γνῶτε, υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι πάντα τὰ πραττόμενα παρ' ὑμῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἀγγελοὶ ἀπογράφονται ἐν οὐρανοῖς. Ib. § 16, pp. 45, 46: προέτρεχεν αὐτῇ [sc. ψυχῇ ἀσεβεῖ] ὁ συνήθης ἀγγελος λέγων . . . ταλαίπωρε ψυχὴ ποῦ πορεύει; ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπογραφόμενος τὰς ἀμαρτίας σου. § 17, p. 47: καὶ ἤκουσα τοῦ κριτοῦ λέγοντος· ἰδὼν ἔλθῃ ὁ ἀγγελος ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχων τὸ χειρόγραφον τῶν ἀμωρτημάτων σου.

Spiritual  
despera-  
tion,

inueni omnia scelera, &c.] Cf. Bede on Prov. v. 14: 'Quod ergo sero poenitens ait contemptor sapientiae: paene fui in omni malo in medio ecclesiae et synagogae; uidetur misero magnitudinem suae

damnationis perpendenti, quia nihil paene fuerit sceleris, quo non sit irretitus, qui tanta meruit tormenta subire;’ Opp. ix. 79.

**desperans]** In a Christmas homily, commenting on the Magnificat, Bede says: ‘Nunquam de impetranda admissorum uenia desperemus, quia *misericordia eius a progenie in progenies timentibus eum*. Nulli inter mala quae fecit grauior impenitendi culpa surripiat, quia *Deus superbis resistit*, eosque a beatorum sorte secernens, per uaria poenarum loca pro peccatorum uarietate dispergit;’ Opp. v. 306. For other passages in Bede against spiritual desperation, cf. ib. 3, 155, 357, 433; ix. 122; x. 258.

**p. 313. ne . . . praeuerti]** Cf. the Ash Wednesday antiphon in the Roman Missal: ‘Emendemus in melius quae ignoranter peccauimus: ne subito praeoccupati die mortis, quaeramus spatium poenitentiae, et inuenire non possimus.’

**psalmus]** ‘se sealmiscop,’ ‘the Psalmist,’ AS. vers.

**sive audientium]** Bede evidently contemplates the possibility of his work being read aloud for purposes of edification, as was in fact done. See the additional critical notes for evidence as to the way in which passages of the H. E. were used as lections in Church and Refectory. This very chapter occurs separately in a MS. of the Basle University Library, A. v. 39.

## CHAPTER 14.

**Noui autem, &c.]** R. W. places this incident in 728; but there are no means of determining the date. He speaks very dishonestly, as if he were concealing the name of the culprit which he knew: ‘quem nominare supersedeo;’ i. 217.

**maioribus]** ‘ealdormannum,’ ‘aldermen,’ AS. vers.

**p. 314. fabrili arte singularis]** For another monastic smith, but of a very different character, cf. Ethelwulf de Abbatibus, c. 10; S. D. i. 276, 277:

‘Mirificis fratrem liceat memorare loquelis,  
Ferre qui domitans potuit formare metalla,  
Diuersisque modis sapiens incude subactum  
Malleus in ferrum peditat stridente camino.’

**quod solent dicere]** ‘dictum crudelissimum.’ O<sub>1</sub>.

**quia uideret, &c.]** The words are obviously chosen with a view to bringing out the contrast between this vision and that of St. Stephen, cited below.

**Satanan]** ‘pone ealdan feond monecynnes,’ ‘the ancient enemy of mankind,’ inserts AS. vers.

**Caiphanque]** ‘pone ealdorman para sacerda,’ ‘the alderman or chief of the priests,’ inserts AS. vers. Cf. Dante, Inf. xxiii. 115 ff.

desperans] See note on last chapter.

Prayers for  
the impeni-  
tent dead.

neque aliquis pro eo] Bede himself, on 1 John v. 16, discussing the sin unto death, for which St. John dares not bid us pray, says: 'peccatum quod in hac uita non corrigitur, eius uenia frustra post mortem postulatur;' Opp. xii. 318. Cf. Theodore's Penitential, I. v. 11: 'Si episcopus aut abbas iusserit monacho suo pro hereticis mortuis missam cantare, non licet et non expedit oboedire ei.' Legatine Synod of 787, § 20: 'Si quis . . . sine poenitentia aut confessione de hac luce discessit, pro eo minime orandum est;' H. & S. iii. 181, 459. Cf. ib. 227. Yet prayers for the heathen dead were allowed in the early Church. Cf. Ramsay, Church in the Roman Empire, p. 421.

uel psalmos cantare] On psalms for the dead, v.s. on iii. 5, p. 136.

Stephen's  
vision.

uidit caelos apertos] Commenting on this passage of the Acts, Bede says: 'Ad confortandam . . . beati martyris patientiam coelestis regni ianua panditur, et ne innoxius homo lapidatus titubet in terra, Deus homo crucifixus apparet coronatus in coelo. Unde quia stare pugnantis uel adiuantis est, recte a dextris Dei stantem uidit, quem inter homines persequentes adiutorem habuit. . . . Marcus eum . . . sedere describit, qui situs iudicantis est, quia et nunc inuisibiliter omnia iudicat, et ad extremum Iudex omnium uisibilis adueniet;' Opp. xii. 37. Cf. x. 262 (on Mark xvi. 19).

## CHAPTER 15.

Anglo-  
Saxon  
version.

The AS. vers. omits cc. 15-17, and gives as capitulum xv: 'Dæt monega cyricean . . . eall geleafican Eastran onfengon; 7 be Ealdelme, se ða bōc *de uirginitate* 7 eac oðra manega geworhte; ge eac þæt Suðseaxan 7c.' (as in capitulum xviii. *inf.*, p. 320), 'That many churches . . . received the Catholic Easter; and of Aldhelm, who composed the book *De Virginitate*, and many others also; and, further, how the South Saxons, &c.'

Date.

P. 315. Quo tempore] H. & S. ii. 6, 7, take this to mean the year of Adamnan's death (703 or 704, v. *infra*), but it can hardly be fixed so precisely. The change might be spread over several years, as were the labours of Adamnan in Ireland, to which the change was mainly due. See below.

The north-  
ern Irish  
adopt the  
Roman  
Easter,

plurima . . . Hibernia] i.e. the northern Irish; the southern Irish had conformed long before this. See on iii. 3. It was, however, only those 'qui ab Hiensium dominio erant liberi' who yielded to Adamnan's arguments (*infra*), and this limits the 'plurima pars' considerably.

nonnulla . . . de Bretonibus] Probably the Strathclyde Britons ; as do some of the Britons.  
H. & S. u. s. The chronological reference is not, however, so precise as to exclude the possibility that Bede is thinking also of the Cornish Britons ('Cornwealas', some of whom were converted by Aldheld, *infra*. c. 18, pp. 320, 321, whose letter to Gerontius (Geraint), King of Damnonia, on the Paschal question, was written in 705 ; H. & S. iii. 268. I do not think that Bede's words imply that Adamnan had anything to do with the conversion of the Britons ; *ib.* ii. 7. If he had, it would only be the Strathclyde Britons that he could be brought into contact with. The Britons of Wales did not begin to conform till after the middle of the eighth century, and the controversy lasted on into the ninth century ; *ib.* i. 203, 204. Cf. *infra*. c. 23 *ad fin.*

Adamnan . . . Hii] This is the biographer of St. Columba, and Adamnan, ninth abbot of Iona, 679-704. Much material relating to him is collected by Dr. Reeves in the Introduction to his monumental edition of Adamnan's Life of Columba, but the material requires rather more critical sifting than Dr. Reeves has given it. Cf. also S. C. S. ii. 170-175. On the churches dedicated to Adamnan in Ireland and Scotland, and the various transformations undergone by his name, *v.* Ra. Ad. pp. lxi-lxviii, 256-258.

cum legationis gratia . . . uenisset] He is described in the same way, c. 21, p. 344 : 'legatus suae gentis ad Aldfridum regem.' Adamnan tells us himself that he paid two visits to the Northumbrian court : 'regem Aldfridum uisitantes amicum, . . . et in prima post bellum Ecfredi uisitacione, et in secunda interiectis duobus annis ;' Ra. Ad. pp. 185, 186. The 'bellum Ecfredi' is, of course, Nechtansmere, 685. The object of the first visit was to obtain from Aldfrid, whose friendship he had no doubt acquired during the latter's exile ('regem . . . amicum,' cf. Fragments of Irish Ann. p. 110, cited on *iv.* 26), the release of the prisoners brought from Ireland by Egfrid's general, Bert, in 684 ; *iv.* 26. In this he was successful : 'Adomnanus captiuos reduxit ad Hiberniam lx ;' Tigh. 687 ; Ann. Ult. 686. The latter is probably the right date ; cf. F. M. 684. (For a later mythical account of this mission, *v.* Ra. Ad. pp. xlv f.) The second visit would then fall in 688. The conference with Ceolfrid, c. 21, is generally connected with this second visit ; Reeves, Skene ; O'Donovan, *ad* F. M. 684, connects it with the first ; and the similarity of the words in which Adamnan is described here and in c. 21, *v. s.*, makes this the more probable view. Reeves, *u. s.* p. 187, following Westminster, as he says, places the mission mentioned by Bede in 701 ; H. & S. ii. 109 place it as late as 703. This is impossible. The language of Bede, 'cum . . . His missions to Aldfrid.

uenisset,' does not exclude, and the probabilities of the case require an interval of some time between Adamnan's own conversion and his success in bringing over the Northern Irish. Reeves himself, p. liii, says that Adamnan was in Ireland in 701, which makes it the more strange that he should have been misled by Westminster. The latter is here simply copying Matth. Paris, Chron. Mai. i. 318, who in turn is copying R. W. i. 196. None of these have, of course, any value for this early period; but in fact the entry implies nothing as to the date of Adamnan's mission. The date 701 is merely given as that of Adamnan's 'floruit,' and then the fact of his mission is narrated in language taken from Bede. Smith's reliance on Westminster is as pathetic as it is unfounded: 'in re tam obscura eius auctoritatem tutus sequor.'

He is converted to the Roman Easter.

a pluribus . . . admonitus] By Ceolfrid, c. 21, p. 344. Bede himself, then about fourteen, probably saw Adamnan on this occasion. Yet Mr. Macpherson, in the Preface to his translation of Arculfus (see below), says: 'It is useless to ask whether there can have been any connexion at all between him [Bede] and Adamnan;' p. xvii.

cum suis . . . positus] On this form of argument cf. ii. 19, *ad init.* note.

uir bonus, &c.] Compare the character given of him in c. 21, p. 344.

Visits of Adamnan to Ireland.

p. 316. nauigauit Hiberniam] Besides the voyage with the released prisoners in 686, *v. s.*, the Irish Annals record two journeys of Adamnan to Ireland; one in 691, Ann. Ult.; 692, Tigh.; the other in 696, Ann. Ult.; 697, Tigh. (on the latter visit, cf. Ra. Ad. pp. 1, li). Reeves, p. liii, thinks that he remained there from that time until he returned to Iona shortly before his death, as mentioned by Bede. This is possible, though it does not seem capable of proof. The Fragments of Irish Annals, which give a very mythical and confused account of these events, pp. 110-114, speak of Adamnan as expelled from Iona. This is no doubt an exaggeration.

Dissensions on the Easter question.

tion. But the picture they give of the dissensions caused in Ireland by the Paschal question is probably founded on fact: 'is amlaid tictis na cleirig isna senadaib, 7 a tuata leo, combitis comraicthe catha 7 marbtha imda etorro,' 'it is thus that the clergy would go to the synods; with their lay-folk about them, so that there were conflicts, and many mutual slaughters.' The scribe of the MS. writes 'calumnia' in the margin; but we can prove in many instances that later compilers, like the Four Masters, deliberately omitted accounts of ecclesiastical dissensions recorded in their authorities for the sake of avoiding scandal; Ra.

Ad. p. 255. To these troubles in connexion with the Easter question Adamnan is thought to allude at the end of his work *De Locis Sanctis*, where he speaks of himself as 'inter laboriosas et prope insustentabiles tota die undique conglobatas ecclesiasticæ sollicitudinis occupationes constitutus.' And he says that Columba foretold them; Reeves, p. 26.

p. 316. qui ab Hiensium . . . liberi] On the federation of Columbite monasteries, see notes to iii. 4. Thus both in Ireland and Britain it was precisely among his own flock that Adamnan had the least success.

migrasse de sæculo] 703, Ann. Ult.; 704, Tigh. and Ann. Camb. His day is Sept. 23; Féliire; Mart. Doneg. Bede seems to imply that the following year was one in which the two Easters would have differed. If the eighty-four years' cycle given by Ideler was the one used by the Celts, then it would seem that this was the case both in 704 and 705.

scripsit . . . librum] Of Arculfus, from whose dictation Adamnan wrote this book on the holy places, nothing is known except what Adamnan and Bede have told us, viz. that he was a bishop from Gaul who travelled in the East, and on his return was driven by stress of weather on to the western coast of Britain. Even the name of his see, if he held one, is unknown, though Périgieux has been suggested; Vicomte Alexis de Gourgues, *Le saint Suaire*, cited by Tobler, *ut infra*, p. xxx. Adamnan thus describes the mode of composition: 'Arculfus . . . in Hierosolymitana ciuitate per menses IX hospitatus, . . . mihi Adamnано haec . . . primo in tabulas describenti . . . dictauit, quæ nunc in membranis . . . scribuntur' (Prologus). Adamnan however does not merely reproduce Arculfus' narrative. He compares his words 'cum aliorum scriptis'; i. 23; ii. 29. He cites St. Jerome, ii. 7, 10, 28; Josephus, *de Bello Iud.* ii. 19; cf. Tobler, p. xxxi. Arculfus' pilgrimage has been dated c. 670; ib. xxx. He suffered, as other travellers have suffered, from the impatience of his guide: 'diutius hospitari non poterat, quia ipsum cogebat locorum peritus Christi miles festinare, de Burgundia ortus, uitam ducens solitariam, Petrus nomine;' ii. 25; cf. ib. 26. Besides the Holy Land, he visited Damascus, Tyre, Alexandria, Crete, Constantinople, where he saw the exposition of the relics of the true Cross in Holy Week, and Sicily, where he saw Aetna; ii. 27-iii. 6.

The work of Adamnan has been often printed, by Gretser, Ingolstadt, 1619, 4to, reprinted in his collected works; by Mabillon, AA. SS. iv. 502 (1672); by Migne, Pat. Lat. vol. 83, 1850; by Delpit at the end of his *Essai sur les anciens pèlerinages*



Bede's *De Locis Sanctis*.

à Jérusalem, 1870; by Tobler in *Itinera et Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae* . . . saec. iv-xi, i. 139; edited for the Société de l'Orient Latine, 1877. An English translation with notes by the Rev. J. R. Macpherson was issued by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society in 1889. It is on this work of Adamnan's that Bede mainly based his own book *De Locis Sanctis*; Opp. iv. 402-442; cf. what he says himself at the end of that book: '*Haec de locis sanctis, prout potui, fidem historiae secutus exposui, et maxime Arculphi dictatus Galliarum episcopi, quos eruditissimus in scripturis presbyter Adamnanus lacinioso sermone describens, tribus libellis comprehendit. Siquidem memoratus antistes, desiderio locorum sanctorum patriam deserens, terram repromissionis adiit, aliquot mensibus Hierosolymis demoratus, ueteranoque monacho nomine Petro duce pariter atque interprete usus, cuncta in circuitu, quae desiderauerat, uiuida intentione lustrauit; necnon Alexandriam, Damascum, Constantinopolim, Siciliamque perecurrit. Sed cum patriam reuisere uellet, nauis, qua uehebatur, post multos anfractus uento contrario in nostram, id est, Britannorum insulam perlata est; tandemque ipse post nonnulla pericula ad praefatum uirum uenerabilem Adamnanum ueniens, iter pariter suum, et ea, quae uiderat explicando, pulcherrimae illum historiae docuit esse scriptorem. Ex qua nos aliqua decerpentes, ueterumque libris comparantes, tibi legenda transmittimus, obsecrantes per omnia, ut praesentis seculi laborem, non otio lasciui corporis, sed lectionis orationisque studio tibi temperare satagas.*'

From this it will be seen that Bede did not confine himself to merely reproducing Adamnan (cf. Tobler, pref., who shows that he used also Josephus, *de Bello Iud.*, and either Eucherius, or some predecessor of Eucherius). The word '*tibi*' shows that the work was addressed to some individual; but the dedication, if there ever was one, seems to have been lost. This work also is printed by Tobler, and translated by Macpherson. From what Bede says at the end of this present chapter, and at the end of c. 17, it might be supposed that the extracts which he gives here were taken direct from Adamnan. That however is not the case. They are all, with the exception of a few words, taken from his own book, as was rightly seen by Mr. Macpherson, p. xviii. I have printed in smaller type the parts which Bede has borrowed from his own work. The italics, whether in the small or larger type, indicate what he derived from Adamnan. There is an abbreviated Irish translation of Bede's work in L. Br. p. 157 b; Laud Misc. 610 f. 27 c. On Holy Places, Pilgrimages, &c., see D. C. A. i. 774 ff.; ii. 1635 ff.

et maxime . . . norunt] Cf. Bede, In Cant., Lib. i, *ad fin.*: Bede's desire to instruct his readers.  
 'ne me superfluum iudicet [lector], qui de natura arborum, . . . iuxta quod in libris antiquorum didici, latius explanare uoluerim. Feci namque hoc non arrogantiae studendo, sed meae meorumque imperitiae consulendo, qui longius extra orbem, hoc est in insula maris oceani nati et nutriti, ea quae in primis orbis partibus, Arabia dico et India, Iudaea et Aegypto geruntur, non nisi per eorum, qui his interfuere, scripta nosse ualemus; Opp. ix. 200.

## CHAPTER 16.

P. 317. I cannot pretend to discuss the subject of the mediaeval topography of Jerusalem, and must content myself with indicating in the margin the sources from which Bede drew.

ecolesiam Constantinianam] Cf. 'Constantinus fecit Romae, ubi baptizatus est, basilicam . . . , quae appellata est Constantiniana; Chron. Opp. Min. p. 181.

Anastasis] v. D. C. A. i. 80, 81.

p. 318. huius in medio] This passage, to the end of the chapter, is given in a somewhat abbreviated form in Bede's Commentary on Mark xv. 46; Opp. x. 251, 252. Compare also Opp. xi. 284, 358 with Opp. iv. 418, 410; Opp. vii. 167 with Opp. iv. 420.

## CHAPTER 17.

brucosa] This word is not in any of the dictionaries. It may be connected with the Low Latin 'bruscus,' 'brushwood.'

p. 319. Chebron] Of Hebron, see an interesting account in Stanley, Jewish Church, vol. i, App. ii.

memoriae] 'Memoria, monumentum, sepulcrum, μνημεῖον; Ducango.

uel in eo . . . excerpsumus] i. e. the De Locis Sanctis of Bede, on Bede's De Locis Sanctis.  
 which see notes to c. 15, *sup.* It is curious that Bede does not mention this in the list of his works in c. 24.

## CHAPTER 18.

P. 320. Anno . . . inpleto] For Aldfrid, see notes on iv. 26. His Date of death is recorded in most of the Irish authorities and in Ann. Aldfrid's death.  
 Camb. under the year 703 or 704. The Saxon Chron. follows Bede and gives 705. MSS. D. and E. of the Chron., followed by Fl. Wig., say that he died at Driffield, which is said to be a corruption of Deira-feld, Murray's Yorkshire (1867), p. 119, in the East Riding

of Yorkshire, on the 19th of the Calends of January, i. e. Dec. 14. (According to Smith on iv. 26, his monument was still shown at Little Driffield. It has now disappeared; cf. Murray, *u. s.* pp. 120, 145.) As he succeeded May 21, 685, this would give him a reign of more than twenty years, instead of less, as Bede here affirms, while in c. 1, *ad fin.*, he gives him only nineteen years. Mr. Stevenson proposed to read Iun. for Ianr. in the Chron. and Florence. Unluckily there are not nineteen days of the Calends of June, as in May the Ides are on the 15th. Eddius, c. 59, regards the illness and death of Aldfrid as a judgement on him for his treatment of Wilfrid. He affirms, on the authority of eye-witnesses, that he repented on his death-bed and charged his heir, 'quicumque mihi . . . successerit,' to make peace with Wilfrid. The words cited show that the succession was known to be doubtful. For two months Eadwulf, whose relationship, if any, to the royal house is not known, usurped the crown. Osred, with Bertfrith, his chief supporter, who is described as 'secundus a rege princeps,' was besieged at Bamborough; but on their vowing obedience to the papal commands about Wilfrid, Eadwulf's partisans deserted him, and Osred obtained the throne; ib. c. 60; cf. G. P. p. 242. Now if the two months of Eadwulf's reign, and the synod on the Nidd have to be brought into 705, as would appear from c. 19, p. 329, then clearly Aldfrid's death cannot have taken place in Dec. 705. On the other hand it must be subsequent to Wilfrid's arrival in Britain, and he was not at Meaux till 705. See notes on c. 19.

Character  
of Osred.

Osred . . . XI] The death of Aldfrid and the accession of Osred mark the end of Northumbrian greatness; v. Introduction, § 10. Osred seems to have been a youth of precocious viciousness. St. Boniface in his letter to Ethelbald (744 x 747) says: 'privilegia ecclesiarum in regno Anglorum . . . inuiolata permanserunt usque ad tempora Ceolredi Regis Mercionum et Osredi Regis Derorum et Berniciorum. Hi duo reges . . . commorantes . . . in stupratione . . . nonnarum et fractura monasteriorum, . . . immatura . . . morte praeuerti, . . . in profundum inferni . . . demersi sunt,' &c. And again: 'Osredum quoque spiritus luxoriae . . . agitauit; usque quod ipse gloriosum regnum et iuuenilem uitam, et ipsam luxoriosam animam contemptibili et despecta morte perdidit;' Mon. Mog. pp. 174, 175; H. & S. iii. 355; cf. W. M. i. 58. Ethelwulf also gives him a very bad character:

'Hic igitur multos [sc. proceres] miseranda morte peremit,  
Ast alios cogit summo seruire parenti,  
Inque monasterii attonsos consistere saeptis, . . .  
Anglorum proceres nimium trucidante tyranno;'

De Abbatibus, c. 3, in S. D. i. 268, 269. Yet Folcard in his life of John of Beverley calls him 'uir religionis et fidei'; H. Y. i. 254.

**Hæddi]** On Hædde and the history of the West-Saxon Hædde. bishopric, see notes to iii. 7; iv. 12.

**migrauit]** Of course he was buried at Glastonbury according to W. M. i. 25, 26.

**episcopalem . . . exercebat]** Malmesbury, G. P. p. 159, cites this judgement of Bede's, and adds: 'unde non paruo moueor scrupulo, quippe qui legerim eius formales epistolas non nimis indocte compositas, et Aldelmi ad eum scripta, maximam uim eloquentiae et scientiae redolentia.' Of Hædde's 'formales epistolae' none, as far as I know, exist. There is a letter of Aldhelm's to him excusing himself for being unable to spend Christmas with him on the ground of his many studies and occupations; Aldh. Opp. ed. Giles, pp. 96, 97; Mon. Mog. pp. 32-34; G. P. pp. 341-343. Some lines addressed to him by Theodore are in H. & S. iii. 203; and Hardy, Cat. i. 388. They are better evidence of Theodore's regard for him than the spurious decree cited on iii. 7.

**Pæthelm]** See on c. 23, p. 351.

**propter quod . . . non minima]** Cf. iii. 9, p. 145.

**episcopatus . . . diuisus est]** The limits of the two dioceses are thus given in G. P. p. 175: 'In diuisione West Saxonici episcopatus hoc obseruatum palam est, ut, qui Wintoniae sederet haberet duos pagos Amptunensem et Sudreiensem; alter qui Scireburniae, haberet Wiltunensem, Dorsatensem, Berruchensem, Sumersetensem, Domnoniensem [Devon], Cornubiensem;' cf. ib. 375: 'Iniqua et impar fuit ea diuisio, ut unus duos tantum pagos, alter totum regeret, quicquid West Saxonici tractus immensitas continet.' The division was effected in a regular council; H. & S. iii. 275, 276; Aldh. Opp. p. 368; cf. also F. N. C. ii. 589, 590; Green, M. E. p. 392. Of Sherborne itself Malmesbury says: 'Scireburnia est uiculus, nec habitantium frequentia nec positionis gratia suauis, in quo mirandum et pene pudendum sedem episcopalem per tot durasse saecula;' G. P. p. 175.

**Daniheli]** He furnished Bede with materials for the ecclesiastical history of Wessex, Sussex, and Wight; Pref. p. 7; which last he was the first to bring under regular episcopal jurisdiction, iv. 16, p. 238. In these two passages he is called 'Occidentalium Saxonum episcopus,' in spite of the fact that in the division of the see of Wessex he had much the smaller share. In c. 23, p. 350, he is called 'Uentanus antistes,' 'episcopus Uentae ciuitatis;' cf. the present chapter, *ad fin.* Malmesbury calls him: 'eiusdem regionis oriundus, et literarum non egonus;' G. P. p.

Division of  
the West  
Saxon  
diocese.

Bishop  
Daniel.

375; and gives some examples of his ascetic practices; *ib.* 357, 358. Cynehard, Bishop of Winchester, writing to Lullus, calls him 'Daniel doctissimus Dei plebis famulus;' *H. & S.* iii. 432; *Mon. Mog.* p. 269. There is a commendatory letter of his for Wynfrid (St. Boniface) on his final departure for Frisia, 718, in *Mon. Mog.* pp. 61, 62; *H. & S.* iii. 302. His letter to Boniface on the best way of dealing with the heathen, *Mon. Mog.* pp. 71-74; *H. & S.* iii. 304-306, has been alluded to above on i. 30. A later letter of Boniface to Daniel asking his advice, with Daniel's reply (732 x 746) is in *Mon. Mog.* pp. 157-166; *H. & S.* iii. 343-349. From these letters it appears that Daniel in his later years was blind. In 721, he made a journey to Rome; *Sax. Chron.*; *Fl. Wig.* In 744 he resigned his see, and in 745 he died, *ib.* These authorities give him an episcopate of forty-three years, which, as they place Hædde's death in 703, is not so far wrong. In *G. P.* p. 160, he is said to have retired to Malmesbury, and died, and been buried there, but this seems inconsistent with the statements of the *Chron.* and *Fl. Wig.* In *Mon. Mog.* No. 112, there is a curious vision of the other world, in which among the occupants of the lower regions appear: 'infantium numerosa multitudo, sub Danielo episcopo maxime sine baptismo morientium;' p. 276. Whether there is any foundation for this charge, I do not know. The vision cannot be earlier than 757. It is just possible that Bede, by applying the term 'strenuissime' to Aldhelm's government, means to hint that Daniel was somewhat wanting in that quality; cf. on Daniel, Bright, pp. 424, 425.

Aldhelm.

[Aldhelmo] There are two principal lives of Aldhelm extant, *r. Hardy*, *Cat. i.* 389-396; one by Faricius, a Tuscan, physician to Henry I, who was first a monk at Malmesbury, and afterwards abbot of Abingdon (x 1117). This is printed in *AA. SS.* (May 25) in *Aldh. Opp.* ed. Giles, pp. 354-382, and in *Migne*, *Pat. Lat.* vol. 89. The more ancient lives have perished. Faricius had earlier materials written 'barbarice atque Latine,' i. e. in English and Latin (contrast *G. P.* p. 230: 'prefectus, in alios barbarus et immanis, in istum Anglus et lenis'). The former he could only read 'ex interprete'; much had however been destroyed by the Danes, pp. 354-356; *G. P.* p. 390. The other life is by Malmesbury, and forms *Lib. v.* of the *Gesta Pontificum* (ed. Hamilton, *R. S.* pp. 332-443). He uses the life by Faricius, though he makes merry over his blunders; he also cites *Manualem librum regis Elfredi*, pp. 332, 333 (cf. *W. M.* i. 132 'liber proprius quem patria lingua Handboec, id est, Manualem librum, appellauit'). On the authority of this lost work he gives the beautiful tradition

how Aldhelm used his skill as a minstrel (cf. Fl. Wig. i. 237: Aldhelm as 'citharaedus optimus') to collect the people round him after mass, a minstrel, and, having done so, gradually won them to listen to sacred themes. Lays attributed to him were still sung in Alfred's time; and Alfred, no mean judge, considered them superior to all other English poetry; p. 336. How willingly would we surrender the whole of Aldhelm's stilted Latin to recover one of his native poems! The rest of Malmesbury's work is largely made up of extracts from Aldhelm's letters, and Malmesbury charters, most of the latter being of very doubtful authenticity. Malmesbury says that Aldhelm was not less than seventy when he died, 709; this would place his birth about 639. He was connected with the royal family of Wessex; G. P. p. 332; cf. W. M. i. 35. He became a monk at Malmesbury under Maelduib (v. *infra*), where he was afterwards abbot. He also studied under Abbot Hadrian, the companion of Theodore, as is proved by his own letter to Hadrian; ib. 333-335; Opp. p. 330; and we have seen (on iii. 27) that in spite of his own connexion with Maelduib, he thought it derogatory to the school of Canterbury that Englishmen should resort to Ireland for instruction; Opp. p. 94. At some period of his life he visited Rome. This rests not only on the statements of his biographers, Opp. pp. 360, 361; G. P. pp. 363 ff., but on a contemporary letter addressed to him, Opp. p. 98: 'tu Romae aduena fuisti.' Among other foundations he built an 'ecclesiola' to St. Lawrence at Bradford-on-Avon, which escaped the ravages of the Danes, and was standing in Malmesbury's time, G. P. p. 346, and is probably the same 'little church' which has been discovered in our own days. His appointment to Malmesbury must be placed, 670 x 676, if it was made, as stated, by Leutherius or Hlothhere, Bishop of Wessex, 670-676, Sax. Chron. Malmesbury places it in 675. G. P. p. 385; Fl. Wig. in 666, i. 27; which is impossible. He became bishop in 705, and died, May 25, 709, at Doulting in Somerset, and was buried at Malmesbury, stones called 'bishop-stones' being erected along the route; G. P. pp. 381-386. He seems to have received almost at once a sort of informal canonisation; cf. W. M. i. 144, 152. Lanfranc 'legem in totam promulgavit Angliam, qua eum . . . haberi et coli pro Sancto prae-ciperet;' G. P. p. 428. Faricius says that after he became bishop, 'impeditus rebus saecularibus, in episcopio, ut mos est omnium, . . . haud postea tantum ualuit in uirtutibus, quantum prius ualebat;' Opp. p. 369; cf. *supra* on ii. 1. Both in the De Virginitate, and in the Letter to Acircius, he speaks of being weighed down with ecclesiastical cares; Opp. pp. 79, 327. But this must

refer to his cares as abbot. As abbot he signs a charter of 692; K. C. D. No. 995; Birch, No. 78; cf. on Aldhelm, Bp. Stubbs' article in D. C. B., and Bright, pp. 258 ff., 398 ff., 425 ff.

Origin of  
the founda-  
tion and  
name of  
Malmes-  
bury.

**Mailduff urbem]** We have here another instance, in addition to that of Dicul at Selsey, iv. 13, of Irish influence in the south of Britain. This 'Maildufus,' as Bede calls him, was the first founder of this settlement, and was Aldhelm's instructor and predecessor as abbot. A certain 'Scot' appeals to Aldhelm to take him as a pupil on the ground that Aldhelm himself 'a quodam sancto uiro de nostro genere nutritus es;' Mon. Mog. p. 34; Opp. Aldh. p. 98. Bede's 'Maildufus' represents the Irish 'Maelduib' (cf. the critical notes), a name which occurs, e. g. Mart. Doneg. pp. 68, 264, 278, 340, 346; F. M. *ad ann.* 622, 681, 695, 890. From this name come various forms of the place-name: 'Meldubesburg,' G. P. p. 390; 'Maldubesburg,' ib. 380; 'Mailduberi' (i. e. 'Mailduib-byrig'), ib. 333, 395; 'Maldubia ciuitas,' Mon. Mog. p. 300; 'Maildubiensis ecclesia,' G. P. p. 396; cf. ib. 387; 'monasterium Maldubiense,' ib. 388. The founder's name is however often found written, Meildulf, e. g. G. P. pp. 333, 345, 421. This has no Irish equivalent, and is probably a mere contamination with the common Anglo-Saxon termination, 'wulf' or 'ulf'; it gives rise to the form 'Maldulfesbirg' for the place-name, ib. 334. 'Maldulfesburg,' AS. vers. a. h. l. Other forms of the place-name point to 'Maelduin' as the name of the founder. This is a very common Irish name; it occupies e. g. more than a column of the Index to the Four Masters. It is well known as the name of the hero of the famous Irish tale: 'immram curaig Mailduin' 'the Navigation of Maelduin's Coracle,' which Tennyson has made known to English readers in his Voyage of Maeldune. Faricius in his life of Aldhelm calls the founder Meldun; Giles, Opp. Aldh. p. 362; G. P. p. ix: 'Meldunensis . . . a quodam Meldone solitario, qui . . . locum illum prius inhabitauit, cuius crux lapidea in medio claustris stetit ad praedictam (? -ti) solitarii memoriam.' Hence we get 'Meldunesburg' as the place-name; charters in Opp. Aldh. u. s. pp. 343, 344, (= K. C. D. Nos. 22, 23; Birch, Nos. 58, 59), while in Latin 'Meldunum' and the adjective 'Meldunensis' ('Maldunensis,' G. P. p. 387) are among the commonest forms; G. P. pp. ix, 160, 354, 378, 396, 397, 403. 'Maelduin' seems however to have been early misread 'Maeldum'; and hence we find the founder called 'Meldum,' G. P. pp. 333, 335; and the place 'Meldumesburg,' ib. 335, 355; 'Maldumesburg,' ib. 348, 352, 368, 395; and 'Mealdumesburg,' ib. 371; cf. 'æt Meldum, þæt is oprum naman Maldumesburuh geclypud,' 'at Meldum, otherwise called Maldumsborough,' ib.

The greater fame of Aldhelm eclipsed that of the original founder, and we find the place called 'Ealdelmesburg,' 'Aldhelm's borough'; Sax. Chron. 1015, MSS. C. D. (cf. Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 302). By a contamination of this with the older forms we get 'Mealdelmesburg'; ib. MSS. E. F., which became the prevailing form; and through various gradations, 'Maldelmesburuh,' G. P. p. 410; 'Malmesburge'; Aldh. Opp. p. 346 (= K. C. D. No. 26; Birch, No. 65); 'Mealmesbyri,' Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 378; 'Malmesberi,' G. P. p. 333 (in Latin 'Malmesbiria': 'quod nunc corruptior aetas Malmesbiriam nuncupat;' G. P. p. 345; cf. W. M. i. 152), became the modern Malmesbury. The idea of Thorpe, that the initial *m* of 'Mealdelmesburg' represents the preposition 'in,' though advanced confidently ('no doubt') is quite impossible; *n* could only become *m* before a labial; Sax. Chron. ed. Thorpe, i. 405.

[*scripsit, iubente synodo, &c.*] This was in 705, just before Aldhelm's elevation to the episcopate; H. & S. iii. 268; cf. G. P. pp. 360, 361. Aldhelm's letter to Gerontius [Geraint], King 'occidentalis regni,' may be found, H. & S. iii. 268-273; Aldh. Opp. pp. 83-89; Mon. Mog. pp. 24-31. On the Paschal question generally, v. Excursus.

p. 321. *castitati*] i.e. orthodoxy, cf. on iii. 28.

[*multos . . . Brettones*] Here, as often, political and ecclesiastical influence go together. In c. 23, *ad fin.*, Bede distinguishes between those Britons who were 'sui iuris,' and those who were 'Anglorum seruitio mancipati.' The present passage seems to show that some even of the latter maintained, at any rate in ecclesiastical matters, an independent organisation under West-Saxon overlordship.

[*de uirginitate . . . eximium*] 'heah boc 7 weorðlice,' 'a high book and a worthy one,' AS. vers. Aldhelm's De Virginitate, in prose and verse is in Giles, pp. 1-81, 135-202. It is dedicated to Hildilid, Abbess of Barking (*supra*, iv. 10), and her companions, p. 1. Though Bede mentions the metrical version first, it was really composed later than the prose, as may be seen by referring to pp. 80, 136, 190, 195. On the sources of the work, see a monograph by Manitius, Aldhelm und Baeda (Vienna, 1886), pp. 71-74.

[*in exemplum Sedulii*] The reference is to Sedulius' Carmen Paschale, which he afterwards translated into prose and called Opus Paschale. See Prof. Lock's article on Sedulius in D. C. B. This may be the reason why Bede places Aldhelm's metrical work first.

[*scripsit et alia*] Of these the most important is the Epistola ad Acircium, siue liber de septenario, et de metris, aenigmatibus, ac

Aldhelm's  
letter to  
Geraint.

Britons  
partly sub-  
ject to  
Wessex.

Aldhelm's  
De Virgi-  
nitate.

Aldheld  
and Ald-  
frid.



pedum regulis; Aldh. Opp. pp. 219-329, called also *Liber de Schematibus*, G. P. p. 335. Acircius is Aldfrid of Northumbria, ib. 344. Aldhelm addresses him as 'aquilonalis imperii sceptrā gubernans,' he says that twenty years previously he had taken him for his adopted son, p. 216; cf. p. 228. There is a probable allusion to Aldfrid's name in what he says of Solomon, p. 219: 'Gloriosissimus . . . regum, qui . . . ipso proprii nominis uocabulo piæ [? priscæ] pacis præesagia . . . figuraliter gestabat' ('eald-frið,' 'ancient peace'; cf. Aldhelm's etymologising of his own name as 'priscæ galea,' 'eald-helm,' in G. P. p. 332). At the end of the work he exhorts him thus: 'commoneo ut . . . nullatenus . . . solertis ingenii gratiam præ caeteris contribulibus et coætaneis tibi diuinitus collatam . . . segnitie squalescere patiaris. . . Quamuis mundanae dispensationis curis uelut . . . undarum . . . uorticibus fatigatus, . . . nequaquam . . . diuinarum studia scripturarum negligenda . . . ducas;' p. 328. This would seem to show that the work was composed during the early troubles of Aldfrid's reign. On the sources of the work, v. Manitius, u. s. pp. 57-71. On the order of Aldhelm's extant works, v. ib. 9-11. For the preservation of several letters and fragments of letters we are indebted to Malmesbury's life. He complains that many of them had been lost; G. P. p. 344. He himself could obtain no copy of the letter to Geraint which we have; ib. 343. He accuses the Britons of having destroyed it: 'debent usque hodie Britones correctionem suam Aldelmo; quamuis, pro insita nequitia, et uirum non agnoscant, et uolumen pessum dederint;' ib. 361.

Aldhelm's  
learning.

uir . . . doctissimus; . . . eruditione mirandus] That Aldhelm's erudition was really extensive is shown abundantly by Manitius, u. s., who not only traces the sources whence Aldhelm derived the materials of his works, and the numerous quotations with which they abound, but also shows how his reading has influenced his phraseology and vocabulary. Bede applies the same phrase 'uir undecumque doctissimus' to Aldfrid in c. 12, p. 309.

His style.

sermone nitidus] No one would now repeat this judgement; still less would any one agree with Malmesbury that Aldhelm 'non nisi perraro et necessario uerba ponit exotica;' G. P. p. 344. That his style is 'pompaticus' (ib. cf. W. M. i, 31) all would heartily agree, but they would not use the word as a term of praise. For, as Elmham, with excellent good sense, says: 'pompatice scribere est uoluntatem rationi præferre;' p. 277. Much of Aldhelm's writing is quite unintelligible from its puerile pomposity and use of unusual and foreign words. That Ethelwerd, a feeble imitator of the same style, should admire Aldhelm's writings,

'miro artificio edita opuscula,' M. H. B. p. 507. was natural enough. A good specimen of this 'sermo nitidus' may be found on p. 92 of his works.

scripturarum] I cannot agree with Manitius, pp. 54, 55, in his argument that because Aldhelm's biblical quotations are sometimes nearer to the Itala and sometimes to the Vulgate, he therefore had a text midway between the two. We have seen, Introduction, pp. xix, liv-lvi, and App. II. *infra*, that Bede constantly uses both translations side by side; and Aldhelm may have done the same. In one place, Opp. p. 217, after quoting the Vulgate he distinctly refers to the Itala in the words: 'siue, ut altera continet translatio.' On p. 76 he quotes the Septuagint.

Question of Aldhelm's Biblical text.

Fortheri] He went to Rome in 737; Sax. Chron. The date of Forthere's death is not recorded. He signs a charter of 739, a grant of Ethelhard of Wessex to himself; Crawford Charters, ed. Napier and Stevenson, pp. 1-3, and notes. He must therefore have returned to Britain. Dr. Stubbs first directed me to this charter. A letter of Archbishop Bertwald to him, alluded to above, on c. 8, is in Mon. Mog. pp. 48, 49; H. & S. iii. 284.

usque hodie] 'cwæð se writere,' 'said the author,' adds AS. vers., though above in the case of Daniel it has, contrary to custom, preserved the phrase unaltered.

quibus . . . administrantibus] Who are meant by 'quibus'? Grammatically the easiest reference is to Aldhelm and Forthere; in which case it would imply that Bede was not sure whether the see of Sussex was constituted before or after Aldhelm's death in 709. But I think that he is referring back to the notice of the partition of the West-Saxon diocese, and that 'quibus' means Aldhelm and Daniel. Elmham, p. 266, followed by H. & S. iii. 296, takes 'quibus' to mean Daniel and Forthere. It is in favour of this that Westminster gives 711 as the date of this event. But the authority is too late to have much value. In the Episcopal Succession, pp. 5, 172, Stubbs gives 709 as the date of Eadbert's consecration.

Foundation of the South-Saxon see.

Eadberet] There is a grant to him in K. C. D. No. 1000; Birch, No. 144.

Eolla] He signs a charter, K. C. D. No. 1001; Birch, No. 145.

episcopatus . . . cessauit] '7 se bysceophad þær syððan fela geara blon,' 'and the episcopal office ceased there for many years afterwards,' AS. vers. Bede lived however to see it restored. Two years after he wrote this Archbishop Tatwin consecrated Sigfrid or Sigga as bishop of Selsey; Cont. Baed. *infra*, p. 361; S. D. ii. 30.

Its temporary cessation.

## CHAPTER 19.

Anno . . . IIII<sup>o</sup>] i. e. 709 A. D.

Cenred of  
Mercia.

Coinred] On him see c. 13 note. W. M. i. 79, attributes his resignation to the effect on his mind of the incident there related; but this may be only his own inference.

tempore aliquanto] About five years; c. 13 note.

p. 322. Constantino] Constantine I, 708-715.

Ceolred of  
Mercia.

Ceolredo] From the reigns of Ceolred and Osred, St. Boniface dates the growth of sacrilegious attacks on the English Church; see on c. 18. Ceolred died in 716; c. 24, p. 356, having fought against Ini of Wessex in 715; Sax. Chron.; cf. W. M.: 'Chelredus, sicut uirtute contra Inam mirabilis, ita immatura morte miserabilis;' i. 79. Of his death Boniface says in the same letter: 'Ceolredum, . . . ut testati sunt qui praesentes fuerant, apud comites suos splendide epulantem, malignus spiritus . . . peccantem subito in insaniam mentis conuertit; ut sine paenitentia et confessione . . . ad tormenta inferni migravit;' H. & S. iii. 355; Mon. Mog. p. 175. (The text of this given in W. M. i. 80-82, differs very materially from the genuine text both by way of omission and addition.) Even before Ceolred's death, a monk of Much Wenlock had seen a vision of the other world, in which he appeared among the lost; 'subsequens . . . et citus scelerati regis exitus, quae de illo uisa fuerunt, uera esse . . . probauit;' Mon. Mog. pp. 59, 60. If Cenred knew anything of the character of his successor, he was certainly much to blame in resigning the crown to him. Ceolred seems however to have been on good terms with Wilfrid, see notes below, p. 328; and H. H. says of him: 'patriae et auitae uirtutis haeres clarissime rexit' (!); p. 110. There is a charter of his confirming a grant by his predecessor; K. C. D. No. 52; Birch, No. 111.

Offa of  
Essex.

filiiu Sigheri . . . Offa . . . exoptatissimus] On the royal family of Essex, see iii. 22; iv. 6 and notes. Bede's language here does not by itself imply that Offa was king, but only that his accession was looked forward to; nor does he name kingdom or sceptre among the things which he gave up for Christ. The capitulum however distinctly calls him 'Rex.' Sighard and Swefred had succeeded their father Sebbi; circa 694, iv. 11; and W. M. says: 'illis defunctis, pauco tempore regnum moderatus est Offa;' i. 99; so Fl. Wig. i. 46, 263; G. P. p. 317. If this is correct, Offa must have succeeded shortly before 709. He was succeeded by Selred, whose slaughter is recorded in the Sax. Chron. at 746; cf. W. M.; Fl.

Wig. u. s.; R. W. i. 203. The story that Offa had wished to marry a daughter of Penda is impossible on chronological grounds. See Stubbs' note on W. M. u. s. Egwin, Bishop of the Hwiccas (see on iv. 23) is said to have accompanied him and Cenred to Rome; Fl. Wig.; W. M. u. s.; G. P. pp. 296, 297, 317, 386. There is nothing impossible in the story, but the authorities are not good; see H. & S. iii. 297, 298; and in some of them Offa is made king of the East Angles instead of the East Saxons; G. P. u. s.; K. C. D. No. 61; Birch, Nos. 125, 131. For this confusion, cf. on iv. 6; R. W. is inconsistent with himself; i. 203, 205.

reliquit uxorem, &c.] cf. Hist. Abb. § 1, *infra*, p. 365.

peruenit] Both are said to have died soon after their arrival: Arrival at 'sub uelocitate ut obtabant defuncti sunt;' Pauli Dia. Hist. Rome. Langob. vi. 28, which is taken from the Liber Pontificalis, ed. Duchesne, i. 391.

Wilfrid] The typography and marginal notes of the present chapter, and also of iii. 25, 28; iv. 2, 13, show clearly that Bede, in his account of Wilfrid, is largely indebted for his materials to the life of Wilfrid by Aeddi or Eddius, alias Stephanus, one of Wilfrid's chanters, who is mentioned above; iv. 2, p. 205; cf. Eddius, c. 14. Owing to Bede's mode of using his materials (cf. Introduction, pp. xlii, xlvii), typography cannot give a measure of the extent of his obligations to his predecessors. These obligations, in the case of Eddius, Bede nowhere acknowledges; ib. p. xxiv. He is not however wholly dependent upon Eddius, and tells of matters which the latter omits. He had heard from Wilfrid's own lips the account of his relations with Ethelthryth; iv. 19, p. 243. He might remember his administration of the see of Lindisfarne, 687-688; iv. 29, p. 275, or he may have heard of it during his own sojourn there; v. Introduction, p. xvi. From Acca he heard of their sojourn with Wilbrord on the way to Rome in 703 or 704; iii. 13, p. 152. From him too he may have heard of the consecration of Swidbert as missionary bishop to Frisia; v. 11, p. 302; and the beautiful story how Wilfrid relieved the famine in Sussex; iv. 13, p. 231. Other events not mentioned by Eddius are the consecration of Offor; iv. 23, p. 255, and the desire of Oswy, frustrated by death, that Wilfrid should accompany him to Rome; iv. 5, p. 214. On the other hand, Bede omits much that is told by Eddius, often with very bad results to the clearness of his own narrative. Malmesbury, whose own life of Wilfrid, G. P. pp. 210-245, is largely founded, as he admits, p. 210, on Eddius, comments upon Bede's omissions: 'multa ex historia Bedae uacant;' ib.; cf. pp. 238, 239. It is curious too that with the exception of the vision of St. Michael

Sources of  
Bede's ac-  
count of  
Wilfrid.

(below), Bede omits all the miracles which Eddius connects with Wilfrid; cc. 1, 5, 9, 13, 18, 23, 24, 37, 38, 39, 59, 66, 67. This cannot, as we have seen, be due to any critical scruples of Bede on the subject of miracles; Introduction, pp. xlv, lxiv. He has the warmest admiration for the kings who expelled Wilfrid; Egfrid is 'uenerabilis ac piissimus,' Hist. Abb. § 1. Aldfrid, 'uir . . . doctissimus,' restores the condition of Northumbria, 'nobiliter;' iv. 26, p. 268. There is no hint of blame for Oswy's substitution of Ceadda for Wilfrid; iii. 28, *ad init.*, for Theodore's division of his diocese, nor for the prelates who took his place; iv. 12, *sub fin.* (contrast the 'subintroducunt' of Wine, iii. 7, p. 140; it is interesting to note that in G. P. p. 216, 'subintroductus' is used of Ceadda's appointment). Moreover, on the Wilfridian view, two of Bede's chief heroes, Bishop John of Hexham, and Cuthbert (so far as he accepted in the first instance the see of Hexham; iv. 28, p. 273) were mere usurpers; H. Y. I. xxxiv; yet Bede never hints a doubt as to their position. It is certain that Bede would disapprove Wilfrid's opposition to the division of his diocese; cf. iv. 5, p. 216; Ep. ad Egb. § 8, and possible that he disliked his Romanising tendencies. In fact 'it is evident that there was little sympathy between Wilfrid and Bede;' Raine, H. Y. u. s. (For Canon Raine's own view of Wilfrid, v. ib. xxvi-xxx.) On the lives of Wilfrid, see Hardy, Cat. i. 396-402. The best edition of all the Latin lives is that of Canon Raine in vol. i. of 'Historians of the Church of York;' R. S.; cf. also for Wilfrid, Bright, pp. 187-194, 209-214, 233-236, 280-308, 347-355, 367-372, 392-416, 428-434; Raine's Hexham, I. xxvii-xxxi.; Raine in D. C. B. iv. 1179 ff.

Chronology  
of Wilfrid's  
life.

Wilfrid] It is desirable in the first place to fix the chronology of Wilfrid's life. The present note was drawn up at first independently of Smith's excursus on the same subject. In almost all points our conclusions agree. The few divergences are noted. Eddius' Life is cited as E.

634. Birth; cf. H. Y. i. 163. (He was thirty years old when elected bishop in 664; E. c. 11; 'circiter triginta;' *infr.*, p. 325. He died 709, in his seventy-sixth year; E. c. 65.)

648. In his fourteenth year he enters Lindisfarne; E. c. 2; *infr.*, p. 322.

? 652. 'Post circulum annorum;' E. c. 3, he goes to Kent. He stays there just a year; ib. (He must have left Kent before the death of Honorius, Sept. 653; cf. *infr.*, p. 323.)

653 (so Fl. Wig.). He sets out with Benedict Biscop, who leaves him at Lyons; E. c. 3; *infr.*, pp. 323, 324. Dalfinus (really Ansemundus), Archbishop of Lyons, wishes to adopt him. He declines,

and proceeds to Rome, where he remains 'multos menses;' E. cc. 4, 5; 'menses aliquot;' *infr.*, p. 324; leaving it probably after Aug. 10, 654: see below.

654 × 655 [655 Smith]. He returns to Lyons, where he remains three years with Annemundus, till his murder; E. c. 6; *infr.*, pp. 324, 325; cf. iii. 25, p. 182.

657 × 658 [658 Smith]. Murder of Annemundus. Wilfrid returns to Britain.

? 658. Alchfrid sends for Wilfrid; E. c. 7; *infr.*, p. 325; iii. 25, p. 182.

? 658 × 661. Grant of Stanford; E. c. 8; *infr.*, p. 325.

? 661. Grant 'post paululum' of Ripon; *ib.*; cf. iii. 27, notes.

663 or 664. Wilfrid ordained priest by Agilbert; E. c. 9; *infr.*, p. 325. (Shortly before the Synod of Whitby; *ib.*)

Early in 664 (*v.* notes to iii. 25), Synod of Whitby, 'non multo post' Wilfrid's ordination as priest; *infr.*, p. 325; E. c. 10.

664. Wilfrid elected bishop, æt. 30. Sets out for Gaul; E. cc. 11, 12; *infr.*, p. 325.

664. Consecration of Wilfrid by twelve Frankish bishops at Compiègne; E. c. 12; *infr.*, p. 325; iii. 28, p. 194. (Bede says that Wilfrid died in 709 'post XL et V annos accepti episcopatus;' *infr.*, p. 322; and with this agrees the epitaph; Eddius, c. 65, gives him an episcopate of forty-six years. G. P. p. 244 says: 'anno XLVI' episcopatus.' This may be what E. means. Wilfrid's consecration can hardly therefore be later than 664; and Bede distinctly places it in that year in c. 24, p. 354. This seems fatal to Bright's argument in favour of 665; p. 210.)

666. Wilfrid 'post spatium temporis' returns to Britain; E. *u. s.* (The date is fixed by the fact that E. c. 14 says that Wilfrid was three years in retirement at Ripon prior to his installation in his see by Theodore in 669.)

666-669. Wilfrid, on finding Ceadda in his see, retires to Ripon, where he remains three years, occasionally discharging episcopal functions in Mercia and Kent; E. c. 14; *infr.*, p. 326; cf. iii. 28, p. 195; *iv.* 2, pp. 205, 206.

669. Wilfrid put in possession of his see by Theodore; E. c. 15; *sup.*, *iv.* 2, p. 205.

669. Wilfrid ordains Ceolfred priest; Hist. Abb. Anon. § 3, p. 389.

669 × 671. Oswy wishes Wilfrid to accompany him to Rome; *iv.* 5, p. 214.

? 672. Ethelthryth receives the veil from Wilfrid, *v.* *iv.* 19, notes.

Sept. 673. Wilfrid sends representatives to the Council of Hertford; iv. 5, p. 215.

671 × 678. Church at Ripon built and dedicated; E. c. 17. (It was after the accession of Egfrid, which I believe to have been in 671, v. iv. 5, note, and before Wilfrid's expulsion in 678. I do not see that the date can be fixed more exactly. Smith says 670.)

672 × 678. Church at Hexham built; E. c. 22. The site was given by Ethelthryth 'Deo dicata;' therefore not earlier than 672. (Richard of Hexham says: 'circa DCLXXIV;' Raine's Hexham, i. 23. Smith says c. 675. On the grant of Hexham, and Wilfrid's buildings, cf. S. D. ii. 52; G. P. p. 255.)

678. Wilfrid expelled, and his diocese divided. (Bede gives this date; iv. 12, p. 229; *infr.*, c. 24, p. 355. It was exactly a year before the death of Ælfwine; E. c. 24, which was in 679; *infr.*, c. 24, u. s.; iv. 21, note.)

678. Wilfrid sets out for Rome; preaches in Frisia, where he winters; E. c. 26; *infr.*, p. 326.

679. Wilfrid reaches Rome, staying on the way with Dagobert II, King of Austrasia, and Perctarit, King of the Lombards; E. c. 28; *infr.*, p. 326.

679, Nov. to 680, March. Councils at Rome in connexion with Wilfrid's business; E. cc. 29-32, 53; *infr.*, pp. 326, 327. (The councils lasted four months, till Easter week, 680; Easter being March 25; E. c. 53, p. 78.)

680 (after Easter). Wilfrid leaves Rome; passes through Gaul, where he finds Dagobert II 'nuper occisum,' and is in some danger of being put to death as an adherent of his; E. c. 33. (Note that according to Martin, *Hist. de France*, ii. 160, Eddius is the only contemporary authority for Dagobert II; hence the date of the latter's death must be fixed with reference to Wilfrid's movements, not *vice versa*. L'Art de vérifier les Dates gives Dec. 23, 679, as the day of Dagobert's death; which is quite possible, but I do not know on what authority it rests.)

680-681. Wilfrid returns to Britain; is thrown into prison by Egfrid and kept there nine months; E. cc. 34-38. (The Peterborough interpolator of the Sax. Chron. at 675, founding on a spurious Latin charter, makes Wilfrid on his return from Rome attend the council of Hatfield, Sept. 680. But this is impossible. He was either not in Britain, or he was in prison; v. H. & S. iii. 160.)

681. Wilfrid is released; he goes to Mercia, Wessex, and finally to Sussex, where he labours for five years; E. cc. 39-41; *sup.*, iv. 13. (At the end of iv. 13, Bede says that Wilfrid laboured in Sussex for

five years, and that he was there until the death of Egfrid. This would apparently place his arrival in 680; but that does not leave enough time for his journey from Rome and nine months' imprisonment. This last, Bede wholly omits; and this may be the cause of his error. Or the phrase 'ad mortem Ecgfridi' may be used loosely to indicate that it was that event which prepared the way for Wilfrid's return. Eddius and Bede agree in saying that it was not till the second year of Aldfrid, May 686 x May 687, that Wilfrid was recalled to Northumbria; E. c. 44; *infr.*, p. 327.)

681-686. Wilfrid evangelises Sussex and Wight; E. cc. 41, 42; *sup.*, iv. 13, 16; *infr.*, p. 327.

c. 686. Wilfrid in Wessex with Cædwalla; *sup.*, iv. 16, note; E. c. 42.

May 686 x May 687. Wilfrid restored to York, Hexham, and the monastery of Ripon, *v. s.* (Some MSS. in c. 24, date this 686, *v.* critical note a. l., p. 355; Smith places the restoration of Hexham in 686, that of York and Ripon in 687; and E. says that there was an 'interuallum temporis between them'; c. 44.)

687-688. Wilfrid administers the bishopric of Lindisfarne; *sup.*, iv. 29, p. 275.

May 691 x May 692. 'Post quinque annos' from his restoration, Wilfrid is again expelled; *infr.*, p. 327. He acts as bishop of the 'Middle English' in succession to Sexwulf, and as such consecrates Oftfor as bishop of the Hwiccas; E. c. 45; *sup.*, iv. 23, p. 255. (Fl. Wig., Smith, and H. & S. iii. 220 place Wilfrid's second expulsion and the consecration of Oftfor in 691. But there is nothing to prevent the former having taken place in the early part of 692; and the latter may be even later; see on iv. 23. Several MSS. in c. 24 place the expulsion in 692; *v.* p. 355, critical note. And Fl. Wig. has certainly placed the first expulsion too early, in 677 instead of 678.)

July 692 x Aug. 693. Wilfrid consecrates Swidbert as missionary bishop for Frisia; *sup.*, c. 11, p. 302. (The date is fixed by the fact that this took place during the absence of Bertwald, who had gone to seek consecration in Gaul: *i. e.* between his election, July 1, 692, and his return, Aug. 693; *sup.*, c. 8, *ad fin.*)

695 or 696. Wilfrid is present at the translation of St. Ethelthryth; iv. 19, p. 245.

702 x 703 [703 Smith]. Great council in Northumbria under Aldfrid 'cum Berhtwaldo archiepiscopo, et totius paene Brittanniæ episcopis.' Wilfrid is condemned, excommunicated, and stripped of all his possessions except the monastery of Ripon. He appeals to Rome, and retires to Mercia; E. cc. 46-49. (All this is omitted



by Bede. The date is fixed by Wilfrid's words that his enemies had been resisting the apostolic see for twenty-two years, *i. e.* since 680; and that he himself had been bishop for nearly forty years; pp. 66, 68.)

704. Wilfrid at Rome; E. cc. 50-54; *infr.*, pp. 327, 328. (There seems no evidence to show when Wilfrid left Britain [end of 703, Smith, see below]. If it is literally true that he accomplished the land part of his journey 'pedestri gressu,' E. p. 71, it must have taken some time. In any case it was a wonderful achievement for an old man of seventy. Eddius speaks of him as 'honorabili senio confectus,' p. 76, and says that he had been bishop for forty years 'et eo amplius,' p. 79: Bede, *infr.*, p. 328, says nearly ['prope'] forty years. This is perhaps taken from E. c. 47, where it refers to the Northumbrian council, *v. s.* Anyhow E.'s authority is to be preferred. Hence the Roman council cannot be earlier than 704. Nor can it be later, for John VI, the Pope under whom it was held, died Jan. 705. The sittings of the council lasted 'multis mensibus;' E. c. 55.)

704. Wilfrid leaves Rome; E. c. 55.

705. Wilfrid, on his return, falls ill at Meaux; E. c. 56; *infr.*, pp. 328, 329. (This was just four years before his death.)

705. Wilfrid reaches Britain. Aldfrid refuses to receive him and dies; E. cc. 57-59; *infr.*, p. 329.

705. Synod on the Nidd 'in primo anno Osredi,' E. c. 60, at which Wilfrid recovers Hexham and the monastery of Ripon, *ib.*; *infr.*, pp. 329, 330.

709. Wilfrid survives four years, and dies at Oundle, and is buried at Ripon; E. cc. 64, 65; *infr.*, pp. 322, 330.

loculo inditum] 'on cyste gedon,' 'placed in a chest,' AS. vers. Cf. the heading to Gen. 1. in A. V. 'Joseph . . . dieth, and is chested.' The text of the Vulgate is 'repositus est in loculo.'

mater obierat] He had a cruel stepmother; and this made him anxious to leave home; E. c. 2.

Wilfrid  
enters Lin-  
disfarne.

p. 323. uenit ergo, &c.] He first went to Eanfled, Oswy's queen, who sent him to Lindisfarne under the charge of Cudda, a king's ~~gesid~~ *gesid* or thane ('sodalis regis'), who wished himself to become a monk, and who seems to have become abbot of Lindisfarne E. c. 2, and note *a. l.*

Jerome's  
two Psal-  
ters.

didicit . . . psalmos] When Wilfrid reached Kent: 'psalmo . . . quos primo secundum Hieronymi emendationem legerat mon . . . Romanorum iuxta quintam editionem memorialiter transmetuit E. c. 3. The former is known as the Gallican Psalter, and is the version made by Jerome from the LXX, c. 389; now embodied

the ordinary Latin Vulgate. The latter, or Roman Psalter, is his cursory revision of the old Italic version made in 383; Bright, p. 188. (The Canticles, 'Venite,' &c., are still taken from this version in the Roman Breviary; D. C. A. ii. 1754.) The term 'quinta editio' (reproduced, G. P. p. 213) has not been satisfactorily explained. It has been suggested, H. Y. i. 5, note, that it represents the Greek word *κοινή*, 'Vetus Latina . . . quae *κοινή* olim, seu communis dicebatur;' Sabatier, ii. 8. Jerome's version of the Psalms made from the Hebrew never obtained public recognition. needum . . . adtonsus] 'laicus capite, corde uero a utiis circumciscus;' E. c. 2.

uenire Romam] 'adhuc inatritam uiam genti nostrae;' E. c. 3.

filius auunculi sui] Eanfled's mother, Ethelberg, was sister to Wilfrid in Eadbald, Earconbert's father. Elmham, misunderstanding this Kent, passage, makes Wilfrid cousin (consanguineus) of Earconbert, p. 198.

aliquandiu] Just a year; E. c. 3.

Biscop . . . Benedictus] The founder of Wearmouth and Jarrow. See his life in Hist. Abb. Eddius, c. 3, calls him Biscop Baducing. Cf. Fridegoda, H. Y. i. 110: 'Barbaries Biscop Baducing quem inculta uocabat.'

p. 324. Lugdunum] Here Benedict left him: 'discedente ab eo at Lyons. austeræ mentis duce;' E. c. 3, who compares the separation of Paul and Barnabas; so that there would seem to have been some disagreement between them. Cf. 'iratus præcesserat'; G. P. p. 213.

Dalfino] Eddius has here led Bede into error. It seems to be Dalfinus made out that the archbishop of Lyons at this time was Anne- and Anne-mundus, and that Dalfinus was his brother and Count of the City of Lyons. It was therefore Dalfinus' daughter who was offered to Wilfrid, and hence perhaps the confusion; cf. Gallia Christ. iv. 43-47. Smith's suggestion that Dalfinus is a 'cognomen' of Anne-mundus is not likely.

Bonifatii . . . archidiaconi] A few years ago there was 'found Arch-deacon at Whitby . . . a leaden Bulla . . . bearing the inscription + BONIFATII Boniface. + — + ARCEIDIAC +. It is now in the Whitby Museum;' H. Y. i. 8, note. It is quite possible that this is a relic of Wilfrid and his Roman friend.

apostolici papæ] Wilfrid probably arrived at Rome during Condition a practical vacancy in the papacy. In June, 653, Martin I was of the sent to Constantinople, whence he never returned; being kept in Papacy. prison by the Emperor, first in that city, and then in the Crimea, where he died Sept. 16, 655. Eugenius I was consecrated Aug. 10,

654; irregularly, Martin I being still alive. This explains the language of Eddius, who, after detailing Wilfrid's doings in Rome, 'per multos menses,' says of Boniface: '*postremo praesentavit eum papae*;' c. 5, p. 8.

Baldhild.

p. 325. Baldhild] She is said to have been an Anglo-Saxon slave originally. She married Clovis II, who died in 656. She was at this time regent for her son, Clothaire III. Here again it is probable that Eddius has misled Bede. Frankish history at this time is very obscure; but it is unlikely that Baldhild had anything to do directly with the death of Annemundus, which in the legends is represented as the first act of Ebroin on his election to the mayoralty of the palace. A little later, 659, she was the means of securing the see of Autun for Leodegar (St. Leger), Ebroin's chief rival; while in 664, Sigebert, Bishop of Paris, was put to death for being an adherent of Baldhild. In this sense, but probably only in this sense, she may have caused the death of Annemundus; cf. AA.SS. Ian. ii. 737, 738. After Sigebert's death she retired in 664 to the monastery of Chelles, of which she was the second foundress; iii. 8, notes. Here she died, 680. She attained the honours of saintship, and though this is not conclusive as to her character, very curious people finding their way in those days into the ranks of the saints, yet there seems no evidence that she was the Jezebel that Eddius represents, and what evidence there is points the other way. It is possible that she has been confounded with the famous Brunhild (x 613), whose name occurs as a various reading both here (see additional critical notes), in E. c. 6, and in the parallel passage in Fridegoda's life; H. Y. i. 114; see Martin. Hist. de France, ii. 150-152; Milman, Lat. Christ. Bk. iv. ch. 10; Hardy, Cat. i. 286, 287; see Lives printed in AA.SS. Ian. ii. 739 ff. For her translation, v. Pertz, xv. 284, 285; Mabillon AA.SS. IV. i. 450-453.

clericus illius] 'his preost 7 his hondþeng,' 'his priest and attendant,' AS. vers.

Wilfrid's escape.

pepercere illi] Eadmer in his life of Wilfrid, c. 7, H. Y. i. 169, represents this as due to the terror of the English name: 'id ne fieret . . . , quae tunc temporis magno terrori quam plurimis erat, sua, scilicet Anglorum, natio interdixit.'

Alchfrid.

Alchfridi] v. iii. 14, *ad init.*; 21, *ad init.*; 24, 25. According to E. c. 7, it was from Cenwalh of Wessex that Alchfrid first imbibed his Roman preferences.

Stamford.

Stanford] Durham tradition in the fifteenth century certainly identified this with Stamford in Lincolnshire; see Raine, Hexham, i. 14; D. C. B. iv. 1179. But Smith, a. l. (followed by Stevenson),

objects that Alchfrid can have had no authority in Lincolnshire at this time. He suggests Stamford on the Yorkshire Derwent.

**Inhrypum]** On Wilfrid's buildings at Ripon, v. E. c. 17. None of them now remain except the crypt popularly called St. Wilfrid's needle; cf. D. C. B. iv. 1180. Hence, prior to the synod of Whitby, Alchfrid had been pressing the adoption of the Roman Easter. Eata and Cuthbert were among those who left Ripon rather than conform to it; v. iii. 26, notes; and Ceolfrid, afterwards Bede's abbot, was probably among those who came to take their place; v. iii. 27, notes. Eata and Cuthbert not only conformed after the synod of Whitby; but the latter, on his deathbed, charged his monks: 'cum illis . . . qui ab unitate catholicae pacis, uel Pascha non suo tempore celebrando, uel peruerse uiuendo aberrant, uobis sit nulla communio;' Baed. Vit. Cudb. c. 39. It was while Cuthbert was at Ripon that the miracle related, ib. c. 7, Vit. Anon. § 12, is alleged to have taken place.

**sibi rogauit ordinari]** So iii. 28, *ad init.*, Alchfrid asks for Wilfrid 'sibi suisque consecrari.' Alchfrid was sub-king of Deira. The idea therefore probably was that Wilfrid should be bishop of Deira, and Tuda (v. iii. 26) bishop of Bernicia; though Bede, *loc. cit.*, speaks of the latter as having 'pontificatum Nordanhymbrorum.' Tuda however died the same year, 664, and no successor was appointed. Hence Ceadda, 664-669, and Wilfrid, 669-678, did administer the whole of Northumbria. Cf. iv. 3: 'episcopatus . . . omnium Nordanhymbrorum,' p. 206; and *inf.*: 'episcopatus totius Nordanhymbrorum prouinciae;' p. 326. When therefore Theodore in 678 separated Bernicia from Deira, iv. 12, p. 229, he was probably only reverting to what had been intended in 664. This might a little modify the charges of arbitrariness so often brought against Theodore for his action on that occasion. Elmham rightly protests against these exaggerations. pp. 276, 277.

**Agilbercto . . . ciuitatis]** For the mistake involved here, see note on iii. 7. For this mistake Eddius is not responsible.

**XI episcopi]** 'qui omnes eum . . . publice ordinauerunt, et in sella aurea sedentem, more eorum, sursum eleuauerunt portantes manibus soli episcopi intra oratorium, nullo alio attingente, hymnos canticaque in choro canentes;' E. c. 12. This passage, which is copied by Fridegoda, H. Y. i. 120, and G. P. p. 215, has been thought to be the only authority known for this curious ceremony; which from the words 'more eorum' seems to have been peculiar to the Gallican Church; v. note, a. l. Bright however refers to the Benedictine life of Gregory I, iii. 8, Opp. iv. 256, where the following passage is cited: 'sedem Turonicam ita

Position of  
Wilfrid in  
664.

Ceremony  
of the  
golden  
chair.

nobilitauit ut auream ei cathedram donaret, quae apud praefatam sedem in posterum seruaretur.'

Wilfrid  
and the  
South  
Saxons.

p. 326. quo . . . demorante] See note on iii. 28. On his return he was driven on the coast of Sussex, and nearly murdered by the still heathen inhabitants; E. c. 13. For this he subsequently took the noblest revenge by converting them to Christianity.

Chrono-  
logy.

tribus annis] These three years are a difficulty. Bede, c. 24. p. 354, certainly says that Ceadda was consecrated in 664. The narrative, iii. 28, gives the same impression. But he certainly was not deposed till 669. Probably Bede has transferred to the duration of Ceadda's episcopate the three years which E. c. 14 rightly assigns to the retirement of Wilfrid at Ripon, forgetting that Wilfrid did not return to Britain for about two years after Ceadda's consecration.

First ex-  
pulsion of  
Wilfrid.

pulsus est] This was owing to the enmity of Eormenburg, Egfrid's second wife; E. c. 24; S. D. i. 223; G. P. pp. 219, 213. According to Lib. Eli. p. 55, he went first to Ely; and this (in spite of Smith, p. 753) is quite likely. His friend St. Ethelthryth did not die till 679 or 680 (see on iv. 19), and Ely would lie on his way from the North to the port of embarkation for Frisia; cf. Mab. A.A.SS. ii. 757, 758; Raine's Hexham, i. 23.

alii pro illo] The two who were consecrated strictly 'pro illo' were Bosa and Eata, iv. 12, p. 229. Eadhed's district, Lindsey, was not an integral part of Northumbria, iii. 11, note. Eddius makes additional charges against Theodore; (a) that he acted as sole consecrator, 'inordinate solus ordinauit'; (b) that the new prelates did not belong to the diocese: 'episcopi aliunde inuentos et non de subiectis illius parochiae;' c. 24. The former complaint, if true, is well grounded; see on i. 27, p. 52; the latter has no foundation. Thus Deusdedit of Canterbury was a West-Saxon; Damian of Rochester a South-Saxon, iii. 20, *ad fin.*; Tatwin a Mercian, c. 23. Eddius also, l. c., accuses Theodore of being bribed; and the charge is repeated, G. P. p. 220; but this is the mere reckless assertion of a partisan.

Appeal to  
Rome.

Romam . . . iturus] According to E. c. 24, Wilfrid appealed to Rome, 'cum consilio co-episcoporum suorum.' It would be interesting to know who these were. Possibly other bishops may have felt themselves threatened by Theodore's proceedings. Cf. the case of Wynfrid, which occurred about the same time as, and was curiously involved with, that of Wilfrid; iv. 6, *ad init.* and note. Wilfrid, in his petition to the Pope, says that Theodore acted 'absque consensu cuiuslibet episcopi;' E. c. 30.

Sojourn in  
Frisia.

pulsus est Frisiam] Bede's language gives the impression that

Wilfrid was driven out of his course by stress of weather; and so Fuller, § 97, cited by M. & L. p. 330, 'It is an ill wind which bloweth no man profit;' Raine in D. C. B. iv. 1181, and Lappenberg, i. 174; E. T. i. 181. But Eddius, c. 26, is quite explicit: 'secundum desiderium eius, flante Zephyro . . . temperanter, . . . in Freis prospere . . . peruenit;' and so Smith, rightly, p. 752.

**Aldgilsco]** Ebroin tried to bribe him to kill or surrender Wilfrid, but in vain; E. c. 27. Ebroin's hostility to Wilfrid was due to the latter's friendship with Dagobert II; Bright, p. 288; Lappenberg, i. 173; E. T. i. 181; see below.

**praedicabat]** His preaching was favoured by the fact that it was an exceptionally fruitful year; E. c. 26. Wilfrid must therefore have reached Frisia before harvest.

**hiemem . . . exigens]** He left Frisia when 'iam se uerna temperies aperiebat in flores,' as Malmesbury poetically says; G. P. p. 221. He went first to Dagobert II, King of Austrasia, whom he had assisted on his return to Gaul from his exile in Ireland, cf. E. c. 33, and who wished to make him bishop of Strasburg. On his refusal he sent him on to Rome, under the guidance of Deodatus, Bishop (of Toul 679-680; Gams, p. 635, which confirms the chronology of Wilfrid's movements; cf. H. & S. iii. 131, 135). From Dagobert he went on to Perctarit, King of the Lombards, to whom Wilfrid's enemies had offered large bribes to induce him to arrest Wilfrid; E. c. 28.

**causa . . . uentilata]** On these Roman councils, cf. H. & S. iii. The Roman councils.  
131-141. I am inclined to think that the first document given by them is only a different version of the second, which comes from Eddius, and that it does not represent a distinct council; and so the editors themselves suggest; cf. Bright, p. 292; v. E. cc. 29-32.

**aduersus eos . . . dogmatizabant]** Cf. iv. 17, 18, and notes.

**iussit . . . dicere fidem suam, simul et prouinciae]** These words are important, because they bring out the fact that bishops attended councils, not as theologians, to decide what the faith of the Church ought to be, but as witnesses, to give evidence as to what the faith of their churches actually was. If this was remembered, we should be spared some rather cheap rhetoric.

**p. 327. reuersus Britanniam]** Here again Bede omits all reference to Wilfrid's imprisonment; E. cc. 34, 35; cf. iv. 13. He was committed to the custody first of Osfrith, 'praefectus . . . in Bromnis urbe regis,' and then of Tydlin, Prefect of Dynbaer (Dunbar); cc. 36-38. Bromnis has been identified by some with Brunanburgh. Unhappily this is 'ignotum per ignotius.' Canon Raine in D. C. B. says Bamborough; but this is Bebbanburgh in E. c. 60. Wilfrid's imprisonment.

He was released at the intercession of Ebba, Abbess of Coldingham, Egfrid's aunt, iv. 19, 25, pp. 243, 264, who persuaded him that an illness of the queen's was a punishment for his treatment of Wilfrid; E. c. 39. He was expelled from Mercia, where the queen was Egfrid's sister (see iv. 21), and from Wessex, where Centwine's queen was Eormenburg's sister, and finally found a refuge in Sussex; E. cc. 40, 41. The treatment which he received from Centwine may have made him not unwilling to help Cædwalla against him; D. C. B. i. 372.

Conversion  
of Sussex.

[*Australium Saxonum*] On the conversion of Sussex and Wight, r. iv. 13, 16; E. c. 41. The latter does not mention Wight, though it may be included in the '*innumeris terrarum partibus et muneribus donorum*,' given by Cædwalla to Wilfrid; c. 42.

Restora-  
tion.

[*ipso rege inuitante*] This restoration was due to Theodore, who, in view of his age and infirmities and the near prospect of death, reconciled himself to Wilfrid, and both wrote to Aldfrid himself, and induced Ethelred of Mercia and Elfied, Abbess of Whitby, Aldfrid's half-sister, to intercede on his behalf; E. c. 43.

[*sedem suam . . . recepit*] Eddius says that Wilfrid was restored, first to the monastery of Hexham (where Eata was lately dead. *sup.* c. 2), then, '*post interuallum temporis*,' to York and the monastery of Ripon, '*expulsis . . . alienis episcopis*;' i. e. Bosa and Eadhed. If Ripon had ever really been an episcopal see (*v. s.* on iv. 12), it now ceased to be so for over a thousand years (till 1836). I borrow the following note from H. & S. iii. 171, which puts clearly a very complicated business:—'The bishopric of York which Wilfrid governed from A. D. 669 to 678, and that to which he was restored in A. D. 686, were by no means the same; and in accepting the latter he gave up the whole question of the division of the bishopric, and accepted the limits laid down by Theodore in A. D. 678 and 681. (1) Lindsey had been cut off, by the result of its recovery by Mercia, as well as by the division of A. D. 678; and (2) Abercorn in the same way, by its reconquest by the Picts, as well as by the act of A. D. 681. (3) Lindisfarne remained in Cuthbert's hands, and was merely administered for a year by Wilfrid, on Cuthbert's death, until a successor was consecrated; and (4) Hexham, to which Eata had been transferred from Lindisfarne in A. D. 685, was, upon Eata's death in A. D. 686, held by Wilfrid for a year only (much as he just afterwards held Lindisfarne), until John of Beverley was consecrated to it (B. iv. 2; in A. D. 687 (B. v. 7)).'

Second ex-  
pulsion.

[*pulsus est*] This second exile seems to have been largely due to the fact that Wilfrid could not bring himself to acquiesce in this

changed position. Eddius enumerates three causes of quarrel: (1) Spoliation of the Church of St. Peter of its lands (this might mean York, but probably means Ripon, which was also dedicated to St. Peter; cf. the epitaph at the end of this chapter; and so it is understood by G. P. p. 235). (2) Attempt to transform Ripon into an episcopal see. (3) The enforcement of Theodore's decrees of 678 for the division of the diocese; E. c. 45. On the events omitted by Bede between this second expulsion and the journey to Rome, see above. Bosa seems to have been restored to York on Wilfrid's expulsion; and Hexham and Lindisfarne had been already filled up.

*ueniensque Romam*] See above. He must have gone through Frisia on this occasion also, for to this journey must be referred the visit to Wilbrord mentioned in iii. 13; for at the time of his former journey, in 678, Wilbrord had not yet gone to Frisia. Perhaps, as before, he spent the winter there. If so, he must have left Britain in 703; cf. Bright, p. 403, and *supra*. There is a letter of Aldhelm to the clergy of Wilfrid, urging them to be true to him in exile; but whether it refers to this exile, or to the former one of 678, is not clear; Opp. ed. Gilea, pp. 334, 335; G. P. pp. 338, 339; H. & S. iii. 254, 255.

*scriptumque*] The letter is in E. c. 54; H. & S. iii. 262-264, G. P. pp. 240, 241 (abbreviated and remodelled).

p. 328. *Acca*] See notes to next chapter.

p. 329. *quam te . . . tegere uolo*] This trait is not given by Eddius. Bede may well have had it from Acca himself. It is put very strongly by Eadmer in his life of Wilfrid; c. 49; H. Y. i. 217; cf. iv. 3, note.

*Berctwald*] Wilfrid landed in Kent, and was there reconciled to Bertwald, the archbishop; E. c. 57.

*tunc autem abbas*] 'wæs ða Beardsætna abbud,' 'was then Ethelred, abbot of Bardney,' says AS. vers. quite correctly; cf. W. M. i. 78, 79; v. s. on iii. 11, iv. 12. As abbot of Bardney he is made to sign the spurious foundation charter of Croyland; K. C. D., No. 66; Birch, No. 135.

*Aldfrid*] On the circumstances of the death of Aldfrid, v. c. 18, *ad init.* notes.

*praesulatum . . . suae . . . ecclesiae*] Not York, but Hexham; Position of a fact which Bede's language here rather obscures, though he has stated it correctly, c. 3, *ad init.* This was the more marked, inas-  
much as Bosa's death just about this time would have made Wilfrid's restoration to York easy; cf. G. P. p. 245. Instead of this, John of Beverley was transferred to York, and Wilfrid only  
705.



received the see of Hexham thus vacated. He had gained less than nothing by his appeals to Rome, though his biographers carefully conceal this fact. He received also his monastery of Ripon, E. c. 60, the idea of founding a bishopric there being definitely abandoned. Wilfrid had, however, indicated to the pope a willingness to waive the question of York, if Hexham and Ripon were secured to him, E. c. 61, though this was practically giving up his case. On Wilfrid's buildings at Hexham, v. E. c. 22; G. P. p. 255; Raine's Hexham, I. xiv ff. 10-16, 20, 175, 176.

His death, p. 330. *defunctus est*] He died while the monks of Oundle were chanting Ps. ciii. (civ.) 30, 'Emitte spiritum tuum, et creabuntur, et renouabis faciem terrae.' Authorities differ as to the date of Wilfrid's death. Some give April 24, others Oct. 12. So York Missal, I. xxxix; Surtees Soc. 1872. The former may be set aside as being the day, not of his death, but of his translation; ib. xxxiii. E. c. 64 says that he died on a Thursday. Oct. 12 was a Saturday in 709; and it is worth noticing that Ps. ciii. (civ.) forms part of the office for matins on Saturday both in the Roman and Benedictine breviaries. The obituary of the Church of Durham gives Oct. 3, which was a Thursday in 709; Raine, *Fasti Eborac.* i. 81, cited by Bright, p. 433.

at Oundle. in *provincia Undalum*] 'on Undalana mægðe,' AS. *vera*. He was on his way to an interview with Ceolred of Mercia, who came to the throne in this very year, 709, and had sent for Wilfrid, promising 'omnem uitam suam meo [*sc. Wilfridi*] iudicio disponere;' E. c. 63.

*Cudualdi*] See on iv. 6.

*positus est*] Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury 942-959, removed to Canterbury what he believed to be the body of Wilfrid, but this was stoutly denied by the Northerners, who maintained that it was only the body of Wilfrid II which Odo carried off; and a very pretty quarrel arose; cf. H. Y. I. xxxix, xliii-xlviii, 106, 223-226, 462; G. P. pp. 22, 245; Stubbs' *Dunstan*, p. 271. There is a treatise on the subject in MS. C.C.C.C. No. 298; v. Hardy, *Cat. ii. 22*. These Canterbury relics were translated by Lanfranc on Oct. 12 (the year is not given; H. Y. i. 226). The day was probably chosen because it was believed, rightly or wrongly, to be the anniversary of his death (cf. the case of Cuthbert, iv. 30, *ad init.*). This Canterbury translation of disputed relics is not likely to have caused the substitution of Oct. 12 as the day of his death in a northern source like the York Missal.

*epitaphium*] The epitaph is not in Eddius.

*quattuor . . . thecam*] On these gifts of Wilfrid, cf. E. c. 17,

*ad fin.* The 'theca' or 'bibliotheca' is the case or binding of the book. On the sumptuous bindings of liturgical books, see D.C.A. ii. 1014. Professor Wattenbach identifies this Gospel-book of Wilfrid's with the Gospels of the Hamilton Collection. See Sir E. Maunde Thompson, *Palaeography*, pp. 41, 52.

## CHAPTER 20.

*Anno . . . regis*] Owing to the doubt which hangs over the exact date of Aldfrid's death, c. 18, *ad init.* note, the regnal years of Osred are not a very safe guide. Above, however, c. 19, p. 322, Bede says that Wilfrid's death was in the same year as Cenred's abdication, which below, c. 24, p. 356, he distinctly places in 709. Hence Hadrian's death ought, according to this, to be placed in 710. It seems, however, impossible to reconcile with this the chronological marks given just below. It is there said that Hadrian died in the forty-first year from his mission by the Pope, and in the thirty-ninth year from his arrival in Britain. Theodore and Hadrian certainly left Rome May, 668; iv. 1, p. 203. Theodore arrived in Britain in May, 669; Hadrian was detained by Ebroid in Gaul, and this may have delayed his arrival till 670. But 668 + 41 or 670 + 39 only brings us to 709 as the year of Hadrian's death. Elmham, p. 8, places Hadrian's death in 708, which is certainly too early. On Hadrian, cf. iv. 1.

p. 331. *Albinus*] See Pref. p. 6.

*Grecam . . . linguam, &c.*] Cf. iv. 2.

*non minus quam Anglorum*] 'swa swa Englisc,' 'like English,' AS. vers.

*Acca*] This is the prelate to whom Bede dedicated so many of *Acca*. his works; v. *Introductio* p. xlix. Bede evidently cherished the warmest affection for him. He addresses him as 'carissime,' *Opp.* i. 202; 'dilectissime,' i. 204, viii. 265, x. 2; 'dilectissime antistitum,' i. 198, viii. 78, 263; cf. vii. 1, viii. 162; 'amantissime antistes,' vii. 2; 'amantissime pontificum,' viii. 162; 'dilectissime ac desiderantissime omnium qui in terris morantur antistitum,' vii. 369; 'sancte antistes,' i. 214; 'reuerendissime antistes,' viii. 360; 'tua dulcissima sanctitas,' x. 268. He addresses his letters to him as: 'Domino in Christo dilectissimo,' i. 198; 'Domino . . . nimium desiderantissimo,' x. 268; 'Domino beatissimo et intima semper caritate uenerando,' i. 203; 'Domino in Christo desideratissimo,' xii. 1. *Acca*, in the one letter which has been preserved, addresses Bede as 'dilectissime,' x. 267. (These extracts illustrate the confusion

existing in the Latin of this period between the active and passive participles. A yet clearer instance is seen in c. 1, p. 282, 'aman-tissimum Deo patrem Oidilualdum.') Bede tells us (*infra*) that Acca had belonged originally to the household of Bosa when bishop of York. On his retirement to make way for Wilfrid in 686 x 687, Acca would seem to have attached himself to the latter. He shared his expulsion in 691 x 692, and accompanied him to Frisia, iii. 13; Rome, and back to Britain, c. 19, pp. 328, 329; and from him Bede received many details of the life of Wilfrid; v. notes to c. 19. He confirmed Hwætbert in the abbacy of Wearmouth and Jarrow after Ceolfrid's retirement in 716; Hist. Abb. § 20, p. 384; Opp. viii. 162. In the same year he attended a council at Clovesho; H. & S. iii. 300-302. He was bishop when Bede finished his history in 731, c. 23, p. 351; but was expelled that very year, Cont. Baed. 731, p. 361; no doubt in connexion with the deposition of Ceolwulf mentioned in the same annal. (See, however, H. & S. iii. 313; ii. 7). These two events are placed in 732 by S. D. ii. 30; in 733 by Sax. Chron. D. E. F.; Fl. Wig. The G. P., p. 225, say that Acca was expelled 'triennio post [?] ante] obitum Bedae, incertum an regressum.' His death is placed in 740 by S. D. ii. 32; cf. Raine's Hexham, i. 34, 194; in 737 by Sax. Chron. u. s. Frithbert was consecrated bishop of Hexham in 735, Cont. Baed. *infra* p. 361; in 734, S. D. ii. 31; and died in 766, Cont. Baed. p. 363; Sax. Chron. D. E.; Hexham, i. 199; cf. H. & S. iii. 335. Acca would seem therefore never to have recovered his see; cf. S. C. S. ii. 273, 274. For his burial, translation, and the miracles wrought at his tomb, cf. S. D. ii. 33-38. One of the crosses placed on his original grave is supposed to be still in existence; Raine's Hexham, I. xxxiv. On Acca's buildings, &c., at Hexham, on which Bede also lays great stress, cf. ib. 31-36; Eddius, c. 22; S. D. ii. 52. Wilfrid on his deathbed expressed the wish that Acca might succeed him in the monastery of Hexham; E. c. 97. Acca was one of those who urged Eddius to write Wilfrid's life; ib. Praef. For a sketch of Acca, cf. Raine, u. s. pp. xxx-xxxv, 31-36. For the history of his relics, ib. lxiii, lxxiii, lxxxii, 35, 36, 49, 50, 55, 194, 195, 200. For the reverence felt for him after his death, ib. 186, 189. For the later history of Hexham, ib. xl-cxxx; App. cxuvi.

reliquiis] His master Wilfrid was a great collector of relics; E. cc. 5, 33, 34, 39, 55.

porticibus] Side chapels. See on ii. 3.

historias passionis eorum] See the passage cited on c. 10 from M. Fustel de Coulanges. These lives perished in the Danish inroads; Raine, u. s. p. 190.

**bibliothecam]** 'bócgestréon,' 'book-treasure,' AS. vers. This Library. was destroyed by the Danes in 875; Raine, *u. s.* pp. xliii, 31, 32, 190.

**Maban]** 'Mafan,' *ib.* p. 32. 'Mafa,' AS. vers. The name sounds British. On the Roman chanting, see *ii.* 20, note.

**p. 332. castissimus]** See on *iii.* 28 *ad fin.*

**usquedum . . . desistit]** The AS. vers. puts all this in the past tense.

**obsequio]** See on *i.* 7.

**didicit]** '7 ða wel heold 7 læste oð his lifes ende,' 'and he kept and observed them well until his life's end,' adds AS. vers.

## CHAPTER 21.

**Eo tempore]** This is commonly taken to indicate the year 710; Date. but we have seen that we cannot always interpret these time references in Bede so strictly.

**Naiton]** This is Nechtan mac Derili, King of the Picts. His Naiton or brother Brude, whom he succeeded, died in 706; Tigh. Here, as Nechtan. elsewhere, the adoption of the reformed Easter caused great King of the Picts. divisions; and under 717 we read in Tigh.: 'expulsio familie Ie [of Iona] trans dorsum Britanniae a Nectono rege;' *i. e.* the Columbite clergy within the Pictish kingdom were expelled, no doubt for refusing to conform. (That they were very numerous is shown by *iii.* 3 *ad fin.*: 'Hii . . . monasterium in . . . omnium Pictorum monasteriis . . . arcem tenebat;' cf. *Rs. Ad.* pp. 276-298.) In 724 Nechtan was tonsured, probably involuntarily; in 726 he was thrown into prison by his rival Drust. In 728 he recovered, at any rate, a portion of his kingdom; in 729 he suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Angus, King of Fortrenn; in 732 he died. The dates are from Tighernach; cf. *S. C. S. i.* 270-289; *P. & S.* pp. clvii-clxi; Rhys, *Rhind Lectures*, pp. 26, 73, 92, 93; *C. B.* pp. 173-176.

**Ceolfridum]** See *Hab.* §§ 7, 13-18, 21-23; *Haa.* §§ 1-14, 16-37; *Ceolfrid.* *Intro.* §§ 2, 3.

**monasterii]** Note the singular. Though locally divided, part Wear-being at Wearmouth, and part at Jarrow, it formed only one mouth and monastery; *v. Hist. Abb.* § 7; *Intro.* § 2. R. W. makes the mis-Jarrow. take of placing Jarrow at the mouth of the Wear; *i.* 220.

**p. 333. architectos]** 'sumne heaheræftigan stangeworces,' 'some master-craftsman in stone-work,' AS. vers.

**ecclesiam de lapide]** *v. s.* on *ii.* 14. On the probable site of this church, *v. H. & S.* *ii.* 116.

**quos petebatur]** For the construction, see on *ii.* 12, p. 107.

Anglo-Saxon version.

*misit illi et litteras*] The AS. vers., which omits the letter, turns this sentence as follows: 'sende him eac stafas 7 gewrit be gehealde rihtra Eastrana, 7 be Godes þeowa sceare, eac oðrum rihtum Godes cyricean,' 'he sent him also letters and a writing about the observance of the correct Easter, and about the tonsure of God's servants, together with other rites of God's church.'

Bede, the author of the letter.

*Ceolfred abbas . . . salutem*] Though the letter runs in Ceolfred's name, there can be little doubt that it is the composition of Bede himself. The likeness to his other works on similar subjects amounts in many cases to verbal identity, as will be shown in the notes.

*quidam*] Plato, Rep. 473, D. The dictum is also quoted by Hericus to Charles the Bald in 876; Bouquet, vii. 563; cf. G. P., p. 160, of Ethelwulf; W. M. i. 137, of the children of Edward the Elder; S. D. ii. 64, R. W. i. 267, of Charlemagne; Stubbs' Dunstan, p. 379, of St. Edmund of East Anglia.

Rules for Easter.

*tres . . . regulæ*] Cf. De Temp. Rat. c. 61: 'In ueteri testamento tribus argumentorum indicia paschale tempus est obseruari praeceptum, uidelicet ut post aequinoctium, ut mense primo, ut tertia eius septimana, id est, a uespera XIII<sup>ae</sup> lunae, quod est initium XV<sup>ae</sup>, usque in uesperum, id est, terminum XXI<sup>ae</sup> celebretur. Quarta in eiusdem obseruatione regula est nobis a tempore dominicae resurrectionis imposita, ut cum, aequinoctio transcenso, lunam primi mensis XIII<sup>ae</sup> uespere ortum facere uiderimus, non statim ad faciendum Pascha prosiliamus, sed dominicum diem quo ipse Pascha, id est transitum de morte ad uitam, de corruptione ad incorruptionem, de poena ad gloriam resurgendo facere dignatus est, expectantes, in ipso tandem congrua Paschae solennia celebremus;' Opp. vi. 259, 260.

p. 337. *si ergo fieri posset*] 'Si fieri posset, ut eadem omnibus annis sabbati die luna XIII<sup>a</sup> contigisset, nil nostrae paschalis obseruantiae tempus a legali discreparet;' Opp. vi. 256.

*quanquam . . . discreto*] 'Nil nostrum tempus paschale a legali dissonat, quamuis aliis sacramentorum generibus eiusdem paschae solennia colimus;' Opp. vi. 260.

*quia uero dies*] 'quomodo lunae dies eadem diuersas septimanae deuoluitur in ferias;' Opp. vi. 257.

*per Marcum*] Cf. Opp. vi. 235; x. 2.

*pascha nostrum*] i. e. Easter week.

*nulla cogente necessitate*] On the postponement of the passover for those who could not keep it in the first month, cf. Opp. vi. 261; viii. 276.

*cum enim a uespera*] 'Qui a XIII<sup>a</sup> luna usque ad XX<sup>ae</sup> domi-

nium paschae diem observandum decernunt, praecoccupant saepius initium paschae legalis, dum quod ipsa in XIII<sup>a</sup> luna fieri statuit, illi in XIII<sup>m</sup> conuertunt; et quod de XX<sup>a</sup> statuit, sanctam eam et celeberrimam consecrans, quasi haec ad pascha minime pertineat, funditus contemnunt;’ Opp. vi. 257, 258.

p. 338. rursumque, qui a XVI<sup>a</sup> die] ‘At contra hi, qui dominicum paschae diem a XVI<sup>a</sup> luna usque ad XXII<sup>m</sup> celebrandum aestimant, duplici miseria laborant, quia et legitimum paschae principium nunquam habent, et crebro euenit, ut nullum dierum, qui in lege praescripti sunt, in sua paschali obseruatione consequantur; dum et uesperam XIII<sup>m</sup> diei, quo pascha initiari statutum est, et mane XV<sup>m</sup>, quo septem azymorum dierum solennitas inchoari praecepta, a sua prorsus festiuitate repudiant. Atque insuper in huius poenam peccati XXII<sup>m</sup> diem, qui in tota paschali institutione per Moysen nec semel appellatus inuenitur, frequenter in sui paschae principium sanciri praecipiunt. Sunt qui in alteram partem a uia ueritatis, sed non minore labantur errore, cum scriptura praecipiat uia regia gradiendum, et neque ad dexteram, neque ad sinistram ab ea diuertendum;’ Opp. vi. 257; cf. ib. 246, 247.

poenam erroris] Both the Itala and Vulgate have ‘mercedem’ in Rom. i. 27; the former has ‘semetipsos’ as here, the latter ‘semetipsis.’

p. 339. aequinoctium autem] ‘Aequinoctium uernale XII<sup>o</sup> Kal. Apr. die cunctorum Orientalium sententiis, et maxime Aegyptiorum, quos calculandi esse peritissimos constat, specialiter adnotatur. . . . Item catholicae institutionis regula praecipit, ut ante uernalis aequinoctii transgressum Pascha non celebretur . . . et hoc aequinoctium XII<sup>o</sup> Kal. Apr. diei ueraciter adscribendum . . . non solum auctoritate paterna, sed et horologica consideratione docemur;’ Opp. vi. 206, 207. ‘Quod esse uerissimum etiam horologica docet inspectio;’ i. 157. ‘Quod in conspectione horologica et aperta ratione probabitur,’ &c.; ib. 162.

quaecumque ergo luna] ‘Neque enim alia seruandae paschae regula est, quam ut aequinoctium uernale plenilunio succedente perficiatur; at si uel uno die plenitudo lunae praecesserit aequinoctium, iam non primi mensis, sed ultimi luna putetur,’ &c.; vi. 154-156; cf. ib. 245, 246.

alia . . . editio] The old Latin or Itala, quoted also Opp. i. 166: The Itala. ‘et fecit duo luminaria magna, et posuit ea in firmamento coeli, ut luceant super terram. Luminare maius in inchoationem diei,’ &c. Cf. vi. 245: ‘quando primum ortus est sol in inchoatione diei . . . , deinde orta est luna in inchoatione noctis.’ On Bede’s use of the Itala, see Introd. pp. xix, liv-lvi; *infra*, App. II.

- at si uno saltim die] See last note but one.
- Symbolism of numbers. p. 340. quia ante legem . . . Christus] 'Libet interea paucis intueri quam pulchre legalis umbra paschae nostro uero paschae, in quo immolatus est Christus, non tantum mysterii, sed et temporis ratione concordet;' Opp. xi. 294. On Bede's use of the symbolism of numbers, v. Introd. pp. lx, lxi.
- The Canticle of Habakkuk. eleuatus . . . suo] This is Hab. iii. 11, in the old Latin version. The song of Habakkuk (Hab. iii.) formed in Bede's time, Opp. ix. 405, as it does still, part of the office for matins on Friday. In his commentary on that song, Opp. ix. 405-426, Bede uses the old Latin version, no doubt because in his time it occurred in the office in that form. In the modern Roman Breviary the Vulgate version has been substituted. This verse is commented on pp. 416, 417. Bede also quotes it on Cant. i. 5: 'solis nomine aliquando Dominus ipse signatur, sicut de ascensione eius dictum est: *Eleuatus est scl, et luna stetit in ordine suo*;' Opp. ix. 216. This is derived from St. Gregory's Homily on the Ascension: 'de hac Ascensionis eius gloria etiam Habacuc ait: *Eleuatus est sol, luna stetit in ordine suo*. Quis enim solis nomine nisi Dominus, et quae lunae nomine nisi ecclesia designatur?'
- The Pelagians. eis qui . . . confidunt] i.e. the Pelagians, on whom see i. 17, note. Bede uses this symbolism against them in exactly the same way, Opp. vi. 155, 156.
- The Dionysian cycle. p. 341. decennouenali circulo] Bede gives much the same account of this, De Temp. Rat. c. 44; Opp. vi. 234, 235. On Theophilus of Alexandria, v. Opp. i. 165-168; vi. 234, 235, 258, 260. On the Paschal epistles of the bishops of Alexandria fixing the time of Easter, see D. C. A. ii. 1562-1564.
- Cycles and Annals. tanta . . . copia] The drawing up of these tables gave a great impulse to annalistic writing. Each year occupying a line of the MS., the custom grew up of entering on each line any notable event which happened to mark that year; v. Pertz, i. 1, 2, and the introduction to my edition of the Sax. Chron. For the word 'calculator,' cf. iii. 25, p. 188.
- The great cycle. etiamsi . . . annos] i.e. the great or paschal cycle of 532 years, formed by multiplying together the lunar cycle of nineteen and the solar cycle of twenty-eight years; on which cf. De Temp. Rat. c. 65; Opp. vi. 269, 270.
- The Tonsure. p. 342. tonsuram] On this, v. Excursus on the Easter and tonsure controversies.
- seruitutis intonsis . . . crinibus] The converse of this is the rule both with Celts and Teutons; long hair being the mark of the freeman, and the shorn or shaven head the mark of the slave; for the Celts, cf. Rhys, Celtic Britain, pp. 73-75.

p. 343. *formam quoque coronae*] The construction is: 'oportet eos, qui, &c. . . . *formam . . . praeferre.*' Yet all the edd. put a full stop before 'formam,' and Giles and Holder even begin a new paragraph with 'formam.'

*magum . . . Simonem*] Cf. Aldhelm's letter to Gerontius; Opp. ed. Giles, p. 85. It is curious that the other side seems to have made no attempt to deny this assertion; see Adamnan's words quoted below; cf. *Ra. Ad.* pp. 350, 351.

p. 344. *est Adamnan*] It must not be argued from the present Adamnan. tense that Adamnan was alive at this time. He died two years before the accession of Nechtan; Tigh. On Adamnan and his visits to Northumbria, v. c. 15, notes. If, as is probable, the incident here related occurred on the former visit, the scene of it is probably Jarrow; as till 688 Ceolfrid was only abbot of Jarrow. If it occurred on the second visit the scene might be either Jarrow or Wearmouth.

*nostrum . . . uoluisset*] Evidently the fame of Benedict's monastery was already great.

p. 345. *in linguam eius*] What the Pictish language really was The Pictish is one of the most vexed questions in ethnology. Professor Rhys language. has recently made a fresh attempt to solve it; see *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* 1892.

*de medio . . . suorum*] 'of middum his ealdormannum 7 his witum,' 'from the midst of his aldermen and counsellors,' AS. vers.

p. 346. *regia auctoritate perfecit*] See above; note 2, on this chapter.

*patrocinio*] 'mundbyrde,' AS. vers. That this really did Patron amount to a change in the patron saint of the Picts, v. S. C. S. i. Picta. 270-289; H. & S. ii. 114.

## CHAPTER 22.

*Hil . . . monasteriis*] v. iii. 3, *ad fin.*; iii. 4 and notes.

*anno . . . DCCXVI*] In iii. 4, Bede dates the change of Easter at Iona in 715: in this chapter and in c. 24 he dates it 716. The Change of Easter at Iona. discrepancy has been explained by supposing that the change was resolved on in 715 and came into operation at Easter 716. This does not solve the difficulty, for in the present passage Bede distinctly places Egbert's arrival in Iona in 716. Lower down he says that Egbert died April 24, 729, after residing thirteen years in the island. This is consistent with his having arrived there any time later than April, 715. Egbert seems to have taken his time in executing the commission which he received; c. 9. That



commission preceded the departure of Wilbrord for Frisia, which must be dated 690; v. s. cc. 10, 11, notes. Perhaps he had been attempting to convert the Columbite monasteries in Ireland, with whom, as we saw, c. 15, Adamnan failed. Bede Chron. says of him: 'plurimas Scoticae gentis prouincias ad canonicam . . . obseruantiam conuertit;' Opp. Min. p. 203.

Death of  
Osred.

**Osredo occiso]** On Osred's character and death, see c. 18, note. [716] 'Guin rig Saxan ('the slaying of the king of the Saxons') i. i. Osrith mic Aldfrith nepotis Osu;' Tigh. [715] 'Iugulatio rexis (sic) Saxonum,' &c., Ann. Ult. The Sax. Chron. 716 says, 'her Osred . . . wearð ofslægen,' 'here Osred was slain;' and MSS. D. E. add: 'be suðan gemære,' 'to the south of the border' (not 'on the southern border,' as commonly translated). D. is the MS. which has additions from good northern sources. (See my introduction to Sax. Chron.) This does not say which border is meant; if the southern, it would suggest a conflict with Mercia; if the northern, with the Picts, with whom the Sax. Chron. and Ann. Ult., Tigh., and Bede c. 24, p. 365, record a battle under 710 and 711 respectively. Wendover's 'Osredus iuxta mare . . . interemptus,' i. 211, would be decisive for the northern frontier, were it not probably traceable to a mere misunderstanding of the words of the Chron.: 'be . . . gemære,' which H. H. represents by 'iuxta Mere,' p. 111; which in turn has been interpreted of Windermere; (!) Lingard, Hist. Engl. i. 71; Bright, p. 413; cf. Lappenberg, i. 206. W. M. however says: 'tandem cognatorum insidiis caesus, eandem fortunam in ipsos refudit. Siquidem Kenred ii, et Osricus xi annis regnantes hoc tantum memorabile habuere, quod domini sui, licet merito, ut putabant, occisi, sanguinem luentes, foedo exitu auras polluere;' i. 58. This implies that Cenred and Osric were concerned in the slaying of Osred. It would be interesting to know Malmesbury's authority for this. We have seen that in default of authority he is not incapable of romancing.

Cenred of  
Northumbria.

**Coenred]** He was a son of Cuthwine, a scion of a younger branch of the Northumbrian house. He reigned two years; Sax. Chron. 716; S. D. ii. 390; cf. ib. 375; i. 201, 360; Fl. Wig. i. 48; and the Irish Annals enter his death two years after that of Osred: 'Mac Cuitin rex Saxonum moritur;' Tigh. 'Filius Cuidine,' &c., Ann. Ult. The Sax. Chron. s. a. 731, makes Ceolwulf, Cenred's brother, c. 23, grandson, not son, of Cuthwine. If W. M. u. s. can be trusted, Cenred also came to a violent end.

Egbert a  
bishop.

**sacerdos]** Probably 'bishop,' as often; v. i. 28, note; and for evidence that Egbert was a bishop, see on c. 9. The AS. vers. divides these two chapters, 22 and 23, into three; and the heading

of the middle chapter runs thus : 'Be forðfore . . . Ecgbyrhtes þæs arwurþan biscepes,' 'Of the death of Egbert the venerable bishop.' Here the Latin word 'sacerd' is retained.

**saeptius**] iii. 4 *sub fin.* ; 27 ; iv. 3, pp. 220, 221 ; v. 9 ; cf. Chron. Opp. Min. p. 203.

**doctor . . . exsecutor**] v. Introd. p. xxxvi.

**p. 347. coronae perpetis**] The Irish Annals place the adoption of the coronal tonsure at Iona two years after the change in the observance of Easter. If this is correct it would fall in the abbacy not of Dunchad but of his successor Faelchu. Change of tonsure at Iona.

**per gentem Anglorum**] For other instances of men of Saxon race at Iona, cf. *Ra. Ad.* pp. 208, 227. Aldfrid himself is another case in point.

**Brettones**] On the date at which the British churches conformed, v. c. 15, note. The AS. translator retains this passage in the present tense. Does this imply that the schism was not wholly extinct even then? On the refusal of the Britons to attempt the conversion of their conquerors, cf. ii. 2, p. 83. The Britons and the Easter question.

**Hiienses monachi**] 'Hiisetena munecas,' 'the monks of the settlers in Hii or Iona,' AS. *vera*.

**annos circiter LXXX**] Eighty or eighty-one ; Aidan's mission was probably in 635 ; iii. 5, 17, 26.

**octavo Kal. Mai.**] April 24. This was Easter Day in 729.

**immo . . . non desinit**] Cf. Opp. v. 62 : 'annuis . . . festis . . . admonemur, desiderium nostrum ad obtinenda festa, quae non sunt annua sed continua, non terrena sed coelestia semper accendere.'

**p. 348. eo die . . . quo numquam, &c.**] For the explanation of the meaning of this passage, see the Excursus on the Paschal Controversy ; *inf.* p. 352.

## CHAPTER 23.

**Anno . . . Osrici regis**] Therefore Osric must have succeeded Osric. in 718, which leaves two years from 716, the date of Osred's death, for the reign of Cenred, as stated in the notes to the last chapter. Lower down Osric's death is placed in 729, after a reign of eleven years, which yields the same result. In S. D. i. 39, Osric is called 'filius regis Alfridi.' This relationship is not noticed in Bede, Sax. Chron., Fl. Wig., H. H., or W. M. But as S. D. is copying the words of Bede in this chapter, and deliberately inserts this addition, he must have had some authority which we have not. But who is meant by the 'rex Alfridus' ? A list of kings

printed in S. D. ii. 390, makes Osric 'filius Aldfridi,' i. e. son of Aldfrid who died in 705, and therefore brother or half-brother of Osred. Dr. Stubbs however makes Osric the son of Alchfrid the rebellious son of Oswy; and further identifies him with Osric of the Hwiccas; iv. 23, p. 255, note. I cannot believe any part of this theory. Is it likely that the Northumbrians, in 718, would seek as their king a ruler of a distant province, the son of a man who had disappeared from history as far back as 664? Whereas there is nothing unlikely in the view that Osric was a son of Aldfrid.

Uictred . . . nono die . . . tenebat] April 23, 725. Therefore his accession must be placed in Oct. 690.

Kentish  
succession.

filius tres . . . heredes] Bede seems to imply that they reigned jointly. This is confirmed, as far as regards the first two brothers, by a charter of 738, which Kemble accepts as genuine; K. C. D. No. 85; Birch, No. 159. Canterbury insertions in MS. A of the Sax. Chron., and Fl. Wig. make Ethelbert (whom Bede names first) succeed Eadbert on his death in 748; while all MSS. of the Chron. place the death of Ethelbert II in 760; though a charter of his, which Kemble considers genuine, is dated 762; K. C. D. No. 108; Birch, No. 191. Nothing is said about Alric, nor does he appear in any of the charters, genuine or spurious; and Dr. Stubbs would 'set aside his reign altogether as resting on no authority earlier than W. M.;' D. C. B. ii. 3. The Chronology of Malmesbury and Elmham, which prolongs the reigns of the three brothers to 793 and 795 respectively, is quite incredible; and perhaps rests on a confusion of Alric son of Witred, with Alric son of Heardbert, slain in 798; Sax. Chron. There is a letter of Ethelbert II, to St. Boniface, asking him to send him two falcons for hawking; Mon. Mog. pp. 254-256.

Tobias . . . neminimus] v. c. 8, *ad fin.*

Aldwulf  
of Roches-  
ter.

p. 349. Alduulf] The death of Tobias, and the consecration of Aldwulf are placed in 727 by Sax. Chron. D. E. F. He acts as one of the consecrators of Archbishop Tatwin, *infra*, p. 350. His death is given by S. D. ii. 32, under 739; the accession of his successor Dun, is placed in 740 by Chron. C. D. E. F.; in 741, by Chron. A. B. and Fl. Wig. There are grants to him in K. C. D. Nos. 78, 85; Birch, Nos. 152, 159.

Comets.

cometae duae] 'twegen steorran . . . þa syndon on bocum *cometa* nemde,' 'two stars which are called *cometa* in books,' AS. *vera*. On the significance and duration of comets, v. iv. 12, note.

The Sara-  
cens.

Sarracenorum lues] The Saracens had conquered Spain in the years 710-713. Thence they spread beyond the Pyrenees and

established themselves in Narbonne, whence they plundered Gaul. The victory of Tours, won by Charles Martel in 732, saved Gaul from the fate of Spain: 'Sarraceni cum uxoribus et paruulis uenientes, Aquitaniam quasi habitaturi ingressi sunt;' Paul. Diac. Hist. Langob. vi. 46; Sigb. Gembl. s. a. 730 [= 732]; Freeman, Conquests of the Saracens, Lect. V; Weber, Weltgesch. v. 109-120; Kitchin, France, i. 102, 103. If by the 'dignae poenae' Bede means the battle of Tours, this sentence must have been added after the completion of the H. E. in 731. He cannot, I think, refer to the defeats of 721 (Toulouse) or 725; as then we should lose the connexion with the comets of 729, which is evidently uppermost in Bede's mind.

Bede frequently refers to the Saracens in his theological works. Following Isidore (Chron. Tertia Aetas, *ad init.*: 'Ismael a quo Ismaelitarum gens, qui postea Agareni, ad ultimum Saraceni sunt dicti'), he regards them as descendants of Ishmael; Opp. viii. 185. Thus on Gen. xvi. 12, he says: 'significat semen eius habitaturum in heremo, id est, Sarracenos uagos, incertisque sedibus, qui uniuersas gentes, quibus desertum ex latere iungitur, incursant, et expugnantur ab omnibus; sed haec antiquitus. Nunc autem in tantum manus eius contra omnes, et manus sunt omnium contra eum, ut Africam totam in longitudine sua ditione premant, sed et Asiae maximam partem, et Europae nonnullam omnibus exosi et contrarii tenent;' Opp. vii. 185 (this was probably written in 720). So on 1 Sam. xxv. 1, citing Ps. cxix. (cxx.) 5: 'habitaui cum habitantibus Cedar;' he says: '[haec] Sarracenos specialiter aduersarios ecclesiae cunctos generaliter describunt;' viii. 185 (this was written in 716). On Cant. i. 4, citing Gen. u. s., he says: 'cuius praesagii ueritatem exosa omnibus hodie Sarracenorum, qui ab eo exorti sunt, natio probat;' ix. 215. So commenting on the 'sidus Remphan' of Acts vii. 43, he says: 'Significat . . . Luciferum, cuius cultui Sarracenorum gens ob honorem Veneris erat mancipata;' xii. 36; cf. vii. 214; ix. 413. St. Boniface, in a letter written 723 x 755, warns a correspondent not to go to Rome: 'donec . . . minae Sarracenorum, quae apud Romanos nuper emerserunt, conquieuerint;' Mon. Mog. p. 236. In the letter to Ethelbald (744 x 747) cited above, he says: 'Gentes Hispaniae et Prouinciae et Burgundionum . . . sic . . . fornicatae sunt, donec Iudex . . . talium criminum ultrices poenas . . . per Sarracenos uenire . . . permisit;' ib. 173; H. & S. iii. 354.

perfidiae] 'heathenism,' 'unbelief' v. on i. 7.

VII<sup>a</sup> . . . die] May 9, 729.

Osric . . . decessit] Under 729, MSS. D. E. F. of the Sax. Chron.

Death of  
Osric.

give the entry 'her . . . Osric forðferde,' 'here Osric died;' but under 731, MS. D (which frequently duplicates events owing to the compiler having a double source before him) has the further entry 'her wæs ofslægæn Osric . . . cyning,' 'Here Osric king was slain;' cf. the passage from W. M. given in the notes to the last chapter.

Ceolwulf.

Ceoluulfum] W. M. (i. 58) picturesquely says: 'conscendit . . . tremulum regni culmen Chelwulfus.' Of the troubles of the beginning of his reign we have a specimen in the statement of the Cont. Baedae, *inf.* p. 361, that in 731 (732, S. D. ii. 30; 733, R. W. i. 219) he was forcibly tonsured but restored. (Under 730, Ann. Ult. 731, Tigh., there is the following entry: 'clericatus Echdach filii Cuidini [Cuthwine, see on c. 22] rex Saxan, et constringitur.' This can hardly refer to anything but the tonsuring of Ceolwulf; so that he, like Aldfrid, would seem to have had an Irish name, which was Eochaid.) In 737 he voluntarily became a monk in Lindisfarne; *ib.*; Sax. Chron.; Ann. Lindisf. s. a.; S. D. ii. 32, 375; i. 47, 201: 'barbam deposuit, coronam [i. e. tonsure] accepit.' 'Hoc rege monacho facto efficiente data est monachis Lindisfarnensis ecclesiae licentia bibendi uinum uel ceruisiam; ante illud tempus non nisi lac uel aquam bibere solebant, secundum . . . traditionem sanoti Aidani;' S. D. ii. 102; cf. i. 361. The Sax. Chron. and Ann. Lind. place his death in 760; S. D. ii. 42, followed by Hoveden, in 764. He was buried at Lindisfarne near St. Cuthbert, and miracles attested his sanctity; W. M. i. 67; but in 830, Bishop Egred translated his body to his new church at Norham; and his head was ultimately removed to Durham; S. D. i. 47, 52, 201; Ann. Lind. s. a. 830. In the letter to Egbert written Nov. 734, Bede speaks in the highest terms of his zeal for religion: § 9, *inf.* p. 412. To him he dedicated his *Ecc. Hist.*, Praef. p. 5. To the influence of this, H. H., pp. 114, 117, 118, ascribes Ceolwulf's resolve to embrace the monastic life, which H. H. highly commends. To this commendation R. W. seems to allude, 'rex nobilissimus, ut quibusdam placet;' i. 226.

Date of  
Bertwald's  
death.

die Iduum Ian.] Jan. 13, 731. C, followed by AS. vera, and Sim. Dun. (r. critical note, and Introduction, pp. xciii, xciv), reads 'v. die Id.,' i. e. Jan. 9, and this is Bertwald's day in the Roman Calendar. So also Fl. Wig. i. 51; Elmham, p. 300; and the list in Ang. Sac. i. 94. Other lists, *ib.* 52, 85, give 'vi. Id.,' i. e. Jan. 8. The Sax. Chron. MSS. D. E. F. follows the ordinary text of Bede. If the 37 y. 6 m. 14 d. be reckoned from Bertwald's consecration, June 29, 693 (c. 8, *ad fin.*), it brings us apparently to Jan. 12, 731; S. D. u. s. places Bertwald's death in 732 (cf. *sup.*, where he is also one year in advance).

p. 350. Tatuini] He died 734; *Cont. Bed. inf.* p. 361; *Sax. Tatwin. Chron.*; on July 30, S. D. ii. 31, having received the pallium the previous year; *ib.* 30; *inf.* p. 361. (A spurious letter of Gregory III makes him go to Rome to fetch the pallium; *G. P.* p. 56; *H. & S.* iii. 311, 312.) Tatwin is the author of a collection of Latin riddles, printed in Wright's *Anglo-Latin Poets* of the twelfth century, vol. ii. Appendix i. On these, and the mediæval riddle literature generally, v. Manitius, *Aldhelm und Baeda*, pp. 78-82.

de prouincia Merciorum] His election was probably due to the influence of Ethelbald; *D. C. B.* ii. 212; *iv.* 804, 805.

Briudun] Bredon in Worcestershire; *Mon. Angl.* i. 586, 587; *Bredon. viii.* 1625. It was founded by Eanwulf, grandfather of Offa; *Birch.* i. 326; *cf. ib.* 297, 298, 329.

Ingualdo] He died in 745; *inf.* p. 362; *S. D.* ii. 39. He signs Ingwald. a charter, *K. C. D.* No. 95; *Birch.* No. 171.

Alduino] He is otherwise called Worr, under which name he Aldwin. signs charters; *K. C. D.* Nos. 75, 79, 80, 83; *Birch.* Nos. 146, 153, 154, 156; the dates given for his accession and death are 721 and 737 respectively, the latter is given by *S. D.* ii. 32; the former is an inference from the fact that Hedda, who probably preceded him immediately, died in 721; *D. C. B.* i. 79.

die decima Iun.] This was a Sunday in 731. For the mode of dating, see on iii. 9, p. 145.

ecclesiis Cantuariorum] *v.* ii. 3, note.

Aldberot et Hadulac] Bishops of Dunwich and Elmham re- East  
spectively. Nothing seems to be known about either of them; and Anglian  
the name of the former varies greatly in the different lists. bish<sup>op</sup>118.

Daniel et Fortheri] *v.* c. 18, notes.

Walohstod] Bishop of Hereford. His predecessor Torthere signs Walohstod.  
as late as 727; *Stubbs, Ep. Succ.* p. 171, and his successor Cuthbert was consecrated in 736; *S. D.* ii. 32. Malmesbury has preserved some verses by Cuthbert inscribed on a cross, begun by Walhstod and finished by himself; also an epitaph composed by him on Walhstod and others of his predecessors; *G. P.* p. 229. 'These . . . are two of the most interesting minor relics of eighth-century history in England;' *Stubbs* in *D. C. B.* iv. 1170.

Huociorum Uilfrid] Egwin, whom, as we have seen, Bede does Wilfrid  
not mention, died Dec. 30, 717; and Wilfrid was appointed before of the  
his death; *Fl. Wig.* i. 49. He died 743, *ib.* 54; 754, *S. D.* ii. 39. Hwicca.  
There is a grant by him in *K. C. D.* No. 91; *Birch.* No. 166. He must be carefully distinguished from his contemporary, Wilfrid II of York, *v.* *inf.*

episcopatus Uectae] *v.* iv. 16, *ad fin.*

Cynibert. Cyniberot] He is mentioned above, iv. 12, p. 229, as fourth bishop of Lindsey. He gave Bede information as to the ecclesiastical history of his diocese; Praef. p. 7. He died 732; S. D. ii. 30. The date of his consecration does not seem to be known.

Ethelbald of Mercia. Aedilbaldo] He succeeded Ceolred in 716; c. 24, p. 356. It was to him that St. Boniface addressed his famous letter of remonstrance, already cited. But he was a strong ruler. Bede represents him here as having the hegemony of the whole of Britain south of the Humber, though he does not reckon him among the so-called Bretwaldas; cf. H. H. p. 121, who calls him 'rex regum'; while Dr. Stubbs says that he was 'no doubt the most powerful king since Ethelbert of Kent, not excepting the Northumbrian rulers;' D. C. B. ii. 213. And Boniface, while rebuking his flagrant immorality and ecclesiastical oppressions, gives him credit for liberality and vigorous justice. (This letter, with accompanying letters to Archbishop Egbert of York, and Herefrid [*inf.* p. 362], begging them to enforce its lessons, is in Mon. Mog. pp. 168-180; H. & S. iii. 350-360). We find him making war on Wessex in 733 and 740; Sax. Chron.; overrunning Northumberland in 740 [737, Sax. Chron.], while Eadbert, King of Northumbria, was engaged against the Picts, *inf.* p. 362; combining with Wessex against the Welsh; Sax. Chron. a. a. 743; defeated by Wessex in 752, *ib.*; cf. Cont. Baed. 752. His murder is placed by Cont. Baed. (*inf.* p. 369), in 757. So S. D. ii. 41. The Sax. Chron., followed by Fl. Wig., places it in 755, and says that it took place at Seckington (Secceswald, Fl.) in Warwickshire, and that he was buried at Repton. Under 716, the Chron. says that he reigned forty-one years, which agrees with 757. W. M., i. 79, says that his murderer was Beornred, who succeeded him; but was immediately displaced by Offa; *inf.*; Sax. Chron. u. s. Ethelbald appears as the traditional founder of Croyland Abbey, but the charter is a gross forgery; H. & S. iii. 296-299; K. C. D. No. 66; Birch, No. 135. There is an interesting and genuine charter of 749, in which Ethelbald 'pro expiatione delictorum suorum' frees ecclesiastical lands from all burdens, except the repair of bridges and defence of fortresses; H. & S. iii. 386, 387; K. C. D. No. 99; Birch, No. 178. Apparently this did not avail him, for in a vision (previously cited) he was seen among the lost; Mon. Mog. p. 275. To him Felix dedicated his life of St. Guthlac, according to which Guthlac had foretold his accession, at a time when he was much persecuted by Ceolred; Hardy, Cat. i. 405, 406; cf. Fl. Wig. i. 49.

Uilfrid] Wilfrid II. See c. 6, *ad fin.*, note.

Ediluald] v. c. 12, *ad fin.*, note.

p. 351. *Acca*] v. c. 20, notes.

*Peehelm*] In S. D. ii. 29, by the common confusion of P and p *Peehelm*. (see on iii. 21, p. 169), his name is written '*Weethelmus*.' Mr. Arnold, H. H. p. liii, thinks this is right. But '*Peehelm*' is clearly '*helm* of the Picts,' as '*Pehtwine*,' the name of one of his successors (whom H. H. pp. 125, 126, calls *Witwine*), is '*friend of the Picts*.' Bede has cited him as his authority for the tale told in c. 13, *ad fin*. He had been deacon and monk under *Aldhelm*; c. 18, p. 320. There is no clue to the date of his consecration beyond Bede's '*nuper*' here. There is a letter from St. Boniface to him asking for information as to prohibited degrees of marriage; *Mon. Mog.* pp. 94, 95; H. & S. iii. 310. He died in 735; *Fl. Wig.* He is the first bishop of the Anglian see of *Whitern* or *Candida Casa*, which lasted till the death of *Badwulf* or *Baldwulf*, who survived at any rate to 803; *Sax. Chron. s. a.*; compared with S. D. i. 52; cf. ib. ii. 53, 58; G. P. p. 257; H. & S. ii. 7, 8. On the see of *Whitern* under *Ninian*, v. iii. 4, notes. It would seem from Bede's words that the district had become heathen again since *Ninian*'s time.

*Brettones*] Cf. on ii. 4, p. 88.

*qua adridente pace*] Bede must here be referring to freedom from external attacks from Picts, Scots, and Britons; for he has just told us that the internal condition of Northumbria at this time was deplorable. External peace.

*plures . . . accepta tonsura . . . uidebit*] This shows that Bede by no means favours an indiscriminate adoption of the monastic life; especially as in many cases the adoption was not genuine; cf. *Ep. ad Egb.* §§ 11-13, *inf.* pp. 414-417. Growth of monasticism.

## CHAPTER 24.

P. 352. The way in which Bede wrote his history, by subjects, rather than by order of time, rendered a chronological summary very necessary; and he might have made it fuller with advantage. This summary has a very important bearing on the history of annalistic writing, as I shall hope to show in my introduction to the *Saxon Chronicle*. The insertions made in it by the MSS. of the *Winchester* and *Durham* groups (see the critical notes, and *Introd.* pp. civ, cv) and the continuation of it, *inf.* pp. 361-363, show how easily it might become the starting-point of a regular chronicle. The references to the corresponding chapters of Bede's text are placed in the margin. These will show how widely the narrative



departs from the chronological order. The *AS. vera.* omits the chronological summary, but gives the biographical notice which follows it.

Additions  
to the nar-  
rative.

**XV . . . rexit]** This is an addition to Bede's narrative. The annals 538, 540, and 547 have nothing corresponding to them in Bede's narrative. The eclipse of 540 is dated correctly June 20; but that of 538, which Bede dates Feb. 16, was really on Feb. 15; *Art de Vérif.* i. 62. On *Ida* see notes to *Sax. Chron.*

p. 354. 658 [critical note]; v. iii. 24, *ad fin.*

pp. 354, 355. 667, 686, 687, 692 [critical notes]. For the bearing of these additions on the classification of the MSS., see *Introd.* pp. civ, cv. For the substance of the last three, v. c. 19 and notes.

Wulfhere  
of Mercia.

p. 354. 675. On the chronology of Wulfhere's reign, see on iii. 24, *ad fin.* His death is not mentioned in the text of Bede. *Fl. Wig.* in relating it adds: 'qui regum Merciorum primus fidem . . . accepit [this is true, for Peada was only king of the South Mercians], et in tota gente sua daemoniorum culturam destruxit et penitus eradicavit;' i. 32. Cf. the case of Earconbert (*sup.* iii. 8), whose daughter St. Ermingild he married; ib.

p. 355. 704. **XXXI annos]** This is inconsistent with the date of his accession given above, viz. 675. The *Sax. Chron.* rightly gives twenty-nine years as the length of his reign.

Bede's  
works.

p. 356. **Haec de historia, &c.]** On Bede's history and on his life and works, see *Introd.* Part I.

p. 357. **monasterii]** v. note on c. 21, *ad init.*

**dulce habui]** This is a favourite phrase of Bede; e.g. *Vit. Cudb.* c. 25: 'Baldhelmus . . . uirtutes uiri Dei cunctis . . . referre melle dulcius habet;' cf. *Opp.* viii. 288; ix. 109, 156, 237, 305; xii. 287.

**in principium Genesis]** The references in the margin are to Giles' edition of Bede's works in 12 vols., 8vo, 1843-1844.

**ad mortem Saulis libros III]** The death of Saul comes at the end of the fourth book of the commentary on Samuel. The reading of C. O., D. AS., &c. is therefore right. Though there was an interval between the first three books and the fourth it was not so long as fifteen years (716-731); v. *Introduction*, pp. xv, xvi, cxlviii.

## BAEDAE CONTINUATIO.

---

**P. 361.** As the annals 731-734 (as far as 'reuersa') are found in MS. M., and annals 733 and 734 up to the same point are found in C at the end of Bede's chronological summary (v. critical note, p. 356), it is quite possible that these entries were made by Bede himself after the completion of the work in 731, and before his death in 735. Of the later entries I shall only deal with those which are (i) connected with the narrative of Bede; (ii) not found in the Sax. Chron. The continuation.

731. For Ceolwulf, v. v. 23, p. 349; for Acca, v. 20.

732. For Egbert, see the notes on Bede's letter to him; *inf.* pp. 405 ff.; for Wilfrid, v. v. 6, *ad fin.*

733. XVIII Kal. Sep.] Aug. 14. This date is quite correct.

734. There was a total eclipse of the moon on Jan. 24, 734, at 3 a.m. The date in the text is therefore just a week too late. On Tatwin, v. v. 23, p. 350.

735. On Nothelm, see Bede's Preface, p. 6, note; for Frithbert, v. v. 20, notes; for Frithwald, Bishop of Whithorn, Sax. Chron. s. a.

762. On the date of Bede's death, see Introduction, pp. lxxi-lxxiii.

**p. 362.** 740. On Ethelbald, v. v. 23, notes; for Ethelwald, cf. v. 12, notes.

**Arnuuini . . . interempti]** '740. Arwine filius Eadulfi occisus est Arnwin. die X Kal. Ian. feria VII;' S. D. ii. 38 (i. e. Dec. 23, this was not a Saturday in 740, but was in 741). The Eadwulf meant is probably the one who succeeded Aldfrid for two months; see on v. 18, *ad init.* It will be seen that S. D. says nothing about Eadbert; and the insertion of his name is probably a mere slip, as Thorpe suggests, Lappenberg, E. T. i. 213. Anyhow it cannot refer to Eadbert, King of Northumbria, as he was king till 758.

741. **Carolus rex Francorum]** This is Charles Martel the conqueror of the Saracens. His sons, Carloman and Pippin the Short (the father of Charlemagne), for a time divided the Frankish power; but in 747 Carloman resigned, and like Cædwalla of Charles Martel.

Wessex, went to Rome and became a monk, v. D. C. B. iii. 600, leaving the whole power in the hands of Pippin. Pauli thinks that the title 'Rex Francorum' shows that these annals in their present shape cannot be older than the tenth century; *Forschungen zur deutschen Gesch.*, xii. 157.

745. On Ingwald, v. v. 23, note.

Herefrid.

747. This is probably the Herefrid to whom St. Boniface wrote the letter cited on v. 23.

The Picts.

750. The 'insurrection' of Cuthred against Ethelbald refers to the battle of Burford, which the Sax. Chron. places in 752, where see notes. Oengus is apparently Oengus (or Unust) mac Fergusa, King of the Picts, who died in 761, *inf.* It is difficult to see how he can have come into contact with Wessex. S. D., who incorporates this entry, omits the words 'et Oengusum;' ii. 40. I am inclined to think that the text is corrupt, and that these words, and probably also Eadbert's annexation of Kyle, are connected with an event which S. D., *u.s.*, places under 756, the successful joint expedition of Eadbert and Oengus against Alcluith or Dumbarton the capital of the Strathclyde Britons. We have seen Eadbert engaged against the Picts, 740, above. By 756 he would seem to have compelled them into alliance with him; cf. S. D. i. 48; Sax. Chron. 737, note. By Theudor is meant 'Teudubr filius Beli,' King of the Strathclyde Britons, who died 750; Ann. Camb.; in 752, Tigh.; cf. Lappenberg, i. 208. Who Eanred was I do not know. 'Campus Cyil' is Kyle, a district of Ayrshire; cf. Rhys, C. B. p. 118. On the relations between the Picts, the Dalriadic Scots, the Strathclyde Britons, and Northumbria at this time, see *ib.* 176-178; S. C. S. i. 290 ff.

Eclipses.

753. This is certainly the right year; though the editions give 756. 753 is the only year between 734 and 865 in which there was a solar eclipse followed by a lunar eclipse in the month of January. The lunar eclipse (partial, hence 'scuto') was on the date given in the text, Jan. 24; the solar eclipse was on Jan. 9, the fifth of the Ides. 753 was the sixteenth year of Eadbert (not fifteenth as Hussey says, *ad loc.*, who however was the first to suggest the right mode of emending the passage); we should therefore probably read: 'Anno DCCLIII, anno regni Eadbereti XVI, quinto Id. Ian.'

Boniface.

754. Bonifacius] This is the great Apostle of Germany. It would be impossible to discuss here the story of his eventful life. It is curious that Bede says nothing about him; and this fact a little weakens my argument in the notes to i. 13 with reference to Patrick. Boniface's life by Willibald is in Mon. Mog. pp. 429 ff.;

Pertz, ii. 331 ff. The former volume also contains the best edition of his letters. On the date of his death, see Oelsner, *Jahrbuch des fränkischen Reiches unter König Pippin*, pp. 489 ff. He decides for 754.

**Redgerus]** This is a mistake. Lullus or Lul, a West-Saxon, succeeded Boniface as archbishop of Mainz. Pauli however suggests that Hreōgar may have been his original name and that Lul was a mere nickname; *u. s.* pp. 157-159.

757. On these events, *v. v.* 23, notes and *Sax. Chron. s. a.* 755. The *story* of Cynewulf's death is placed by the *Chron.* under 755, but the formal entry of his slaying belongs to 784. The compiler of these annals must have misunderstood either the Chronicle or some common source from which they both drew.

*p.* 363. 758. See *Sax. Chron.* 757.

*coelestis patriae uiolentia]* Cf. *Matt. xi. 12*; Thorpe, *Lappenberg*, E. T. i. 214, wrongly takes 'uiolentia' with 'accepta'; as if Eadbert had been forcibly tonsured.

## EXCURSUS ON THE PASCHAL CONTROVERSY AND TONSURE.

Tedious-  
ness of the  
Paschal  
contro-  
versy.

EADMER, in his life of Wilfrid, says that he had omitted his hero's arguments on the Paschal question, 'ne in re huic opusculo non necessaria aliquod fastidium legentibus inferremus;' c. 10. Most readers of Bede will be inclined to wish that he had taken a like course.

Points at  
issue be-  
tween the  
Roman and  
Celtic  
Churches.

It would be impossible to enter fully into this controversy, without a knowledge of astronomy and mathematics as a basis of scientific chronology, to which I can make no pretensions. But the main points of difference between the Roman and Celtic Churches can be apprehended without touching on these thorny questions.

In the letter of Ceolfrid in v. 21, four rules are laid down; the first two derived from the law, the third from the Gospel, the fourth from considerations of religious symbolism<sup>1</sup>.

(1) Easter must fall in the first month<sup>2</sup>.

(2) In the third week of that month.

(3) On a Sunday.

(4) The paschal full moon must not fall before the vernal equinox<sup>3</sup>.

Early con-  
troversies.

The earliest Paschal controversies had turned on No. 3. The Jewish Christians, with St. John at their head, observed the 14th of the month Nisan, the day of the Jewish Passover,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. cc. 6, 50, De Temp. Rat. In c. 61 Bede endeavours to ground the fourth rule also on Scripture; though he admits that the law 'aequinoctium nominatim non exprimit.' 'The Jews apparently had no rule about not keeping the passover before the equinox;' the only point considered in determining the first month being whether in sixteen days from the commencement of the month 'the barley would be sufficiently ripe for the observance of the rite of the firstfruits'; if not, a month was intercalated; D. C. A. i. 587. So Smith, p. 697. This may be true of the early days of the Jewish Commonwealth; it is certainly not true of the later. Cf. the extract from Anatolius in Eusebius, H. E. vii. 32: μαθεῖν δ' ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ Φιλωνος, Ἰωσήπου, Μουσαίου λεγομένων, καὶ . . . τῶν ἐνι παλαιότερων . . . δεῖν τὰ διαβατήρια θύειν . . . μετὰ ἰσημερίαν ἐαρινήν. I owe the reference to Schürer, Gesch. d. jüdischen Volkes, i. 629.

<sup>2</sup> On the first month, cf. De Temp. Rat. cc. 11, 43, 51.

<sup>3</sup> On the four rules, cf. ib. cc. 61, 64.

regardless of the day of the week on which it might fall. The Gentile Christians, having no associations with the Passover, naturally attached their annual commemoration of the Resurrection to that first day which already in each week was kept in memory of it. The former custom prevailed in Asia, the latter in the West. In the Council of Nicaea, the Western custom became the rule of the Church, and those who adhered to the other view were stamped as heretics with the name of Quartodecimans<sup>1</sup>.

On this point there was no controversy between the Roman and Celtic Churches. Bede more than once<sup>2</sup> refutes the unfair insinuations of some of the Roman party<sup>3</sup> that the Celts were Quartodecimans. The Celts not Quarto-decimans.

It must be admitted that the Celts themselves gave some ground for the charge by claiming for their practice the sanction of St. John's authority, which, as Wilfrid showed, would only be in point if they were Quartodecimans<sup>4</sup>.

The Roman party, on their side, were equally unhistorical in asserting that the system which they followed had been that of the Church of Rome ever since the days of St. Peter<sup>5</sup>. Roman claims unhistorical.

Though their adversaries had not the knowledge to refute them, the Church of Rome had more than once changed its paschal practice, and the rules which were ultimately adopted in the Western Church were mainly worked out at Alexandria<sup>6</sup>.

Nor in principle was there any difference between the Celtic and Roman Churches as to the other three rules; the differences arose as to the mode of carrying them out. Thus in regard to the second rule: what was to be considered the third week of the first month? The Celts reckoned it from the 14th to the 20th of the moon inclusive<sup>7</sup>. The Latins had originally reckoned it from the 16th to the 22nd<sup>8</sup>. The reason for this rule was to make it The third week of the first month, how reckoned.

<sup>1</sup> D. C. A.; Smith, pp. 696, 697. The Council of Nicaea did not, as is often asserted, lay down rules for the finding of Easter; but it fixed the celebration to Sunday, and enjoined uniformity; Ideler, ii. 206 ff.

<sup>2</sup> H. E. iii. 4, 17, pp. 135, 162.

<sup>3</sup> e. g. Wilfrid, Eddius, cc. 12, 14, 15. Aldhelm, H. & S. iii. 271; and probably Pope John IV, H. E. ii. 19, and notes.

<sup>4</sup> Eddius, c. 10; H. E. iii. 25, pp. 184-186.

<sup>5</sup> Ib. p. 185, v. 21, p. 337; cf. Smith, p. 693.

<sup>6</sup> Opp. vi. 181: 'Aegyptus mater artium docet.' ib. 206, 'Aegyptii quos calculandi esse peritissimos constat.' So H. E. v. 21, p. 339: 'Aegyptii . . . prae ceteris doctoribus calculandi palmam tenent.' Opp. vi. 235: 'apud Aegyptios huius supputationis antiquitus tradita uidebatur esse peritia.'

<sup>7</sup> H. E. ii. 2; iii. 28 (British); iii. 3, 25; v. 21 (Irish and Pictish).

<sup>8</sup> Ceolfrid, or Bede, refutes this view, H. E. v. 21, p. 338, but without specifying the persons aimed at. Conversely in the *De Temp. Rat.* c. 59.

result of this difference. For  
 fell on a Sunday, the Celts would  
 whereas the Romans would defer  
 is precisely the case which Bede  
 household of Oswy of Northumbria  
 the Celtic use, would sometimes  
 queen, in accordance with the Roman  
 Week<sup>1</sup>.

# Cycles.

Closely connected with this was  
 for determining on what date the  
 Ultimately the Alexandrian cycle  
 amended by Dionysius Exiguus  
 Church; whereas the Celts continued  
 eighty-four years<sup>2</sup>. What amount  
 this cause I do not know. Bede  
 question of cycles. In iii. 4, p. 12  
 of Iona as following 'dubii circuli  
 error to the want of constant cycle  
 world'. Indeed, considering the

Bede refutes the Latins by name, when  
 not mentioned expressly.

<sup>1</sup> The *πάσχα σταυρωσμον*, Easter being  
 205.

<sup>2</sup> Bede, u. s., says of this party: 'elige  
 festi paschalis extendi quam dominica  
 ullatenus inchoari.' Bede himself at  
 crucifixion took place on the 15th of  
 242, 260-262; i. 167. This is the view  
 narrative, while the other seems implied

<sup>3</sup> H. E. iii. 25, n. 10-11.

'the wonder is how . . . a unanimous Easter was obtainable at all'.

Wilfrid alludes to the cycle of nineteen years, which he ascribes to Anatolius<sup>2</sup>. Ceolfrid also cites it, and represents it as having come down from apostolic times<sup>1</sup>. Bede mentions the cycle of eighty-four years, once in connexion with the British<sup>4</sup> and once in connexion with the Pictish Easter<sup>5</sup>; and as the Picts were converted from Iona, this is conclusive as to the Easter of the latter community; and through them, as to that of the Northern Irish<sup>6</sup>.

The first and fourth rules are closely connected. What is (for The first Paschal purposes) to be considered the first month of the year? month of, The answer is—that in which the full moon falls on or after the the year. vernal equinox. If the full moon falls before the vernal equinox then that month is the last of the old year and not the first of the new<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> H. & S. ii. 99.

<sup>2</sup> H. E. iii. 25, p. 187.

<sup>3</sup> ib. v. 21, p. 341.

<sup>4</sup> ib. ii. 2, p. 81.

<sup>5</sup> ib. v. 21, p. 346.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Anscombe (Obit of St. Columba) alone of all the authorities which I have consulted denies that the Irish church used a cycle of eighty-four years, on the ground (1) 'that the Irish church would not celebrate earlier than March 25,' [see below]; (2) 'that the cycle of LXXXIV indicates celebrations on March 21, 22, 23, and 24,' p. 4. But it does not seem to me at all impossible that the Celts might follow a certain cycle generally, and yet desert it when it conflicted with their rule about the equinox. Thus Bede, *De Temp. Rat.* c. 51, taunts Victorius with the inconsistency of his paschal rules: 'si magis observandum quod Aegyptii docent autumas, quare non illorum per omnia scientiam sectaris.' And as a matter of fact, in an eighty-four years' Easter cycle published by Muratori in vol. iii. of his *Anecdota ex Ambrosiana Bibliotheca*, alternative dates for Easter are added by the compiler in several cases, because the dates given in the cycle sinned against the Easter rules which he observed; Ideler, ii. 244, 252, 253; but in any case arguments of this kind cannot override the plain words of Bede. On the passage in ii. 2, p. 81, with reference to the British Easter 'quae computatio LXXXIII annorum circulo continetur,' Mr. Anscombe says: 'By this I understand . . . that the date in April [the 21st], which restricted the celebration of the Latins who used the cycle of LXXXIV, likewise restricted the celebration of the Irish and Britons,' pp. 8, 9. Even if this very forced interpretation could apply here, I do not see how it could apply to the similar phrase in v. 21, p. 341, where, speaking of the orthodox Easter, Ceolfrid says: 'hic . . . computus paschae decennouenali circulo continetur.' The meaning surely in both cases is: 'this mode of reckoning Easter is comprised in (which is nearly equivalent to saying "is regulated by") a cycle of so many years.' Least of all can any such explanation touch the statement of Bede in v. 21 *ad fin.*, that after the reception of Ceolfrid's letter, the Picts universally adopted 'circuli paschae decennouenales, oblitteratis per omnia erroneis LXXX et IIII annorum circulis.' Moreover it must be remembered that Bede nowhere makes any distinction between the different branches of the Celts (in whom for this purpose the Picts may be included), but implies that they all laboured under the same errors; cf. ii. 4; iii. 25; v. 22; pp. 87, 88, 184, 347.

<sup>7</sup> H. E. v. 21; pp. 338-341; *De Temp. Rat.* cc. 30, 51, 62.



The equi-  
nox.

This leads however to the further question—when is the vernal equinox? The Roman Church, again following the lead of Alexandria, placed it at March 21<sup>1</sup>; the Celts at March 25. This, it is plain, might cause a divergence of a lunar month. For if a full moon fell between those dates the Romans would consider that that was the Paschal moon; whereas the Celts would wait for the next full moon. An instance of this occurred in the year 631 when the Roman Easter fell on March 24th, and the Irish on April 21st; and some Irish delegates who were at Rome on this very question, had ocular demonstration of the extent to which they differed from the rest of the Church<sup>2</sup>.

The Easter  
limits.

Another point of difference between the Churches was as to the limits between which Easter might fall. The anterior limits were the result of their respective views as to the equinox, combined with their modes of reckoning the third week of the first month.

Thus the Romans placing the equinox at March 21, the earliest possible paschal moon was that of which the 14th or full moon fell on that date. The 14th itself being excluded, March 22 was the earliest possible date for Easter Day. For the Celts who placed the equinox at March 25, and allowed the celebration of Easter on the 14th, March 25 itself was the earliest possible date<sup>3</sup>. As to the posterior limit, the Celts, keeping in this as in other points the old Latin rules, refused to celebrate later than April 21; while for the Romans, who allowed the 14th of the paschal moon to fall as late as April 18<sup>4</sup>, April 25 was the latest date for Easter Day. This explains the passage in v. 22, pp. 347, 348, where Bede speaking of the death of Egbert at Iona on Easter Day, which in that year (729) fell on April 24, according to the Roman use, to which Egbert had converted the Iona monks, says: '*Mira autem diuinæ dispensatio prouisionis erat, quod uenerabilis uir non solum in pascha transiuit de hoc mundo ad Patrem; uerum etiam cum eo die pascha celebraretur, quo numquam prius in eis locis celebrari solebat.*'

Bitterness  
evoked by  
the ques-  
tion.

We have evidence of the bitterness of feeling which these controversies evoked in the statement of Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus, that the Irish bishop Dagan refused even to eat in the same inn with them<sup>5</sup>; and in that of Aldhelm that the British priests beyond the Severn not only declined to join in any act of

<sup>1</sup> The Latins had originally placed the equinox at March 18; cf. *De Temp. Rat.* c. 51; *Opp.* vi. 246. Hence the possibility of having Easter as early as March 21, as mentioned in the last note but one.

<sup>2</sup> *S. C. S.* ii. 160, 161.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *De Temp. Rat.* c. 30; *Opp.* vi. 206.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *De Temp. Rat.* cc. 51, 59; *Opp.* vi. 248, 256.

<sup>5</sup> *H. E.* ii. 4, p. 88.

worship or social life with the Saxons, but would cast any fragments of food left by them to dogs and swine, and refused even to use the same dishes, &c., until they had been thoroughly scoured with sand or cinders<sup>1</sup>. On the other side the Penitential of Theodore treats all British and Irish bishops as excommunicate, and all their acts as invalid<sup>2</sup>.

The earlier Paschal controversies had sometimes, though not always, caused similar exasperation<sup>3</sup>. But in all these cases it is probable that the controversy was only the occasion for the venting of a bitterness which had much deeper roots in racial and other antipathies<sup>4</sup>.

Another point on which the Roman and Celtic Churches were at issue was the question of the tonsure; 'nam et de hoc quaestio non minima erat;' viz. at the synod of Whitby<sup>5</sup>. It also formed a great subject of discussion between Ceolfrid and Adamnan, and between Ceolfrid and Naiton<sup>6</sup>. It was however less bitterly contested than the Easter question, and differences on this point were not regarded as a ground for refusing communion<sup>7</sup>.

There were three forms of tonsure known in the seventh and eighth centuries<sup>8</sup>:

(1) The Oriental; which claimed the authority of St. Paul<sup>9</sup>, and consisted in shaving the whole head. Hence Theodore, who

<sup>1</sup> H. & S. iii. 271; cf. ib. 254.

<sup>2</sup> II. ix; H. & S. iii. 197. A much too rose-coloured view of these controversies is taken in a letter of Peter the Venerable to St. Bernard: 'Nec apud antiquos ipsius paschalis temporis dissonantia, nec apud modernos ipsius sacrificii Christiani inter Graecos et Latinos notarietas charitatem laedere uel schisma gignere potuerit. . . . Alio tempore Oriens, alio Occidens, alio in eadem Britanniae insula Angli, alio Scoti, Christiani scilicet antiquiores, Pascha Domini celebrabant;' Migne, Pat. Lat. clxxxii. 403; cited by M. & L. p. 277. The Irish seem to have come to blows over the question; see on H. E. v. 13.

<sup>3</sup> D. C. A. i. 589.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bede's statement in H. E. ii. 20, p. 125, that the Britons in his own day treated the English as heathen; and the bitterness, so unlike his usual tone, with reference to Laurentius' attempt to convert the British bishops to the orthodox Easter, &c.: 'quantum haec agendo profecerit, adhuc praesentia tempora declarant;' ii. 4, p. 88.

On the Paschal question generally v. D. C. A. s. v. 'Easter'; Smith, Appendix IX; Ideler, ii. 191-298; Werner, pp. 127-142. For the history of the controversy in the British isles cf. Bright, pp. 76 ff., 96 ff., 166, 167, 194 ff., 243, 419; Rs. Ad. pp. 26-28, 347, 379, 380; H. & S. i. 112, 113, 152, 153, 202-204, 673, 674; ii. 77, 99; iii. 268-273; S. C. S. ii. 7-13, 148 ff., 159 ff., 171 ff., 219, 278 ff.; Anscombe, u. s. From all these authorities I have learned much, but I have tried to work out the subject for myself, as far as my knowledge would permit.

<sup>5</sup> H. E. iii. 26 *ad init.*; cf. ib. 25, p. 183.

<sup>6</sup> Ib. v. 21, pp. 333, 341-346.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. M. & L. p. 295.

<sup>8</sup> Ib. p. 344.

<sup>9</sup> An idea based on Acts xviii. 18.

### 354 *Excursus on Paschal Controversy and Tonsure.*

bore this tonsure, had to let his hair grow for four months before he could be tonsured and ordained after the Roman fashion<sup>1</sup>.

Celtic. (2) The Celtic; this consisted in shaving the whole front of the head from ear to ear, the hair being allowed to hang down behind. The Roman party attributed the origin of this tonsure to Simon Magus<sup>2</sup>; though some traced it up to the swineherd of Loegaire, the Irish king who opposed St. Patrick<sup>3</sup>. The fact that it was common to all the Celts, both insular<sup>4</sup> and continental<sup>5</sup>, is a sufficient refutation of this view, if it needed refutation. Some of the Celts claimed for this, as for their Easter practices, the authority of St. John<sup>6</sup>.

Roman. (3) The Roman; this consisted in shaving only the top of the head, so as to allow the hair to grow in the form of a crown<sup>7</sup>. The Roman party traced the origin of this to St. Peter.

It is needless to say that these pretended origins are quite unhistorical. The early history of the tonsure is naturally lost in obscurity. It is not improbably connected with the primitive idea that long hair is the mark of a freeman, while the shaven head marks the slave<sup>8</sup>. As to the particular form of it, it is possible that here, as in their Easter practices, the Celts were merely perpetuating an older system which had become obsolete elsewhere.

<sup>1</sup> H. E. iv. 1, p. 203; cf. *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> H. E. v. 21, pp. 342, 343, and notes; Aldhelm in H. & S. iii. 270; Gildas, ib. i. 113.

<sup>3</sup> H. & S. i. 113.

<sup>4</sup> 'Capita sine corona prætendunt' of the Britons of Bede's own day; H. E. v. 22, p. 347.

<sup>5</sup> H. & S. ii. 78, 79, 99, 100.

<sup>6</sup> *Three Fragments of Irish Annals*, p. 112.

<sup>7</sup> 'Tonsura coronæ,' H. E. iii. 26, p. 189; 'in coronam adtonderi,' v. 21, p. 343; 'forma . . . coronæ . . . spineæ,' ib.; 'sub figura coronæ perpetis,' v. 22, p. 347.

<sup>8</sup> See notes on H. E. v. 21.

# HISTORIA ABBATUM AUCTORE BAEDA.

**§ 1.**

**P. 364.** Incipit uita,] On the date and character of Bede's lives **Lives of**  
of the abbots, see Introduction, pp. xlv-xlvii, cxlviii. On the **the Abbots.**  
MSS. ib. §§ 39, 40; cf. Hardy Cat. i. 366-368, 413, 414.

*Biscopus* . . . *Benedictus*] So v. 19, p. 323; cf. iv. 18, p. 241: *Benedict Biscop*. 'Biscop cognomine Benedictus.' From this it would seem that the name *Benedictus* was not his original name, but was taken in maturer life, possibly at the time when he 'entered religion.' Eddius, c. 3, calls him 'quidam Biscop Baducing'; where 'Baducing' is no doubt a patronymic. The strangeness of the name *Biscop* has been often animadverted on. Kemble called attention to the fact that it occurs in the 'genealogia Lindisfarorum' in Fl. Wig. i. 253; the father of that *Biscop* being, curiously enough, Beda. It is probably a mere accident of language that this name happens to coincide with the Saxon equivalent of 'episcopus.' The heading in Migne's edition to Bede's homily for this Benedict's day, 'Sermo in natale sancti Benedicti episcopi,' is probably due to some scribe or editor who translated the name 'Biscop' as if it were a title; Pat. Lat. xciv. 224, cited by M. & L. p. 341. See on Benedict *Biscop*, Dr. Stubbs' article in D. C. B.

**iuxta ostium . . . Uiuri] Wearmouth.**

of Bede to Egfrid: 'Beda, adulari nescius, eum in libro de uita  
abbatum suorum piissimum et Deo dilectissimum uocat;' i. 57.

Gregorii uerbis] Dialogi, Lib. ii. *ad init.*

**gratia Benedictus et nomine]** cf. Bede himself: 'reuerendis-  
simus pater, nomine et uita Benedictus;' Opp. ix. 12. So the  
work of Bishop Felix was 'iuxta sui nominis sacramentum,' ii. 15,  
p. 116. On the fondness of Bede and others for finding a signifi-  
cance in names, cf. *Introd.* p. lvii, note. Significant  
names.

nobili . . . stirpe . . . nobilitate mentis] For this contrast cf.  
on ii. 7.

Noble by  
service.

minister] i. e. 'geslð,' 'thane.' The words which follow are interesting, as giving an instance of the grants of land made by kings to their comitatus; cf. S. C. H. i. 148-158. It is noteworthy, that wherever in Bede nobility is spoken of, what is implied is either connexion with the royal family, or service in the royal comitatus. On the growth of the noble by service, cf. S. C. H. i. 152-158.

p. 365. *militiam . . . militans*] For this contrast cf. iii. 23, note.

'Shall  
receive an  
hundred-  
fold.'

ut centuplum acciperet] Bede's homily for Benedict's day is largely a commentary on this saying; cf. Opp. v. 183, 184; Opp. Min. p. 337: 'Reliquit domos et agros, quos habuerat, pro Christo, de quo agrum semper uirentis paradisi, et domum non manufactam, sed eternam in coelis se accipere sperabat. Reliquit uxorem et filios, non quidem uxorem acceptam, et filios ex ea carne natos; sed uxorem prorsus accipere, ex qua filios habere posset, castitatis amore contempsit, malens ad illa centum quadraginta quatuor millia electorum pertinere, qui cantant canticum nouum ante sedem Dei et Agni, quod nemo potest dicere nisi illi [Apoc. 14]. Hi enim sunt qui cum mulieribus non sunt coinquinati, et sequuntur Agnum quocunque abierit. Et accepit centuplum, quando non in his solummodo, sed et in transmarinis eum partibus plurimi in domos suas recipere uiantem, suorum fructibus agrorum reficere desiderabant, quando matronae perplures illi, quando uiri Deo deuoti pro animi constantis excellentia non minori quam coniugibus aut parentibus propriis, dilectionis instantia seruiebant. Accepit centuplum domus et agros, quando loca haec in quibus monasteria construeret, adeptus est. Uxorem si dimisisset pro Christo et hoc centuplum acciperet, quia nimirum centuplum maius esset tunc meritum caritatis inter continentes propter fructum spiritus, quam inter lasciuientes quondam propter desiderium carnis. Filios, quos carnaliter habere despexit, centuplum accipere meruit spirituales. Centenarius quippe numerus, ut saepe dictum est, perfectionem figurate significat. Nos namque sumus filii eius, quos in hanc monachicae deuotionis domum pius prouisor induxit nos sumus filii eius, si iter uirtutum eius imitando tenemus; nos sumus filii eius, si non a semita regulari, quam docuit, torpendo deflectimus.'

## § 2.

Benedict's  
first visit  
to Rome.

Romam adiit] He left Britain in 653, in company with Wilfrid, but left him at Lyons, being apparently annoyed at Wilfrid's delay there. See on v. 19. Elmham seems to put this

journey under 654, p. 185, and so Pagi, cited by Stevenson, *ad loc.* If he was twenty-five at this time, he must have been born in 628.

**Alchfridus**] On him see iii. 14, 21, 24, 25, 28; v. 19.

**Romam rediit**] Fl. Wig. places this second journey to Rome in Second 665, which is probably an inference from the statements of Bede <sup>Visit.</sup> that Benedict spent two years at Lérins, and that he returned to Rome about the time of Wighard's arrival there, § 3; for Florence, following the Sax. Chron. E, places the mission of Wighard in the year 667. Yet Florence himself places Benedict's third visit to Rome in 668, after Wighard's death.

**cuius supra**] These words, as Hussey remarked, cannot be part of the original text of Bede, but must be due to some scribe who forgot that the Hist. Eccl. was written after the Hist. Abb.

**Uitaliani papae**] 657-672; cf. *sup.* iii. 29; iv. 1.

**insulam Lirinensem**] Lérins, a group of islands off the coast Lérins. of Cannes. On the importance of the Monastery of Lérins, as a school of discipline and learning, v. Greith, Altirische Kirche, Book i. ch. 3; D. C. A. ii. 1208; Werner, p. 25.

### § 3.

**P. 366. desiderio satisfecit**] His third visit to Rome.

**miserat Eogberchtus**] See on iii. 29; iv. 1.

**quatinus . . . susciperet**] I can hardly believe that this is to be <sup>Roman mis-</sup> taken literally as meaning, that in the course of seventy years, <sup>sionaries</sup> (597-667), none of the Roman missionaries had learnt a word <sup>and the</sup> of the native language. Mr. Green however takes it so; <sup>native</sup> M. E. language. p. 326; cf. iii. 7, p. 140, 'pertaesus barbarae loquellae,' and note; iii. 25, p. 184, and note.

**relicta peregrinatione**] Because, as Bede says in the Homily on Benedict him, he had gone abroad, 'ibidem totum uitae suae . . . exacturus, <sup>and</sup> si non apostolica domini papae prohibuisset auctoritas, qui eum <sup>Theodore.</sup> propter ducendum Brittaniam sanctae recordationis archiepiscopum Theodorum. in patriam redire praecepit;' Opp. v. 182; Opp. Min. p. 336.

**p. 367. uenerunt Cantiam**] Spring, 669. This shows that Benedict came to Britain with Theodore, and was not detained in Gaul with Hadrian.

**suscepit monasterium**] On the chronological difficulties con- <sup>Benedict</sup> nected with this passage, cf. iv. 1, *ad fin.*, notes. Fl. Wig. i. 29, <sup>Abbot of</sup> follows the present passage; W. M. makes Benedict's resignation <sup>St. Peter's,</sup> of the abbacy to Hadrian a special instance of his 'patientia'; i. <sup>Canter-</sup> bury. 59; G. P. p. 328.

## § 4.

- duobus annis] If this is correct, he must have left Britain in 671, and so Fl. Wig. i. 29.
- Fourth visit to Rome. tertium de Britannia . . . iter] It was his third journey from Britain, but it was his fourth visit to Rome; the third having been made from Lérins, § 2, *ad fin.*
- Books collected. libros . . . non paucos] So on his fifth visit, § 6, and on his sixth, § 9. On the importance of these books for Bede's own development, see Introduction, pp. xviii, xix.
- Cenwalh. Counualh] On him see iii. 7; iv. 12, notes. The Sax. Chron. places his death in 672; if this is correct, that must also be the year of Benedict's return.
- Transhumbranae regionis] See on i. 15, p. 31.
- Romae uel circumquaque] In § 11, pp. 374, 375, Benedict speaks of having compiled the rules of his community from those of seventeen monasteries, which he had visited in his travels; v. note, a. l.
- Foundation of Wear-mouth. quantas . . . reliquias] So on his fifth visit, § 6, p. 369.
- septuaginta] The Hist. Anon. says fifty, increased by subsequent gifts of kings and nobles.
- de suo largitus] This 'de suo,' is specially emphasised in the Homily: 'reges saeculi, cognito uirtutum eius studio, locum ei monasterii construendi non ab aliqua minorum personarum ablatum, sed de suis propriis donatum dare curabant;' Opp. v. 182; Opp. Min. p. 336. This seems to show that such vicarious generosity was not uncommon in those days. So in the same way St. Botulf, the founder of Icanhoe, begs the king: 'non ut aliquem regia uiolentia de hereditario iure causa sui depellat, sed potius ut de incultis terris suis sibi . . . concedat;' Mab. AA. SS. iii. 5; cf. W. M. i. 133.
- Date. p. 368. anno . . . quarto . . . Egfridi] So Hist. Anon. § 7. This again is in favour of the view taken above, that Egfrid came to the throne in Feb. 671, and not in 670. For if the latter were the case, only so much of the year 674 as precedes Feb. 15 would fall into his fourth year; see on iv. 5; cf. Ann. Lindisf.: '674. Benedictus cepit monasterium ad Weremutham;' Pertz, xix. 504.

## § 5.

- Date. Nec . . . interiecto] Bede therefore places this journey to Gaul in 675. The Hist. Anon. § 7, says: 'secundo fundati monasterii anno.' The difference need not be great; but as Bede certainly had the Hist. Anon. before him, we must suppose that he

deliberately corrected it; cf. the Homily: 'quamdiu sospes erat corpore, pro gloria sanctae Dei ecclesiae, et maxime pro huius monasterii pace, honore, et quiete semper laborare perstabat; toties mare transiit, nunquam, ut est consuetudinis quibusdam, uacuus et inutilis rediit, sed nunc librorum copiam sanctorum, nunc reliquiarum beatorum martyrum Christi munus uenerabile detulit, nunc architectos ecclesiae fabricandae, nunc uiri factores ad fenestras eius decorandas ac muniendas, nunc cantandi, et in ecclesia per totum annum ministrandi secum magistros adduxit, nunc epistolam priuilegii a domino papa missam, qua nostra libertas ab omni extrinseca incursione tutaretur, apportauit, nunc picturas sanctarum historiarum, quae non ad ornatum solummodo ecclesiae, uerum etiam ad instructionem intuentium proponerentur, aduexit, uidelicet ut qui literarum lectione non possent opera Domini et Saluatoris nostri, per ipsarum contuitum discerent imaginum. Qui in his et in huiusmodi rebus ideo tam plura laborare studuit, ne nobis sic laborandi remaneret necessitas; ideo toties transmarina loca adiit, ut nos omnibus scientiae salutaris dapibus abundantes intra monasterii claustra quiescere, et cum secura libertate Christo seruire queamus;' Opp. v. 184, 185; Opp. Min. pp. 337, 338.

cementarios] So Wilfrid returned 'cum cantoribus Ædde et Masons. Eonan, et caementariis, omnisque paene artis institoribus;' Eddius, c. 14. The Hist. Anon. § 7, says that Benedict obtained these 'architectos' from his friend Abbot Torthelm.

lapideam . . . ecclesiam] See on ii. 14.

uitri factores] Cf. the Homily cited above, and a letter of Cuthbert, <sup>Makers of</sup> abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow (the author of the letter on <sup>Glass.</sup> Bede's death) to Lullus, archbishop of Mainz (755 × 786): 'si aliquis homo in tua sit parrochia (=diocese) qui uitrea uasa bene possit facere, cum tempus adrideat, mihi mittere digneris, . . . quia eiusdem artis ignari et inopes sumus;' Mon. Mog. p. 301. So Wilfrid at York: 'per fenestras introitum auium et imbrium uitro prohibuit, per quod tamen intro lumen radiabat;' Eddius, c. 16, which breathes the writer's sense of wonder at the 'artificium eatenus incognitum.'

discere fecerunt] It would seem from Cuthbert's letter that the knowledge of the art soon died out again, at any rate at Wearmouth.

### § 6.

P. 369. quarta . . . profectio] i.e. his fourth journey from Britain; his fifth visit to Rome. Ceolfrid accompanied him; § 7; Fifth visit to Rome.



cf. Hist. Anon. §§ 9, 10; iv. 18, p. 241: where it is said 'honorifice a . . . papa Agathone susceptus est,' which shows that they cannot have reached Rome before summer, 678, as Agatho was not consecrated till June or July, 678. Yet Fl. Wig. puts this visit under 676.

primo, &c.] Cf. Homily, cited on § 5.

accepto . . . archicantore] See iv. 18, and notes. They returned to Britain in 679, or early in 680.

Royal  
licence.

cum licentia . . . acceptam] The conflict between the Northumbrian crown and the Roman see about Wilfrid may have led Bede to lay such stress on this point. Wilfrid's first appeal to Rome took place just at this time, viz. in 679, and Benedict and John did not leave Rome till after the discussion of that appeal had begun. Agatho's privilege was confirmed by Egfrid in a Northumbrian synod; § 15, *ad fin.* That synod cannot be earlier than 679, and may be as late as 680; cf. H. & S. iii. 126, 135.

Pictures.

picturas] Cf. § 9, *infra*.

p. 370. etiam litterarum ignari] So Gregory I, writing to Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, in 599, says: 'idcirco pictura in ecclesiis adhibetur, ut hi, qui litteras nesciunt, saltem in parietibus uidendo legant, quae legere in codicibus non ualent;' R. P. p. 133. So Wilfrid, 'adductis secum ex partibus transmarinis artificibus, . . . ad deuotionem rudis adhuc plebis conciliandam, [ecclesiam Hagustaldensem] picturis et caelaturis . . . decorauit;' Raine's Hexham, i. 175; cf. Bede's Homily, cited on § 5. In his 'De Templo Salomonis' there is an interesting passage in which he argues against the iconoclasts of his day: 'qui putant lege Dei prohibitum ne . . . rerum similitudines sculpamus, aut depingamus in ecclesia. . . . Si enim licebat serpentem exaltari aeneum in eremo . . . cur non licet exaltationem Domini . . . in cruce . . . ad memoriam fidelibus depingendo reduci, uel alia eius miracula, . . . cum horum aspectus saepe multum compunctionis soleat praestare contuentibus, et eis quoque, qui litteras ignorant, quasi uiuam Dominicae historiae pandere lectionem.' His conclusion is: 'non . . . imagines rerum . . . facere, sed . . . idolatriae gratia facere, . . . esse prohibitum;' Opp. viii. 336, 337. On the history of the controversy, see article 'images' in D. C. A., especially pp. 813, 814, 816, 817. On the religious use of the arts, cf. Opp. vii. 81: 'erant in populo Dei uiri docti in cuncta opera aeris et ferri, necnon et argenti et auri; sed hos ipse hanc artem ad distinctionem sui tabernaculi transferre praecepit.' Alcuin, in 790, asks a correspondent to send him 'pigmenta multa de sulfure bene et coloribus ad picturas;' Mon. Alc. p. 170.

*extremi discrimen examinis*] Every traveller can bear witness to the fascination which this subject had for mediaeval art.

## § 7.

*decem et septem*] The Haa. § 11, says 'twenty-two.' It is a confusion of XVII and XXII. Which is correct I cannot say.

*Ceolfrido*] For the history of Ceolfred, prior to his joining Benedict, see Hist. Anon. §§ 1-5. and notes.

*consultu . . . Egfridi*] Egfrid himself marked out the site for the altar; Haa. § 12.

*monasterium . . . construxit*] This is the foundation of Jarrow. Foundation It stands at the confluence of the Don and of the Tyne, and was of Jarrow. known as the 'port of king Egfrid': 'Dani . . . portum Egfridi regis, id est Gyruum, uastantes monasterium ad ostium Doni amnis deprædantur;' S. D. i. 51; cf. Sax. Chron. D. E. 794: 'æt Done mupan.' The dedication inscription of the church still exists. I copy it from a photograph in the possession of my father, the Rev. M. Plummer: *✠ DEDICATIO BASILICAE SCI. PAVLI VIII* [not VIII, as Smith, followed by Stevenson and Moberly], *KL. MAI ANNO XV ECFRIDI REG. CEOLFRI DI ABB. EIVSDEM QQ'* [quoque] *ECCLES. DŌ [Deo] AVCTORE CONDITORIS ANNO IIII.* If Egfrid came to the throne in Feb. 670, the 9th of the Calends of May in his fifteenth year would be April 23, 684; but if his accession date was Feb. 671, it would be April 23, 685. It is in favour of 685 that April 23 was a Sunday in that year; and this in turn confirms what I have said on iv. 5. If this was in the fourth year of Ceolfred's abbacy, the foundation of the monastery would fall between April, 681, and April, 682. The data in Hab. and in Haa. seem sometimes to favour one year and sometimes the other. FL Wig. places it in 682, Ann. Lindisf. in 681; Pertz, xix. 504.

*Romam . . . adierat*] See notes on § 5.

p. 371. *nam et . . . Petrum*] See notes on ii. 4. Mabillon, AA. SS. ii. 1005, in a note on this passage, has collected other instances.

*Gregorius scribit*] Dial. ii. 3, *ad fin.*

## § 8.

*nono . . . anno*] The ninth year from 674 would be 682-683. Easter-What is said by Bede, § 14, *ad fin.*, seems to fix it to 682. wine. Easterwine had been previously left in charge of the monastery in 678, when Benedict and Ceolfred went to Rome; Haa. § 10.

patruelis] 'cousin'; strictly speaking, the son of a father's brother.

ut neque . . . offerendum] It seems to be implied that such conduct was unusual.

militia spiritali] See on iii. 23.

uentilare, &c.] On manual labour in monasteries, see Introduction, p. xxv.

p. 372. ferrum malleo domando] Cf. the story of the reprobate brother in v. 14, who was 'fabrili arte singularis,' and note a. l.

in secretiori . . . aede] This may mean the monastic infirmary; cf. the account of Cædmon's death, iv. 24; or it may be some place of religious retirement like that used by Cuthbert and Eadbert on Lindisfarne; iv. 30, p. 276.

nonas Martias] March 7th.

uiginti IIII<sup>or</sup> . . . agebat] Florence places Eosterwine's death in 685; but the monastery was only founded in 674; twelve years added to that gives 686 as the earliest possible date for Eosterwine's death; four years deducted from this gives 682 as the date of his appointment as abbot, which confirms what was said above; seven years deducted from 686 gives 679 as the date of his priesthood; twenty-four years deducted from 674 gives 650 as the date of his birth.

p. 373. terrenos . . . relinquens] These words form a hexameter verse, but I do not know whence it comes. It is an evident reminiscence of Verg. Aen. vi. 732: 'Terrenique hebetant artus moribundaque membra,' which very verse Bede cites, Opp. viii. 233.

### § 9.

Benedict  
Biscop's  
sixth visit  
to Rome.

non multo post] It is impossible to say exactly what space of time is meant by this. Fl. Wig. places this journey of Benedict's in 684. It was the fifth from Britain, the sixth absolutely. He certainly did not return till after Eosterwine's death; § 10; i. e. not till 686 at the earliest.

innumeris . . . donis] See §§ 4, 5, 6, and notes.

in monasterio maiore] i. e. Wearmouth.

item serpenti . . . comparauit] Cf. John iii. 14: 'et sicut Moyses exaltauit serpentem in deserto: ita exaltari oportet Filium hominis,' and the passage from the 'De Templo,' cited on § 6.

oloserica] 'all of silk;' v. Ducange, s. v. 'holosericus.'

ab Aldfrido . . . consiliarius] Note the co-operation of the witenagemót with the king in grants of land; v. S. C. H. i. 130-132; Kemble, ii. 224 ff.

## § 10.

P. 374. *grassante pestilentia*] For the visitations of the plague The Plague in monasteries.  
in the seventh century, see on iii. 27. It was specially fatal to the aggregations of men in monasteries; cf. the case of Lindisfarne, cited in *Introd.* p. xxxii, from *Vita Cudb.* c. 27; *Selsey*, iv. 14; *Wearmouth*, here; *Lastingham*, iii. 23, *ad fin.*

*uirum . . . substitutum cognouit*] W. M. represents Benedict's Election of acquiescence in the election of Sigfrid as another special instance Sigfrid.  
of his '*patientia*;' cf. on § 3, *ad fin.*: '*quod, dum per alienas terras cursitat diu absens, subintroductum a monachis Wirensibus, se inconsulto, abbatem aequanimiter, immo magnanimiter, tulerit, domumque reuersus parilem illi honorem in consessu et in omni porro potestate communicauerit*;' i. 59, 60; G. P. p. 329. The word '*subintroductum*' (see on iii. 7) stamps the proceeding with a note of blame, which is wholly absent from Bede's narrative.

## § 11.

*studebant . . . uacare*] Cf. the account of Bede's own death, Sickness of Benedict and Sigfrid.  
*Introd.* pp. lxxii ff., clx ff., and that of Hild, iv. 23. Bede has expanded, greatly to our profit, the account of the sickness and death of Sigfrid and Benedict given by the *Hist. Anon.* §§ 15-18. He may have been an eye-witness of much that he describes.

*ex decem . . . contradidi*] Cf. the Homily: '*non pro suo captu decreta nobis statuens, sed antiquorum statuta certissima monasteriorum, quae in peregrinatione didicerat, sibi suisque obseruanda proponens*;' *Opp.* v. 182; *supra*, § 4; and *Hist. Anon.* § 6.

p. 375. *ne quis . . . generis prosapiam*] It would seem therefore that this was becoming a custom and a danger. See note on iv. 26; *Introd.* p. xxxv.

*quam ut frater meus*] Cf. Bede on *Prov.* xxvii. 10: '*melius est tibi uicinus aliquis, qui tibi animum fraterna societate connectit, quam germanus frater, qui iura fidei et pietatis communia habere tecum negligit*;' *Opp.* ix. 157.

*ne deforis aliunde*] Cf. Theodore, *Penitential*, II, vi. 1: '*fratres elegant sibi abbatem de ipsis, si habent; sin autem, de extraneis*.' *Legatine Synods* (787), § 3: '*ex ipsis elegantur pastores, . . . sin autem in coenobio illo talis uir minime reperitur, de alio eis coenobio talis mittatur*;' *H. & S.* iii. 195, 450.

*regula*] *Regula Benedict.* c. lxiv, '*De ordinando Abbate*.' On the Benedictine rule, v. D. C. A. i. 187 ff.

*accito episcopo*] See below, §§ 17, 20, and reff.

p. 376. *caeteris . . . praeferendum*] An interesting passage on the growth of primogeniture.

... as Easterwine, was related  
 Hist. Anon. § 2. His father was  
 praepositus] For the date see of  
 Israelitici regni] Cf. Haa. § 2

## § 1

Dates of  
 Benedict's  
 and Sig-  
 frid's  
 deaths.

pertransito . . . refrigerium] P  
 iv. 7: 'iustus . . . si morte praecoce  
 introit] Benedict died on Janu  
 Hab. § 20; Haa. § 17. Ceolfrid's  
 monasteries was on May 13; Haa.  
 that Sigfrid died four months bef  
 after Ceolfrid's appointment, must  
 to the year there is very great diffic  
 section Bede says that Benedict r  
 years, during the last eight of wh  
 Easterwine for four years, Sigfrid f  
 Sixteen years from 674, the date of  
 tery, § 4, gives 690 as the date of B  
 the date of the Ann. Lindisf.; Pe  
 from this we get August, 689, for th  
 689, for the date of Ceolfrid's appo  
 Sigfrid's appointment, and 682 fo  
 agrees with what was said on § 8; :  
 other hand, Bede says, § 15, that C  
 tery for twenty-eight years. He ce  
 §§ 17, 22. This seems therefore to  
 to 688, and Benedict's death to 68-

*nox ruit . . . flatibus*] Evidently a verse, but I do not know whence it comes.

p. 378. *psalmis*] See on iii. 5.

*sepultus*] According to G. P. p. 329, Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, 963-984, bought Benedict's body '*magno pretio*,' and translated it to Thorney.

### § 15.

P. 379. VII<sup>em</sup> annis] We have seen above, on § 7, that Jarrow Ceolfrid's was founded either in 681 or early in 682. This 'seven years' there-fore is consistent with either 688 or 689 as the date of Ceolfrid's appointment as abbot of the combined monastery. See on § 14, and Haa. § 17.

*fundavit*] Note that here Ceolfrid rather than Benedict is spoken of as the founder of Jarrow; and in the inscription quoted on § 7 he is described as '*eiusdem ecclesiae conditor*.'

*uiginti et octo annos*] See note on § 14.

*pandectes*] A name given to the Justinian Code; thence transferred to the books of the Old and New Testaments, as containing the divine code; cf. Alcuin, cited by Ducange:

'*Nomine Pandecten proprio uocitare memento*

*Hoc corpus sacrum, lector, in ore tuo.*

*Quod nunc a multis constat Bibliotheca dicta.*' &c.

*nouae . . . uetustae translationis*] The Vulgate and the old Latin or Itala. For Bede's use of the two translations and for the history of one of these MSS., see *Intro.* pp. xix, liv-lvi; *infra*, App. II.

*unum . . . duos*] i. e. the three of the '*noua translatio*.'

p. 380. *Fresca*] Unidentified.

*Osredo regnante*] 705-716.

*Sambucae*] Camden suggested Camboise at the mouth of the Wansbeck. Sandoe has also been suggested.

*missis . . . papae*] They were at Rome in 701; cf. *De Temp. Rat.* c. 47: '*anno ab . . . incarnatione septingentesimo primo, indictione quarta decima, fratres nostri qui tunc fuerunt Romae*,' &c.; *Opp.* vi. 242. Mission sent to Rome.

242. Hwætbert, Ceolfrid's successor, was one of them, § 18. Sergius I was Pope 687-701. When they started is uncertain. Hwætbert at any rate was there '*non paruo temporis spatio*;' ib.

*prius illud*] See on § 6.

*quod regebat*] The nominative to '*regebat*' must be Ceolfrid. Witmer. Yet all the editions punctuate, and Dr. Giles translates, as if the nominative were Witmer. No Witmer can have been Abbot of Wearmouth during Bede's lifetime. Hwætbert, who succeeded

Ceolfrid, survived Bede several years; *Introd.* § 3. It is no doubt owing to this difficulty that the interpolator of the *Hist. Anon.* in MS. Digby, or his corrector, has in more than one place substituted the name of Witmer for that of Hwætbert, §§ 29, 30. In § 39 we have the hybrid form 'Withberto.' Any idea of identifying Witmer and Hwætbert is out of the question, as Hwætbert had been an inmate of the monastery 'a primis pueritiae temporibus,' § 18; and Witmer died soon after Hwætbert's election, § 20.

Daltun] In a charter in S. D. i. 211, both Daltun and Daldene are mentioned among the 'appendicia' of Wearmouth.

## § 16.

Resignation of  
Ceolfrid.

At ubi, &c.] On the resignation of an abbot, cf. Theodore, Penitential, II. vi. 1: 'Abbas potest pro humilitate, cum permissione episcopi, locum suum relinquere.'

Rule of  
St. Benedict.

p. 381. iuxtaque regulam... Benedicti] Alcuin, writing to the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow in 793, says: 'saepius regula Sancti Benedicti legatur in conuentu fratrum, et propria exponatur lingua, ut intellegi possit ab omnibus;' *Mon. Alc.* p. 198. This shows that a knowledge of Latin was not universal among the brethren (cf. Bede, *Ep. ad Egb.* § 5: 'de clericis siue monachis, qui Latinae sunt linguae expertes'). A copy of the Benedictine rule, with a translation into Anglo-Saxon, exists in MS. C.C.C. Oxon. No. 197. It belonged to the Monastery of Bury St. Edmund's.

Ceolfrid's  
departure  
and death.

Romae loca sancta repeteret] Bede alludes to Ceolfrid's pilgrimage and death in his *Chron.*, *Opp.* vi. 331: 'His temporibus multi Anglorum gentis nobiles et ignobiles, uiri et foeminae, duces et priuati, diuini amoris instinctu de Brittania Romam uenire consueuerant; inter quos etiam reuerendissimus abbas meus Ceolfridus annos natus septuaginta quatuor, cum esset presbyter annis quadraginta septem, abbas autem XXXV. Ubi Lingonas peruenit, ibi defunctus, atque in ecclesia beatorum geminorum martyrum sepultus est, qui inter alia donaria, quae adferre disposuerat, misit ecclesiae sancti Petri Pandecten, a beato Hieronymo in Latinum ex Hebraeo uel Graeco fonte translatum.' But the most interesting reference to Ceolfrid's departure and Hwætbert's election occurs at the beginning of the fourth book of the *Commentary on Samuel*, *Opp.* viii. 162, 163: 'Tertio in beatum Samuelem completo uolumine, putabam me aliquandiu reparata per quietem meditandi uel scribendi uoluptate, sic

demum ad inchoationem quarti manum esse missurum. Uerum haec eadem mihi quies, si tamen quies dicenda est inopinata mentis anxietas, prolixior multo quam decreueram, noua circumstantium rerum mutatione prouenit, maxime discessu abbatis mei reuerendissimi, qui post longam monasterialis curae obseruantiam, subitus Romam adire, atque inter loca beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum Christi corporibus sacra, extremum senex halitum reddere disponendo, non parua commissorum sibi animos, et eo maiore, quo improuisa conturbatione stupefecit. Sed qui Moysi longaeuo ab humanis rebus tollendo Iesum Naue in ducatum, qui Eleazarum in sacerdotium Aaron patri substituit, ipse prouecto aetate Ceolfrido, ad beatorum apostolorum limina sancta properanti, Huetbertum iuuenem, cui amor studiumque pietatis iam olim Eusebii cognomen indidit, ad regendas sacerdotio ducatuque spirituali fidelium animas abbatis uice substituit. Eiusdemque substitutionis gradum post electionem fraternam sua per tuum, dilectissime Antistes, officium benedictione confirmauit. Redeunte temporum statu tranquilliore, redit et mihi otium pariter ac delectatio mirabilia scripturae sanctae tota anima, solerti intentione scrutandi. Igitur quartum in Samuelem allegoricae expositionis libellum, a uictoria beati Dauid, qua saluauit habitatores Ceilae, atque ab oppugnantium Philistinorum irruptione defendit, cum tuis, amantissime pontificum, orationibus incipiens, quicquid, illo reserante qui habet clauem Dauid, potuero, mysticum legentibus communicare curabo.' Compare on this, *Introd.* § 3.

## § 17.

*secretum sui propositi*] He had purposely concealed his design *Departure of Ceolfrid.*  
until all his arrangements had been made, for fear his purpose should be thwarted; *Hist. Anon.* § 22.

p. 382. *pridie . . . feria*] June 4; this was a Thursday in 716. He had meant to start on the Tuesday, but was prevailed upon to spend that day at Wearmouth. On the Wednesday he visited Jarrow, returning to Wearmouth the same evening; and set out finally on the Thursday; *Hist. Anon.* §§ 23-25.

*oratorium . . . in dormitorio*] Cf. the similar arrangement in St. Mary's Hospital, Chichester; Freeman, *English Towns and Districts*, p. 379; *ib.* 247.

*sibi placatos existere*] Cf. Aidan to Oswin: 'promittens se multum illi esse placatum'; *iii.* 14, p. 157. So 'placidus animus,' 'placida mens' in the account of Cædmon's death; *iv.* 24, pp. 261, 262. The scene is described at greater length, and with unrivalled beauty and pathos in *Hist. Anon.* §§ 25-27.



368 *Historia Abbatum auctore Baeda.*

transiit flumen] The monastery being on the North bank ;  
§§ 1, 4.

ferme sexcentorum] The Hist. Anon. § 33 says : 'plus quam sexcentorum.'

§ 18.

Election of Hwætbert. ieiunando] By Ceolfrid's special desire, and also because it was the octave of Ascension Day, the fast was not to begin till the Friday, and was to cease at nones on Saturday because of Whitsuntide ; Hist. Anon. § 28.

p. 383. die tertia . . . Pentecosten] June 7 ; this was Whitsunday in 716. For the special appropriateness of the day, see Haa. § 28.

de monasterio beati Pauli] Bede himself would probably be among them.

Hwætberchtus] On him see Introduction, § 3. There is a letter of St. Boniface to him, written 744 x 747, asking him to send him 'aliqua de opusculis sagacissimi inuestigatoris scripturarum Bedan monachi, quem nuper in domo Dei apud uos uice candelae ecclesiasticae scientia scripturarum fulsisse audiuimus.'

Romam quoque] See on § 15.

duodecim . . . officio] Therefore he was ordained priest in 704.

uenit ad . . . Ceolfridum] He found him 'in monasterio Ælberhti . . . in loco qui Cornu Vallis appellatur ;' Haa. § 29. Unfortunately both person and place are alike unknown. There is an 'Ælberct abbas' commemorated in the Liber Vitae Dunelm.

§ 19.

Saxonia. Saxonia] This is the only instance in which any name derived from the invading Teutonic tribes is given to this island or any part of it ; elsewhere it is always Britain ; see on iii. 8, *ad init.* And though Northumbria was purely Anglian, the name used is not 'Anglia' but 'Saxonia.' The Celts indeed called and call their neighbours of Teutonic descent indiscriminately 'Saxons' ; but here the word is used neither by Celt (as e.g. Asser, M. H. B. p. 487), nor foreigner, but by the Northumbrian Hwætbert. Wilfrid in his petition to pope Agatho calls himself 'episcopus Saxoniae' ; H. Y. i. 43 ; and Ini in a spurious charter is called 'Monarcus Saxoniae' ; K. C. D. No. 46 ; Birch, No. 101 ; 'gens Saxoniae' is used of Wessex, in a genuine charter ; K. C. D. No. 1031 ; Birch, No. 377.

p. 384. *quae iuuenem se adisse*] This was in 678; see on § 6. Ceolfrid. He was seventy-four when he died in 716; § 22. He was therefore thirty-six when he went to Rome.

*amplius quadraginta . . . praeuit*] Hwætbert therefore, like Bede himself, § 22, regards Ceolfrid as having been practically co-abbot from the first foundation of Wearmouth in 674.

*peregrinari pro Christo*] Cf. for this, iii. 19, *ad init.*, and note.

### § 20.

*aduocatur episcopus*] Cf. § 11, *ad fin.*: '*accito episcopo.*' So Acca and Hwætbert. in the address to Acca quoted on § 16: '*sua per tuum, dilectissime Antistes, officium benedictione confirmauit.*' On Acca, see v. 20 and notes. For forms of blessing an abbot, see the pontificals: e. g. York Pont. pp. 45-52; Egbert's Pont. pp. 105, 106; Opp. Greg. iii. 168; Pontificale Romanum, Venice, 1572, ff. 49, 52-66.

p. 385. *iuuenili . . . sollertia*] So in the above address he is called '*Hwætbertus iuuenis*'; cf. Hist. Anon. § 21.

*in porticu ingressus*] Here '*porticus*' being coupled with '*ingressus*' does probably mean '*porch*'; cf. on ii. 3.

*sacrarium*] See on iii. 11. Here it probably means sacristy.

Translation of former abbots.

*iuxta corpus . . . Benedicti*] Benedict was buried '*in porticu beati Petri, ad orientem altaris, ubi postmodum . . . Easterwini et Sigfridi sunt ossa translata*'; Haa. § 18.

*fecit autem, &c.*] So Cuthbert's remains were translated on the anniversary of his death, and Eadbert was buried in his former tomb; iv. 30. The translation of Easterwine and Sigfrid, and the burial of Witmer took place therefore on Aug. 22, 716. There is nothing corresponding to this section in the Hist. Anon.

### § 21.

*tendens*] For the details of his journey, see Haa. §§ 31, 32.

*Lingonae*] Langres; where he was received '*a Gangulfo, regionum illarum Domino*'; Haa. § 35, q. v.; cf. *sup.* note on § 16.

Death of Ceolfrid.

*crastino*] An exception, due to the special circumstances, to the rule of burying on the day of death.

*sepultus est*] According to W. M. i. 60; G. P. p. 198, his relics were subsequently translated to his own monastery, and thence to Glastonbury. The former statement is true; v. Alcuin, *De Sanctis Ebor.* vv. 1298, 1299; the latter almost certainly false.

p. 386. *domum magis . . . reuertit*] From these Bede and the anonymous historian would learn the story of Ceolfrid's death.

His companions.

partim ad tumbam] Cf. iii. 23, *ad fin.*, and note. These afterwards proceeded to Rome; and both those who remained at Langres, and those who travelled to Rome and Britain, were liberally provided for by Gangulf; Hist. Anon. § 38.

## § 22.

Chrono-  
logy.

Erat autem . . . triginta quinque] These numbers agree with Hist. Anon. § 32; if they are to be taken strictly, Ceolfred's birth would fall in 642, his ordination as priest in 669, and the foundation of Jarrow in 681; see on § 7. He was ordained priest by Wilfrid; Hist. Anon. § 3.

quadraginta tribus] This at any rate must be taken somewhat loosely as meaning more than forty-two years; otherwise the foundation of Wearmouth will be thrown back to 673, whereas Bede, in § 4, expressly fixes it to 674. So Hist. Anon. § 7.

comes . . . aderat] Cf. on § 19. The Hist. Anon. § 8, speaks of him as having 'prioratus' at this time. But the word is probably not used in its technical monastic sense, but as meaning simply 'precedence,' 'authority.'

septimum kal. Oct.] Sept. 25.

psalterium] See on iii. 5. The Hist. Anon. § 33, says that Ceolfred's ordinary practice was (besides the canonical hours) to recite the psalter twice daily, and that during his journey he recited it thrice daily.

tribus . . . diebus] The Hist. Anon. § 33, says 'four.'

## § 23.

feria sexta] Sept. 25 was a Friday in 716.

The Twin  
Martyrs.

in monasterio Geminorum] It was founded by Gangulf, mentioned above in the notes to § 21; v. Hist. Anon. §§ 35, 36. For the legend of these saints, cf. Ltft. App. Ff. II. i. 447, 575; and see a curious story as to their relics having been carried to Germany by 'quidam Alamannorum atque Burgundionum dux,' in Pertz, xi. 482, 483.

## HISTORIA ABBATUM AUCTORE ANONYMO.

### § 1.

Only those matters are discussed in these notes which have not been dealt with in the notes to Bede's lives of the Abbots.

P. 388. *praepositi*] Used in the general sense of the text; not 'Prae- in the technical monastic sense of provost or prior. See on iii. 23; *positus*.' Intro. § 8, *ad fin.*

*nostri . . . nobis*] The constant occurrence of these pronouns The author shows that the writer was a monk of Wearmouth or Jarrow; cf. *unknown*. §§ 5, 6, 10; but who he was, there is nothing to show. Pits, p. 125, makes Hwætbert, whom he calls Wicbert, Wicebert, Winbert, or (corruptly) Hunebert of Deira, the author. But the whole account is a tissue of fabrications, including, inter alia, a confusion of Hwætbert, abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, with Winbert, abbot of Nursling. The seventeenth-century heading in MS. 2, 'authore Beda uel Huneberto Deiro,' is probably a reminiscence of this entry of Pits. The work, as Stevenson suggests, may have been originally composed as a homily; and the doxology which occurs at the end of it in 2, see p. 404, critical note, shows that the scribe of 2 intended it to be so used.

### § 2.

*nobilibus . . . ac religiosis*] So of Gregory, ii. 1, p. 73. His father Ceolfrid. was a royal thane; of whom a beautiful anecdote is told; § 17.

*octauum . . . et decimum . . . annum*] He was born in 642; v. Bede, Hist. Abb. § 22. He must therefore have 'entered religion' in 659 or 660.

*Ingætlingum*] Gilling, Yorkshire; cf. iii. 14, 24.

*Tunberto*] See iv. 12, *ad fin.*; iv. 28.

*cognato*] Probably 'cognatus' here means 'cousin.' In §§ 10, 12 the writer uses this word to express the relationship of Eostwine to Benedict, which Bede, § 8, denotes by 'patruelia.'

## § 3.

Ceolfrid  
and Wil-  
frid.

P. 389. pestilentia . . . grassante] See on iii. 27.

Anglorum nobilibus, qui . . . praecesserant] See on iii. 27.

inuitatus a Wilfriðo] Probably invited to take the place of Cuthbert and Eata and their companions, who were expelled from Ripon in 661 for refusing to conform to the Roman Easter; see on iii. 27. Gilling having been founded by Eanfled, who derived her Christianity from Paulinus, would observe the Roman use.

annorum . . . VII<sup>tem</sup>] This would place his ordination as priest in 669, which agrees with Bede, § 22.

Ceolfrid in  
Kent,

ob studium discendi . . . Cantiam petit] Here he would reap the benefit of the new learning brought in just at this time by Theodore and Hadrian; see on iv. 2. Wilfrid himself, at an earlier period, had studied in Kent on his first journey to Rome; v. 19, p. 323.

## § 4.

at Icanhoe.

Botuulfi abbatis] Of Icanhoe in Lincolnshire, the foundation of which monastery is recorded by the Sax. Chron. at 654. There is a life of Botulf in Mabillon, AA. SS. iii. 3-7, AA. SS. Iun. iii. 402 ff. Mabillon argued that as the life does not mention the translation of Botulf's relics by Ethelwold in the tenth century, it must be earlier than that date; but the prologue, first printed by Hardy, Cat. i. 373-375, shows that the author was the eleventh-century Folcard.

domum rediit] i. e. to Ripon.

pistoris officium] See Intro. p. xxv.

regularis . . . iussus est] Probably as prior or provost. The AS. vers. of the H. E. denotes this officer by the term 'regolweard,' 'warden of the rule'; which corresponds well with the idea of 'regularis obseruantiae magisterium'; cf. § 11.

## § 5.

a memorato eius episcopo] i. e. Wilfrid.

p. 390. Gallie . . . Insularum partibus] Cf. Bede's homily on Benedict: 'in Gallia, . . . in Italia, Roma quoque ac maris insulis;' Opp. v. 183. The 'insulae' are Lérins; see on Bede, § 2.

## § 6.

X<sup>tem</sup> et VII<sup>tem</sup>] See on Bede, § 11.

sacerdotii gradu] Note 'sacerdotium' used of the presbyterate; see on i. 28.

## § 7.

*secundo . . . anno*] i.e. in 675 or 676; Bede, § 5, says it was within a year. The difference need not be more than a month or two.

*Torhthelmo*] From his name, which seems thoroughly Saxon, *Torhthelm*, and from his friendship with Benedict he seems to have been one of those who, as Bede testifies, iii. 8, in the early days of native monasticism, passed from Britain to Gaul, where the facilities for practising the '*uita regularis*' were greater.

## § 8.

*tedere . . . prioratus*] See on Bede, § 22. This incident of Ceol- Ceolfrid throwing up his work at Wearmouth in temporary disgust is *resigna.* omitted by Bede.

*quorundam nobilium*] See *Introd.* pp. xxxiv, xxxv.  
*monasterium suum*] i.e. Ripon.

## § 9.

P. 391. *Romam ire disposuit*] In 678; see Bede, § 6.

## § 10.

*cognatus*] See on § 2; cf. Bede, § 8.

## § 11.

*Post octo . . . annos*] This if taken strictly would fix the founda- Jarrow tion of Jarrow to 682. We have seen that Bede's data leave it founded. uncertain as between 681 and 682. See however below.

*primo ibidem*] It is a pity that the text of the older MS. is here mutilated or corrupt (see the critical note); as it would apparently have given us a more precise date for the foundation of Jarrow. I have adopted in the text the reading of the later interpolated MS., which does at least construe.

*ipsam*] 'the very same'; cf. on i. 30, pp. 65, 66.

p. 392. *figeret*] The reading of H: '*fieret*,' illustrates the '*Verhauchung*' or reduction to a mere breath of a *g* between vowels; see on iii. 7, p. 140.

## § 12.

*Tertio . . . anno . . . secundo . . . anno*] i.e. there was a period The of over two years between the foundation of the monastery and church the commencement of the church; and a period of over one year built. between the latter and the dedication. This agrees with the

dedication in April 684, as we  
reckoning of the regnal years  
patriam . . . referret] 'brin-  
sative of motion, like 'domus  
later MS. is due to a misunder

Abbot  
Sigfrid.

IIII<sup>to</sup> . . . anno] So Bede, §  
Sigfridum diaconem] He  
where his death is narrated;  
taken priest's orders.

Ceolfrid  
and Bede.

P. 393. On this beautiful an-  
Bede, because, in all probabilit-  
duction, § 2.

§§ 1

See on Bede, §§ 10-13.

§

Chrono-  
logy.

P. 394. tertio . . . Aldfridi] I  
as dating from the death of Egfrid  
his third year is May 13, 688, a  
tion. But if this was, as is said,  
the foundation of Jarrow, then  
681. Sigfrid's death will then be  
Benedict Jan. 12, 689. See on

*fin.* But of course the two series of dates will differ by a year if the 'terminus ad quem,' from which they are reckoned, so differs.

### § 19.

per annos uiginti septem] He died Sept. 25, 716. Either, therefore, the writer must date the twenty-seven years, not from the appointment of Ceolfrid in May, but from the death of Benedict in the following January, or else this is another witness to the correctness of the later set of dates.

### § 20.

See Bede, § 15.

### § 21.

P. 395. iuuenioribus] Cf. on Bede, § 20.  
sicut supra] §§ 2, 3.

### §§ 22-27.

See on Bede, § 17.

### § 23.

P. 396. de subito . . . turbatis] Bede, himself one of these Departure Jarrow monks, says of Ceolfrid's departure: 'commissorum sibi of Ceolfrid. animos . . . improuisa conturbatione stupefecit;' Opp. viii. 162. See the whole passage cited on Bede, § 16.

### § 25.

ad sanctum Petrum] No doubt the chapel or 'porticus beati Petri,' where the founder Benedict reposed, § 17.

### §§ 28, 29, 30.

P. 398. See on Bede, §§ 18, 19. The only differences between the Hwæt-text of the letter given here and that in Bede are the omission of 'principis' and the reading 'de' for 'ad' in the heading here, the insertion of 'diuinitus' before 'impleris,' and of 'et' before 'ueritatis,' and the reading 'corporeis' for 'carneis' near the end. bert's letter.

### §§ 31, 32.

P. 400. These incidents of the voyage between the departure Ceolfrid's from Wearmouth and the arrival at Langres are omitted by Bede. Voyage. quarta nonas Iulias] July 4. This was a Saturday in 716.



Anecdote  
of his  
father.

P. 401. These details of the  
of Ceolfrid's father, are also of  
comitatus . . . officium] i. e.

See on Bede, § 21.

**Indictione.** incipiente indictione] This  
used the Caesarean Indictione  
i. 23.

p. 402. Gangulfo] I have n  
with reference to him.

§

See on Bede, §§ 21, 23.

§

**The Codex** uersiculos] It was these verse:  
**Amiatinus.** what De Rossi had previously  
by Ceolfrid to the Pope was 1  
Amiatinus. See Mr. White's  
Mr. White speaks of this Codex 1  
world,' p. 273. It is not, howev  
of Italian scribes brought over to  
Thompson's Palaeography, pp. 1  
second line is :

**Scriptorum . . . profiteris]** A very involved and ungrammatical sentence, possibly corrupt. The sense is: 'having read your letter, I perceive that you sympathize with the truth, &c. . . , and by your allusion to my election, you profess your obedience to the authority of the apostolic see.'

**ac probatissimum]** From here to the end of the letter the text is so corrupt that it is impossible to make anything of it. The sense apparently is that the Pope prays that Hwætbert, as the successor of Ceolfrid, may be what Joshua, Phinehas, and Elisha were, as the successors of Moses, Aaron, and Elijah.

#### § 40.

Bede omits these miraculous appearances.

**p. 404. secuta . . . et lux]** Cf. the cases of Earcongota, iii. 8; Hild, iv. 23; Alcuin, Mon. Alc. p. 31.

**unde mos increbuit]** Cf. Stubbs' Dunstan, pp. 109, 203: 'ita pontifex [Dunstanus] meritum . . . hominis Dei [Odonis] reueritus est, ut nunquam pertransiret, nisi genua flecteret.'

## EPISTOLA BEDE AD ECBERTUM EPISCOPUM.

### § 1.

Bede's  
swan song.

P. 405] On the date of this letter, see note *ad fin.* Smith beautifully says: 'haec epistola habeatur tanquam Baedae cygnea cantio,' p. 309. It may be compared throughout with the decrees of the Council of Clovesho held thirteen years later, 747; H. & S. iii. 360-376.

Egbert,  
archbishop  
of York.

Egberto] All the authorities seem to agree that he was consecrated to the see of York in 734; Sax. Chron., D. E. F.; that he received the pall in 735 (being the first archbishop of York, *de iure* and *de facto*); Cont. Baed.; Sax. Chron. D. E. F.; S. D. ii. 31; and that he died Nov. 19, 766; Cont. Baed.; Sax. Chron. D. E. F.; S. D. ii. 43; Fl. Wig. i. 58. These dates may therefore be considered as fixed, and we need not trouble ourselves with the varying lengths of his episcopate given by the different authorities: thirty-two years, S. D. i. 49 (with *v.l.* thirty-four); thirty-four years, Alcuin, de Sanctis Ebor., v. 1284; S. D. ii. 43; thirty-six years, Sax. Chron. E.; G. P. p. 246; H. H. p. 125; thirty-seven years, Sax. Chron. D. Possibly the number thirty-four, which has the strongest authority (Alcuin's) in its favour, may be reckoned from his election, and not from his consecration; and the Cont. Baed. does place his appointment in 732. The fact too that he succeeded owing to the resignation and not to the death of his predecessor (see on v. 6) may have caused some doubt as to the exact beginning of his episcopate. He was a brother of Eadbert, king of Northumbria, 737-758, who died in 768, both being sons of Eata, a descendant of Ida, whom Nennius, § 61, calls 'Eata Glinmaur,' i. e. 'Eata of the large knee' (cf. Glun-iarn, Glun-find, Glun-gel, 'iron knee,' 'white knee,' 'yellow knee,' common Irish nicknames). While still an infant he was placed in a monastery by his father. At a later time he went to Rome with a third brother Egred, who died there. There is an allusion to this Roman visit in § 15 *inf.*) He himself was ordained deacon at Rome, and returned to Britain, where he

was made bishop of York by Ceolwulf; S. D. i. 49. He was a worthy disciple of Bede (cf. *Vita Alcuini*, c. 2; *Mon. Alc.* p. 9; Pertz, xv. 186, 187, written 820 x 830). He founded the famous school in his monastery at York, from which proceeded the great scholar Alcuin. W. M. says that he was also the founder of the famous York library, of which Alcuin was librarian, and of which he gives a catalogue, *De Sanctis Ebor.*, vv. 1530-1561, the earliest existing catalogue of an English library. But it is possible that this latter statement rests only on the fact that in two letters of Alcuin's cited by W. M. (*Mon. Alc.* pp. 331, 346) the name of Egbert has been wrongly substituted for that of his successor Ethelbert; W. M. i. 68; G. P. p. 246. Alcuin praises highly the character and rule of the two royal brothers:

'Tempora tunc huius fuerant felicia gentis,  
Quam rex et praesul concordii iure regebant; . . .  
Ex alio frater felix adiutus uterque;'

cf. the whole passage; *De Sanctis Ebor.*, vv. 1246-1286. So Malmesbury, u. 2: 'is et sua prudentia et germani potentia sedem illam in genuinum statum reformavit. . . Hic omnium liberalium artium armarium, ut ita dicam, fuit, et nobilissimam bibliothecam Eboraci constituit.' Coins exist bearing the legend of the king on one side, and of the archbishop on the other; Raine, in D. C. B. ii. 5. Egbert is the author of a *Dialogus ecclesiasticae institutionis*, printed H. & S. iii. 403-413; of a *Penitential*, ib. 413-431; and of a *Pontifical* printed by the Surtees Society, 1853. St. Boniface wrote two letters to him, H. & S. iii. 358-360, 388-390; *Mon. Mog.* pp. 178 ff., 249 ff., in the former of which he begged him to use his influence in support of the admonitory letter which Boniface had written to Ethelbald of Mercia (see on v. 23), and in both of which he begged him to send some of the *Commentaries* of Bede; cf. on Egbert, Werner, pp. 90, 91.

hesterno . . . anno] Therefore in 733 Bede had been with Egbert at York. Probably at that time Egbert had not yet been consecrated. See above; and this is confirmed by the tenor of the letter, which has all the appearance of being an exhortation to a newly consecrated prelate. Bede's visit to Egbert.

corporis mei ualitudo] Probably the illness of which he died, Bede's illness.  
if I am right in thinking that Bede's death took place in 735;  
v. Introduction, § 19.

## § 2.

operatione et doctrina] See Introduction, p. xxxvi.

p. 406. subditam sibi plebem] See on iv. 5; cf. Council Clovesho,

### 380 *Epistola Bede ad Ecgbertum Episcopum.*

§ 1: 'nec . . . neglegenter uiuendo, segniter docendo, negotiis saecularibus . . . subditus existat [episcopus].'

#### § 3.

Study of the Scriptures. obtrectationibus] Cf. Introduction, p. xxxii. diuinis . . . eloquiis] So Alcuin to Archbishop Ethelhard in 793: 'Lectio sanctae Scripturae saepius tuis reperitur in manibus, ut ex illa te saturare et alios pascere ualeas;' H. & S. iii. 475; Mon. Alc. p. 204. This letter of Alcuin's is perhaps modelled on Bede's to Egbert. But indeed Alcuin's desire to improve his neighbour required no external stimulus. uerbis . . . Gregorii] On Gregory's homilies and 'Pastoral Care,' see ii. 1, notes.

#### § 4.

Evil prelates. P. 407. de quibusdam episcopis] On the evil lives of some of the prelates of Bede's time, cf. the passages from his works cited Introduction, p. xxxv. p. 408. ubicunque perueneris] Cf. on iv. 27, p. 269.

#### § 5.

Parochial system. latiora sunt spatia, &c.] On the consequent need for further subdivision of dioceses, see below, §§ 8, 9. presbyteros . . . in singulis uiculis] An interesting passage illustrating the very gradual growth of the parochial system; cf. v. 11, note. symbolo] See on iv. 17. 'Popularis uita.' p. 409. populari . . . uita] As λαϊκός from λαός, so 'popularis' from 'populus,' in the sense of 'lay' or 'secular.' The same phrase occurs, *inf.* § 15, *ad init.*; and in the Vita Anon. Cudb. §§ 8, 11. 'Plebeius' is used in the same sense: 'hi, qui in plebeia sunt uita constituti;' Opp. ix. 267. (For 'plebs' = laity, see on iv. 5.) Unlearned Clerks. de clericis . . . expertes] See on Hist. Abb. § 16; cf. Council Clovesho, § 10: 'presbyteri . . . symbolum fidei ac Dominicam orationem, sed et sacrosancta quoque uerba quae in Missae celebratione, et officio Baptismi solenniter dicuntur, interpretari atque exponere posse propria lingua, qui nesciant, discant.' For the general ignorance of Latin among the clergy in Alfred's time, cf. the famous passage in his preface to the translation of Gregory's 'Pastoral Care,' ed. Sweet, pp. 2-9; also in Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader, and elsewhere.

**propter quod . . . optuli]** Cf. Introduction, pp. lxxv, clxii. Anglo-Saxon versions of the Lord's Prayer and Creed exist; but they cannot be Bede's, as they are West-Saxon and not Northumbrian in dialect. It is grievous that none of Bede's translations have survived. There is a law of Canute's which provides that every Christian man shall know the Creed and the Lord's Prayer; Schmid, Gesetze, pp. 266-268; Thorpe, i. 372-374.

**Ambrosius]** De Virginibus, iii. 4, 20: 'Symbolum quoque specialiter debemus tanquam nostri signaculum cordis antelucanis horis quotidie recensere; quo etiam cum horremus aliquid animo recurrendum est. Quando enim sine militiae sacramento miles in tentorio, bellator in praelio?' Cited by Moberly.

### § 6.

**rariora . . . repperis]** See the passages cited, Introduction, § 10.

### § 7.

**P. 410. Attende . . . contendunt]** See Introduction, p. xxxv; cf. especially the following, on Nehem. v. 1: 'Desiderabat quidem populus murum construere ciuitatis, sed magnitudine famis ab opere sancto praepediebatur. Quam uidelicet famem non solum penuria frugum, sed et principum auaritia fecerat, cum ab eodem populo maiora quam reddere poterat tributa exigerent, quod apud nos quotidie eodem ordine fieri uidemus. Quanti enim sunt in populo Dei, qui diuinis libenter cupiunt obtemperare mandatis, sed, ne possint implere quod cupiunt, et inopia rerum temporalium ac paupertate, et exemplis retardantur eorum, qui habitu religionis uidentur esse praediti, cum ipsi ab eis, quibus praeesse uidentur, et immensum rerum secularium pondus ac uectigal exigunt, et nihil eorum saluti perpetuae, uel docendo, uel exempla uiuendi praebendo, uel opera pietatis impendendo conferunt. Atque utinam aliquis diebus nostris Nehemias, id est consolator, a Domino adueniens, nostros compescat errores, nostra ad amorem diuinum praecordia accendat, nostras a propriis uoluntatibus ad constituendam Christi ciuitatem manus auertens confortet;' Opp. ix. 21. So on Nehem. xii. 43: 'Sed uae illis sacerdotibus ac ministris sanctorum, qui sumptus quidem cum gaudio debitos sumere a populo delectantur, sed nil pro eiusdem populi salute laborare, non aliquid sacri ducatus ei recte uluendo praebere, non de suauitate regni coelestis ei quippiam dulce praedicando canere, sed nec ianuam ei supernae ciuitatis aperire, municipatum in coelis habendo, uerum potius ocludere peruerse agendo probantur.

## 382 *Epistola Bede ad Egbertum Episcopum.*

In quorum operibus nequaquam confidens, siue laudans Dominum populus laetari, sed multo magis cogitur affligi;' ib. 46, 47. Nehemiah's unselfish conduct, v. 14, shows: 'apostolicum illud esse opus, cum quis in regimine plebis Dei promotus, opus quidem rectoris nobiliter ecclesiam aedificando exercet, sed quæstum exercitii ab eis quos prædicando, ac bene uiuendo regit, terrena commoda expectando non quaerit;' ib. 23.

ecclesiastical dues.

tributis antistiti reddendis] It would be interesting if Bede had told us what these were; but he wrote to admonish Egbert who knew, not to inform us who do not. The only law prior to 734 bearing at all on the subject is Ini, cap. 4, 'Of Church-scots:' 'Church-scots are to be paid at Martinmas. If any one fails to pay he is liable for sixty shillings and to pay twelve times the Church-scot;' Schmid, p. 22; Thorpe, i. 104. For later times, cf. Wulfstan's Homilies, pp. 113, 116-119, 170-173, 181, 207, 208, 216, 272.

p. 411. itaque conuersatus] Cf. Bede's Commentary on this passage; Opp. viii. 36.

### § 8.

confirmation.

manus impositionem] For Bede's view of the importance of confirmation, cf. on Mark, i. 10: 'regeneratis ex aqua et spiritu amplior eiusdem Spiritus gratia per impositionem manus episcopi solet caelitus dari;' Opp. x. 11; cf. viii. 338. It was regarded as the completion of the rite of baptism; hence its name. It was called also *τελειωσις*, 'consummatio,' 'perfectio;' Ducange, s. v. 'confirmatio;' cf. Theodore, Penitential, II. iv. 5: 'nullum perfectum credimus in baptismo sine confirmatione episcopi, non desperamus tamen;' H. & S. iii. 193; cf. on ii. 2. In the primitive Church confirmation followed immediately on baptism; and in the Eastern Church infant confirmation and infant communion are still the rule. The fact that the administration of confirmation became restricted to the bishops, caused an interval greater or less to be interposed between the two rites. The unction or chrism which had formed the connecting link between them became attached to both, with the distinction that the priest might only anoint on the breast, anointing on the forehead being reserved for the bishop; cf. a letter of Gregory I, Sept. 593; R. P. p. 107. This was called 'consignatio;' cf. ib. 150; Ducange, s. v. However in May 594, Gregory decided: 'ubi episcopi deint, presbyteri etiam in frontibus baptizandos tangant;' ib. 108. That the confirmation-tours of bishops sometimes became a source of oppression to their flocks

is shown by a letter already cited, *ib.* 150. Sponsors were necessary at confirmation as well as at baptism; they might be the same, but were generally different; cf. Theodore, Penitential, II. iv. 8; H. & S. iii. 193. In the Sax. Chron. *ad ann.* 853, we have the word 'biscoep-sunu,' meaning a godson at 'bishopping' or confirmation. The spiritual relationships created by these sponsorships terribly complicated the table of prohibited degrees. It was decided that a man who had acted as godfather to his own son at confirmation, 'de patre factus patrinus,' must be separated from his wife; Bouquet, x. 451. The chrism, whether used by the priest at baptism, *Chrism.* or by the bishop at confirmation, must be consecrated by the bishop, and gradually the practice grew up of doing this solemnly once a year, on Maundy Thursday; and the sending of the chrism was a mark of episcopal jurisdiction over the church to which it was sent; cf. *e.g.* H. & S. ii. 15. For the chrism in baptism, cf. Opp. v. 253, xii. 53; in confirmation, vii. 115; Opp. Min. p. 277; H. Y. i. 259; v. D. C. A. s. *vv.* 'chrism,' 'confirmation.'

cum enim antistes . . . ualuerit] This was still the case with Egbert's diocese even after Theodore had separated Bernicia from Deira; § 5. See also § 9. What then must have been the case when Wilfrid was the only bishop in the whole of Northumbria? We can understand, I think, how Bede would look upon his opposition. That Wilfrid's opposition at least was not made 'dictante amore pecuniae' the munificence of his foundations abundantly shows. But if a prelate, like Wine, iii. 7, had bought his preferment, he would naturally not be inclined to resign its emoluments; cf. the scathing epigram on Pope Alexander VI:

'Vendit Alexander clauas, altaria, Christum;

Emerat ille prius, uendere iure potest;'

in Gregorovius, *Gesch. d. Stadt Rom*, vii. 461. On the division of dioceses see the ninth canon of the council of Hertford, iv. 5.

As to the annual visitation of his diocese by every bishop, cf. the third canon of the council of Clovesho: 'singulis annis unus quisque episcopus parochiam suam pertransiundo, et circumeundo, speculandoque uisitare non praesideat [? supersedeat], populumque diuersae conditionis ac sexus per competentia ad se conuocet loca, aperteque doceat utpote eos, qui raro audiunt uerbum Dei, prohibens et inter caetera peccamina paganas obseruationes.'

### § 9.

P. 412. adiutorem, regem] Cf. Bede on Ezra, vi. 12: 'Ego Darius statui decretum . . . Quod eodem ordine nunc quoque in Aid of the royal power.'



## 384 *Epistola Bede ad Ecgbertum Episcopum.*

sancta ecclesia geritur, cum terrenae potestates ad fidem conuersae, pro statu eiusdem ecclesiae publica edicta proponunt, et hanc Domino adiuuante, atque inimicos omnes sub pedibus eius ponente, placidam semper habere quietem cupiunt, ac pacem ;' Opp. viii. 419 ; cf. ib. 417, 442, v. 45 ; cf. iii. 8, note (on the influence of the royal power in putting down idolatry), and the passage from Boniface's letter to Daniel, cited on i. 30, from H. & S. iii. 343 ; Mon. Mog. p. 159.

Northumbrian  
pedigrees.

propinquus illius] According to the pedigrees in Sax. Chron. s. aa., 729, 738, Egbert and his brother Eadbert were first cousins once removed to Ceolwulf. According to the pedigrees in Florence, i. 254, 255, they were first cousins. The pedigree in Lappenberg, i. Note F, seems due to an attempt to combine in one table conflicting genealogies. The result is that he has made Egbert and Ceolwulf fourth cousins twice removed, Egbert belonging to the older generation. On Ceolwulf, see v. 23, notes.

Gregorius . . . missis litteris] See i. 29.

The  
northern  
metro-  
politan.

p. 413. metropolitanus esse deberet] This shows that Egbert had not yet received the pallium ; and confirms the view that this letter was written prior to 735.

Reckless  
grants.

donationesque stultissimas] This forms a transition to a subject which Bede evidently has very much at heart ; viz. the growth of the pseudo-monasteries, which is dealt with in §§ 10-13.

### § 10.

pontificali . . . edicto] This means episcopal not papal sanction ; cf. 'pontificem' below, of the metropolitan of York ; and 'pontifices' in §§ 12, 13, of the bishops as members of the Witenagemót.

Sees located  
in monas-  
teries.

locus . . . fiat] Bede has not told us when the monastery at York was founded (cf. 'in monasterio tuo,' § 1). But all the other northern sees were founded in connexion with monasteries. At Lindisfarne the see and the monastery came into existence together. At Hexham the see was located in a monastery already existing. The seat of Trumwine's bishopric was in the monastery of Abercorn ; iv. 26. The same was probably the case with Pehthelm at Candida Casa or Whithorn. For the monasteries at Whithorn, see on iii. 4. The attempt to make the monastery of Ripon into the seat of a bishopric had failed owing to the opposition of Wilfrid ; see on iv. 12 ; v. 19. It may have been the remembrance of this opposition which dictated the next sentence : 'et ne forte abbas . . . tentauerint.'

detur illis licentia . . . episcopalem] Here Bede seems to be

thinking not merely of the election of the bishop by the monks, which of course was the ordinary rule in all cathedrals of which the constitution was monastic, but of an association of the monastery with the bishop in the exercise of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This would have been a system midway between the Irish monastic episcopacy (see on iii. 4) and ordinary diocesan episcopacy. Something like this may have been the rule at Lindisfarne.

sunt loca innumera, &c.] Here Bede comes to the subject of the pseudo-monasteries. Cf. the Commentary on Ezra vi. 18: 'Ordo posebat deuotionis, ut post aedificatam ac dedicatam domum Domini, mox sacerdotes ac Leuitae, qui in ea ministrarent, ordinarerentur; ne sine causa domus erecta fulgeret, si deessent qui intus Deo seruirent. Quod saepius inculcandum eis qui monasteria magnifico opere construentes, nequaquam in his statuunt doctores, qui ad opera Dei populum Dei cohortentur, sed suis potius inibi uoluptatibus ac desideriis seruiant;' Opp. viii. 425, 426. Pseudo-monasteries.

### § 11.

P. 414. a barbaris defendant] Cf. *infra*, 'a barbarica incursione tuncantur.' By these Bede means the Picts. The withdrawal of Bishop Trumwine from Abercorn had shown what danger accrued to the Church no less than to the State of Northumbria from the insecurity of the northern frontier. These passages from the letter to Egbert have often been quoted to show that Bede in his monastic seclusion was not wanting in the eye of a statesman; cf. v. 23, *ad fin.* and note. In Eadmer's life of Wilfrid, c. 26, Eormenburg is represented as using somewhat similar arguments against the accumulation of possessions in the hands of Wilfrid: 'timendum est ne, si aliquando inimici tui contra te arma susceperint, ipse . . . suos ab armis immunes retineat.' Danger from the Picts.

p. 415. neque . . . abstineant] Cf. Boniface's letter to Ethelbald cited on v. 18, 19, 23; H. & S. iii. 352, 355, 359; Mon. Mog. pp. 168 ff., 178 ff.

### § 12.

laici . . . sub praetextu . . . monasteriorum] See the fifth canon of Clovesho: 'Ut episcopi monasteria, si tamen ea fas est ita nominare, quae utique quamuis temporibus istis propter uim tyrannicae quondam auaritiae ad religionis Christianae statum nullatenus immutari possint, id est, quae a saecularibus, non Diuinae scilicet legis ordinatione, sed humanae adinventionis praesumptione, utcunque tenentur; tamen pro salute animarum in

### 386 *Epistola Bede ad Ecgbertum Episcopum.*

eisdem commorantium, adire debeant, sit necesse: et ut inter caetera exhortamenta praeuideant, ne sine sacerdotis ministerio aliquod illorum deinceps debilitatum periclitetur, iuuantibus ad hoc eorum possessoribus;’ H. & S. iii. 364. So St. Boniface to Archbishop Cuthbert: ‘Illud autem, quod laicus homo, uel inperator uel rex aut aliquis praefectorum uel comitum, saeculari potestate fultus, sibi per uolentiam rapiat monasterium de potestate episcopi uel abbatis uel abbatissae, et incipiat ipse uice abbatis regere et habere sub se monachos et pecuniam possidere, quae fuit Christi sanguine comparata, talem hominem antiqui patres nominabant raptorem et sacrilegum et homicidam pauperum, et lupum diaboli intrantem in ouile Christi;’ Mon. Mog. pp. 208, 209; H. & S. iii. 381.

in ius . . . haereditarium] On hereditary monasteries, see notes to iv. 26.

Share  
of the  
Witenage-  
môt in  
grants of  
land.

pontificum . . . confirmari] Here, again, we see the co-operation of the Witenagemôt in grants of land; and the ‘pontifices, abbates, et potestates seculi’ who sanctioned, must share the responsibility of the monarchs who made these unworthy grants. Bede lays stress on this responsibility in the case of the bishops in § 13, *inf.*, where he seems even to hint that they were bribed, or at least had some pecuniary interest in the grants; cf. also § 16, *ad fin.*

Renegade  
monks.

quoscunque . . . ualuerint] Cf. Egbert’s own Dialogue, § 7: ‘Quicumque . . . ex laicis, qui monasteriis praeesse noscuntur, taliter aliquem [i.e. transfugam clericum uel monachum] susceperit, reddat debitum statutum, regi quidem X. siclos, X. Episcopo loci, X. uero abbati, cuius domesticum . . . susceperat, et desertorem relinquat;’ H. & S. iii. 406.

#### § 13.

Date.

P. 416. per annos . . . triginta] On this mark of the date of the Epistle, see note *ad fin.*

ex quo Aldfrid, &c.] Similarly Boniface in writing to Ethelbald dates the encroachments of the secular power on the Church from the accessions of Osred, the son and ultimately the successor of Aldfrid in Northumbria in 705 (see on v. 18, *ad init.*), and of Ceolred in Mercia in 709; H. & S. iii. 355; Mon. Mog. p. 174.

‘Praefectus’=  
reeve.

praefectorum] Perhaps ‘reeves’; cf. on ii. 16. We hear of a ‘praefectus in Bromnis,’ who had the custody of Wilfrid at the beginning of his imprisonment. Afterwards he was committed to the prefect of Dunbar; Eddius, cc. 36–38.

ministri] ‘Gesiths,’ ‘thanes.’

p. 417. praefati sumus] § 12, where see note.

## § 14.

P. 418. *dicere estis soliti*] i.e. 'you (bishops) are wont to say,' Control by &c.; for where Bede is addressing Egbert individually he always uses the singular; cf. the beginning of the very next sentence: 'tui . . . est officii.' It would seem from this that Bede was less opposed than some of the bishops to a certain amount of control of monasteries by the secular power.

## § 15.

in *populari . . . uita*] See on § 5.

p. 419. *signaculo . . . crucis*] See on iv. 24, *ad fin.*, and D.C.A. s. v. 'Sign of the Cross.'

*cotidiana . . . perceptio*] Cf. D.C.A. i. 418, 419.

*epiphania*] For the Epiphany as one of the greater feasts, see on iv. 19.

*feri uidisti*] For Egbert's visit to Rome, see on § 1.

*ipsi etiam coniugati*] Cf. i. 27, p. 57.

## § 16.

P. 420. *qua ergo fronte, &c.*] For the severity, not to say Monastic cruelty, with which St. Gregory punished an infringement of the rule against separate property, see Milman, *Lat. Christ.* ii. 105; and the references collected by M. & L. on iv. 23. rule  
against  
separate  
property.

p. 421. *manum subtraxerint*] See on § 12.

## § 17.

*deuteroces*] *δευτέρωσις* is the word used by the Greek Fathers to 'Deuter- translate the Hebrew 'Mischna,' which means literally 'repetition,' *osia.*' and was applied at first to the process of oral repetition by which the tradition of the scribes was mastered before it had been reduced to writing; and 'Mischna' remains the name of the oldest codification of this tradition. Hence *δευτέρωσις* becomes a general term for the scribal tradition as opposed to the original law. See Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüdischen Völkes*, i. 87-89, and the passages there cited from Jerome.

p. 422. *per mysteria, &c.*] For masses for the dead, cf. *Introd.* pp. xxvii, xxviii, lxxvi, clxiii, and iv. 22, v. 14.

*permodica . . . culpa*] For it is only such faults, according to Bede, which can be done away in purgatory. See *Introduction*, p. lxvi.

### 388 *Epistola Bede ad Ecgbertum Episcopum.*

The  
Church of  
Jerusalem  
regarded  
as a  
monastery.

monachorum collegio indignos] This is curious. It shows that Bede regards the communism of the early Jerusalem Church as marking the foundation of a monastic institution. Ananias and Sapphira were then (apart from their deceit) guilty of the offence which St. Gregory punished so severely. So in his Commentary on Acts iv. 32, Bede says: 'Latine communia, Graece dicuntur κοινά; a quo nomine constat perfectos Dei famulos κοινόβιτας Graece, id est, communiter uiuentes, et κοινόβια habitacula eorum esse uocata; βίον namque lingua eorum uitam constat appellari. . . . Qui ergo ita uiuunt ut sint eis omnia communia in Domino, recte composito ex duobus uno nomine κοινοβίται uocantur;' Opp. xii. 119, 120. (For Bede's fondness for citing this early Christian communism, see on iv. 23.)

Cerberi nomen] On Bede's use of the classics, see Introduction, pp. l-liii.

Date.

p. 423. scripta . . . tertia] i. e. Nov. 5, 734 (not 735 as Stevenson says, *a. l.*). I see no reason to doubt the genuineness of this date, which is found in the earlier of the two MSS. It fits in well with the chronology of Bede's life and death; and it agrees with the note of time at the beginning of § 13, that it was 'about thirty years' from the death of Aldfrid, for Aldfrid died in 705.

## APPENDIX I.

### ON THE OLDEST LIFE OF GREGORY THE GREAT.

THE life of Gregory the Great from which the following extracts are taken was discovered by Paul Ewald in a St. Gallen MS. No. 567, of the eighth and ninth centuries, and portions of it, with an introductory essay, were published by him in *Historische Aufsätze dem Andenken an Georg Waitz gewidmet* (1886), pp. 17-54. For my knowledge of this essay, and for some other good references relating to Bede, I am indebted to Mr. Wilbur C. Abbott, of Cornell University, U. S. A., himself a devoted student of our author. Ewald shows that this life is evidently of English origin, the work of a monk of Whitby, §§ 18, 19; that it was used by both of Gregory's later biographers, the deacons John and Paul; that it is almost certainly anterior to Bede, otherwise the writer would not complain so bitterly as he does of the want of materials. The work did not come under my notice until all the text was in type. But I have been able to add some references to it in the notes, and I have noted on the margin here those parts of Bede which it chiefly illustrates; and those words which can be traced in Bede's narrative are printed in italics. When we consider how freely Bede often deals with his materials, the fact that so many words can be traced is strong evidence that Bede had the life before him. It seems too not improbable that it was known also to Cuthbert, the author of the well-known letter on the death of Bede. Anyhow the opening of that letter, Introduction, p. clx, is very like the following passage from the life: '*caritas urget nos . . . iuxta nostri modulum ingenioli hæc memorie tradere signa de hoc nostro doctore, . . . opus . . . tanti uiri dilectione magis quam scientia extorsum*;' Ewald, u. s. p. 38.

- ii. § 1. Fuit igitur iste *natione Romanus ex patre Gordiano et matre*  
73- *Silvia, nobilis secundum legem sed nobilior coram Deo in religione* . . .  
. § 9. Quod omnino non est tegendum *silentio, quam* spiritaliter, quomodoque cordis incomparabili speculo oculorum, *nostram* prouidendo propagauit ad Deum conuersionem. Est igitur narratio fidelium ante . . . eius pontificatum Romam *uenisse* quidam de nostra natione *forma et crinibus candidati albia*. Quos quidam

pulchros fuisse *pueros dicunt*, quidam uero *crispos iuuenes et decoros*. Quos cum audisset uenisse, iam dilexit *uidisse*. Eoque . . . sibi *adscitos* . . . specie *inconsueta suspensus*, et . . . Deo *intus admonente*, cuius gentis fuissent, inquisiuit. Cumque *responderent*: '*Anguli dicuntur illi, de quibus sumus*,' ille dixit: '*Angeli Dei*.' Deinde dixit: '*Rex gentis illius quomodo nominatur?*' Et dixerunt: '*Aelli*.' Et ille ait: '*Alleluia! laus enim Dei esse debet illic*.' Tribus quoque illius *nomen de qua erant proprie requisiiuit*. Et dixerunt: '*Deire*.' Et ille dixit: '*De ira Dei confugientes ad fidem*.'

§ 10. Tam itaque spiritali data occasione inflammatus, *preces* <sup>EE</sup> *sorem pontificatus* sui papam Benedictum tam inhiante huc *pro-* <sup>EE</sup> *ficiscendi precatu* est dare licentiam, ut *precis sue non potu* <sup>EE</sup> *declinare nimietatem*, illo dicente: *Miserum tam pulchris uasis infernus debuisse repleri*. Hec et his similia illo dicente licentiam tribuit *pontifex*, huc iter agendi. Ex qua iam licentia *populum satis contristauit Romanum* . . . Pontifex . . . ergo, . . . concite post missis legatis, fecit eum reuerti.

§ 11. Postque non multum tempus papa defuncto electus . . . ad <sup>EE</sup> *pontificatum* est. Quantaque potuit festinatione uenerandae *me-* <sup>EE</sup> *moriae uiros* huc Augustinum et Mellitum atque Laurentium <sup>EE</sup> *direxit cum ceteris, Augustinum ordinando episcopum*. . . <sup>EE</sup>

§ 12. . . primus . . . Edilbertus rex Cantuariorum ad fidem <sup>EE</sup> *Christi correctus*. . . Post hunc in gente nostra, quae dicitur <sup>EE</sup> *Humbrensiu*, Eduinus, Aelli prefati filius, . . . tam sapientia <sup>EE</sup> *singularis*, quam etiam sceptro dicionis regie, a tempore quo gens <sup>EE</sup> *Angulorum* hanc ingreditur insulam.

§ 16. . . regis nostri christianissimi . . . Eduini . . . dignum <sup>EE</sup> *fuit* . . . conuersionis [mentionem] facere, . . . licet ab illis minime <sup>EE</sup> *audiuimus famatum*, qui eius plura pre ceteris sciebant. . . Sepe [tamen] fama cuiusque rei per longa tempora terrarumque spatia post congesta diuerso modo in aures diuersorum perueniet. . . Idem rex fuit exul sub rege *Westranglorum* [*lege Estr.*] *Reduualdo*. Quem emulus suus sic passim persecutus est, qui eum ex patria pulsit, tyrannus *Aedelfridus*, ut eum *pecunia* sua emere occidendum querebat. Ea tempestate dicunt ei de sua uita consternato quadam die quidam pulchrae uisionis, cum cruce Christi coronatus, apparens eum consolari coepisse, *promittens* ei felicem uitam regnumque *gentis sue futurum*, si ei obedire uoluisset. Eoque *promittente* . . . *respondit*: probabis hoc uerum, et qui tibi primum cum hac specie et signo apparebit, illi debes obedire. . . Sub hac igitur specie dicunt illi Paulinum prefatum episcopum primo apparuisse.

§ 17. O piissime Pater, Domine Deus omnipotens . . . per eum [*sc. beatum Gregorium*] . . . tibi semper sit gratiarum actio doctoris <sup>EE</sup> *nostri Paulini*, quem in fine suo fidelem tibi ostendisti. Nam <sup>EE</sup> *fertur a uidentibus*, quod huius uiri anima in cuiusdam magne <sup>EE</sup>

qualis est cignus alba specie auis satisque pulchra, quando moritur, migrasse ad coelum.

§ 18. . . . Huius itaque regalis uere uiri ossium reliquie qualiter Domino reuelante sunt reperte, dignum est memorie commendare. Fuit . . . frater quidam nostre gentis, nomine Trimma, in quodam monasterio Sundaranglorum . . . diebus Edilredi regis illorum, adhuc in uita monastica uiuente Aeonfleda, filia religiosi regis prefati Eduini. Cui per somnium presbitero uir quidam uisus est dicens ei : Vade ad locum . . . qui est in regione illa que dicitur E. Hedfled, quo Eduinus rex occisus est ; debes enim ossa eius exinde P. tollere et tecum ad Streunes-Alae deducere, quod est coenobium famosissimum Aelfede, filie supradicte regine Eonfledae. . . . Cui E. respondit . . . : Nescio illum locum. . . . At ille : Vade, inquit, ad P. uicem illum in Lindissi, cuius nomen frater noster, illius presbiteri cognatus, qui hanc mihi exposuit ystoriam, non recolebat, et quere in eo maritum quendam nomine Teoful. . . . Ipse potest tibi monstrare ubi est. Presbiter . . . sciens esse somniorum fallatia multimoda, . . . dimisit rem adhuc taliter ostensam. Unde post hec ab eodem uiro ualidius admonitus, alteri e suis . . . retulit fratribus. Sed ipse . . . eum fecit dimittere.

§ 19. His itaque peractis, tertius adhuc uir suus . . . apparuit, eumque flagello satis . . . correxit. . . . Tum . . . festinanter perrexit ad maritum prefatum . . . inuenit[que] secundum quod illi monstratum est. A quo . . . didicit . . . quo iam querere reliquias debuisset regis. Statimque comperto profectus est ad locum sibi demonstratum. Et primo fodiens non inuenit adhuc quod querebat, sed secundo laboriosius fodiendo, ut sepe fieri solet. Inuentum- iii. que thesaurum desiderabile ad hoc nostrum secum asportauit coenobium. In quo nunc honorifice in Sancti Petri . . . ecclesia hec eadem sancta ossa cum ceteris conduntur regibus nostris, ad austrum altaris . . . beatissimi Petri apostoli . . . et ab oriente illius, quod . . . Sancto Gregorio est consecratum. . . . Fertur quoque ab hoc relatum presbitero, qui postea pro tempore prioris . . . habitauit locum sepultionis, crebro se . . . uidisse spiritus interfectorum IIII . . . baptizatorum, splendide uenientes sua corpora uisitasse, et adiecit, si posset, monasterium ibi uoluisset facere.

§ 32. . . . Iste . . . utique per omnem terram tam sanctus habetur, ut semper ab omnibus ubique Sanctus Gregorius nominatur. Unde letaniis . . . Sanctum Gregorium nobis in amminiculum E. uocamus cum sanctis . . . apostolis et martyribus. . . . Promissionem P. . . . Domini . . . morte IIII idus Martias expectat feliciter in ecclesia Sancti Petri, cuius sedit episcopatum annos XIII menses VI dies X, 73. ante eius offitii secretarium sepultus corpore dormit in pace. A quo resuscitandus in gloriam.



## APPENDIX II.

### ON BEDE'S BIBLICAL QUOTATIONS.

To go into the question of Bede's biblical quotations generally, would be a very large task, and would require for its satisfactory performance more reliable texts than are as yet available for most of his works. This Appendix deals only with those of his works which are printed in the present edition, excluding quotations which occur in documents cited by Bede, which are of course irrelevant to the question of the biblical text used by Bede himself. I have made an exception in favour of the letter of Ceolfrid in v. 21, as this is almost certainly the work of Bede himself (*v. notes, a. l.*), and in any case as emanating from Bede's own monastery is as relevant as his own writings to the question of the biblical text there in use.

For the same reason I have added a few words on the biblical quotations in the *Hist. Abb. Anon.*

As the basis of comparison I have taken Sabatier's *Versiones antiquae Latinae*, ed. 2, in which the '*Vulgata noua*' and the '*Versio antiqua*' are placed in parallel columns.

Bede's biblical quotations may be divided into the following classes:—(1) those which are certainly taken from the Vulgate; (2) those which are certainly taken from the Itala, or *Versio Antiqua*; (3) those of which the source is doubtful because in these passages the Vulgate and the Itala do not differ, though the great preponderance of class 1 over class 2 makes it probable that class 3 also comes from the Vulgate; (4) those of which the source is doubtful because they differ more or less from both Itala and Vulgate; (5) there is a small group of quotations which seem to be conflate in character, and to be taken partly from one and partly from the other version.

I give the quotations under each head in the order of the books of the Latin Bible. The numbering of the Psalms is also that of the Vulgate, which differs by one in most cases from that of our English Bibles. Of the book *Ecclesiasticus* only one version exists, the old version having been adopted unaltered in the Vulgate; and

in some places the old version is defective. The references in brackets are to the pages of the present edition.

An asterisk suffixed to a reference implies that the quotation occurs in more than one place in the Bible, and the question whence Bede took it may sometimes affect the question of the version which he used. Thus if the quotation on p. 63 comes from Luke x. 2, it must be taken from the Itala; whereas if it comes from Matth. ix. 37, it may be taken from either version.

(1) Quotations which are certainly taken from the Vulgate:—Gen. i. 16 (p. 339, the other version is given in addition), xlix. 27 (p. 71); Exod. xii. 1-3, 6, 15-19 (pp. 334, 335); Levit. xxxiii. 5-8 (pp. 336, 337; the Itala of vv. 5-7 is wanting); Num. xxxiii. 3 (p. 335); 1 Sam. xii. 2-4 (with slight variations, p. 411); 2 Kings xiv. 20 (the Itala is wanting, p. 95); 1 Chron. xxiii. 1 (the Itala is wanting, p. 294); Job xxix. 11-17, xxxi. 16-18 (pp. 77, 78), xlii. 16 (pp. 126, 141); Pss. xciv. 2 (p. 263), lxxxii. 1 (p. 378), lxxxiii. 2 (p. 231), xcvi. 6, 7 (p. 411); Prov. xxvi. 11\* (p. 90); Eccl. viii. 10 (with variation, p. 418); Isa. xxxv. 7 (the Itala is wanting, p. 175), lx. 22 (with variation, p. 418); Jerem. viii. 8 (p. 414); Jonah i. 12 (p. 298); Matth. ii. 16 (p. 300), iii. 7\* (p. 263), vii. 13, 14 (p. 421), vii. 22, 23 (p. 187), x. 7-9 (p. 410), xvi. 18, 19 (pp. 188, 342), xix. 29 (p. 365), xxv. 30 (p. 406); Luke iii. 7\* (p. 263), vi. 24 (p. 420), xi. 17 (p. 377), xii. 33, xiv. 33 (p. 420), xix. 22\* (p. 410), xxiv. 39 (p. 76); John xiii. 1 (p. 207); Acts iii. 2-8 (p. 284), iv. 32-34 (p. 270), v. 29 (p. 420), vii. 56 (p. 314), x. 11, xi. 5 (p. 220), xiii. 48 (p. 114), xvii. 21 (p. 22), xviii. 18, xxi. 20 (p. 185); Rom. xi. 2 (p. 42); 1 Cor. v. 5 (p. 263), ix. 2 (p. 73); 2 Cor. xi. 28, 29 (p. 406); Gal. v. 24 (p. 343); Phil. iii. 15 (p. 135); 1 Thess. v. 3 (p. 265); 2 Tim. iv. 6 (pp. 223, 274); Hebr. xii. 6 (p. 77); James i. 12 (pp. 21, 343); 1 Pet. i. 19 (p. 336); 2 Pet. i. 14 (the Itala is wanting, p. 274); 1 John ii. 15, 16 (p. 422).

(2) Quotations which are certainly taken from the Itala:—Gen. i. 4 (p. 314), i. 16 (p. 339, both versions given); Levit. xix. 18\* (p. 273); Pss. lxxv. 5 (p. 266), lxxvii. 7 (p. 81); Eccl. iiii. 5 (p. 207); Habak. iii. 11 (p. 340); Matth. xxv. 26\* (p. 410); Luke x. 2\* (p. 63), xxi. 27 (p. 211); John xiii. 1 (pp. 340, 348); Acts viii. 5 (p. 326, the resemblance is possibly only accidental); Rom. i. 27 (p. 338); 2 Cor. iv. 4 (p. 98?).

(3) Quotations in which the Itala and Vulgate do not differ:—Gen. iii. 18 (p. 343), xxxv. 29 (p. 294); Deut. vi. 5\* (p. 273); 1 Kings xi. 12 (p. 265); Pss. xxix. 5 (p. 351), xxxi. 1 (p. 313), lxxv. 10 (p. 378), xcvi. 13 (p. 172), xcvi. 1 (p. 351), cxi. 9 (p. 77), cxlviii. 12 (p. 419); Ecclus. xxxii. 1 (with variation, p. 372), xlv. 14 (p. 294); Mal. iv. 1 (p. 340); Matth. iii. 8\* (p. 270), ix. 37\* (p. 63), x. 8 (p. 259), x. 16 (p. 92), xi. 29 (p. 82), xv. 3, 13 (p. 421), xxii. 37,

1. 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

'4. Quotations which dif-  
 Pa. lxxxii. 18, 19 p. 378, wh  
 it agrees with Jerome's versio  
 6 p. 414. this quotation ag  
 c. 10. col. 545; and id. de Nat  
 ad he. ; Matth. xii. 45\* : Luk  
 Acts xxii. 3 p. 202 ; 2 Cor. x

'5. Conflate quotations:—P  
 (p. 377 ; Luke vi. 20 p. 420 ;

As regards the Hist. Abb.  
 '1, From the Vulgate ; Hebr. :  
 Psa. lxvi. 1, lxxxiii. 8 p. 397 .  
 Matth. xi. 29, 30 p. 399 ; Act  
 both, though nearer to Itala : 1

Biblical quotations in docum  
 the following pages:—48-62, 6  
 121, 123, 124, 164, 165, 197, 198

## INDEX NOMINUM, LOCORUM, RERUM.

**NOTE.**—By a small Roman numeral followed by an Arabic numeral is indicated the Book and Chapter of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

A large Roman numeral followed by an Arabic numeral refers to the volumes and pages of the present edition.

A small Roman numeral preceded by the letter p. refers to the pages of the Introduction in Vol. I.

The letter C. refers to the *Continuatio Baedae*, which is cited by *Annals*.

The abbreviations *Hab.* and *Haa.* indicate respectively the *Historia Abbatum auctore Baeda*, and the *Historia Abbatum auctore Anonymo*; while by *Ee.* is meant the *Epistola ad Egbertum*. The last three are cited by Sections. Whenever a Chapter or Section exceeds a page in length, a reference to the page or pages is given in addition.

Names printed in thick type occur in the Texts printed in Vol. I; names printed in Small Capitals occur only in the Introduction and Notes.

### A.

**Aaron**, v. 21, p. 334; *Haa.* §§ 6, 39 and note; *Ee.* § 7, p. 411; p. xv; II. 367.

**Aaron**, a citizen of Caerleon on Usk, martyred in the persecution of Diocletian, i. 7, pp. 21, 22 and note; II. 18.

**Abbatum Historia**, Bede's, v. Baeda.

**ABBO OF FLEURY**, his passion of St. Edmund, and letter to Dunstan, p. cxxii; letter of Dunstan to, II. 271.

**ABBOTS**, v. *Monasteries*.

**ABBOTS**, Anonymous Lives of the, p. cxxxv; conflation of, with Bede's *Hist. Abb.*, *ib.*; MSS. of, pp. cxxxiii, cxl, cxli; biblical quotations in, II. 392, 394.

**ABEL**, in what sense a martyr, II. 49.

**ABERCORN**, v. Aebbercurnig.

**ABINGDON**, Faricius, abbot of, II. 308.

**Abraham**, oak of, at Mamre, enclosed in a church, v. 17, p. 319; example of, cited, II. 220.

**Acca**, bishop of Hexham, goes with Wilfrid to Rome, iii. 13, p. 152 and notes (cf. II. 315, 330); sojourns in Frisia, *ib.*; narrates a miracle on the authority of Wilbrord, *ib.* and notes; p. xliiv note; narrates a miracle on the authority of the monks of Selsey, *ib.*; iv. 14, p. 233 and notes; Wilfrid relates his vision to, v. 19, pp. 328, 329 and note; succeeds Wilfrid as bishop of Hexham, v. 20, p. 331 and note; beautifies the church and collects a library, *ib.* and notes; brings Maban from Kent to teach chanting, *ib.* and note (cf. II.

- 119); his own skill in chanting, and character, *ib.* p. 332; had been trained under Bosa, and then followed Wilfrid, *ib.* (cf. II. 330); alive in 731, *ib.*; v. 23, p. 351; II. 330; expelled from hissee, C. 731; II. 330; confirms Hwætbert as abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, Hab. § 20 and note; pp. xv, xvi; II. 330, 367; affection of Bede for, p. xxxiii; II. 329; most of Bede's theological works dedicated to, pp. xlix, cxlvii-cxlix, cliv; II. 329; letter of, to Bede, *ib.*; probably furnished Bede with information, p. xlv note; II. 226, 227, 315, 327, 330; attends Council of Clovesho, II. 330; death, burial, and translation, *ib.*; urges Eddius to write Wilfrid's life, *ib.*
- Acha**, sister of Edwin and mother of Oswald, iii. 6, p. 139; II. 124; question of her conversion to Christianity, *ib.*; flies with her sons on the death of Ethelfrid, *ib.*; mother of Oswy, II. 161, 236; wife of Ethelfrid, v. Ethelfrid.
- Achan**, filius Charmi, example of, cited, Ee. § 17, p. 422.
- ACIETIUS**, pseudonym of Aldfrid, q. v., II. 309, 312.
- ACROSTIC POEMS**, II. 241.
- Actus Apostolorum**, cited, i. 3; Bede's works on, v. Baeda.
- ADALBERT**, companion of Wilbrord, life of, II. 285; settles at Egmond, II. 288.
- Adam**, example of, cited, i. 27, p. 61; ii. 19, p. 124 (cf. Ee. § 17, p. 422); tomb of, at Hebron, v. 17, p. 319.
- Adamnan**, presbyter, abbot of Iona, v. 15, p. 315 and note; v. 21, p. 344 and note; comes on an embassy to Aldfrid of Northumbria, *ib.* *ib.* and notes; studies the customs of the English churches, v. 15, p. 315; v. 21, p. 345; comes to Ceolfrid's monastery, *ib.* p. 344 and note; II. 301; argument with Ceolfrid on the tonsure question, v. 21, pp. 344, 345 and notes; is converted to the orthodox Easter, &c., v. 15, p. 315; v. 21, p. 345; fails to convert the monks of Iona, *ib.* *ib.*; converts the Northern Irish, v. 15, p. 316 and notes; v. 21, p. 345; II. 300; returns to Iona, and dies, v. 15, p. 316 and notes; II. 300; receives Arculfus, a bishop of Gaul, v. 15, p. 316 and notes; writes from his information a book on the holy places, *ib.* and notes; presents this book to Aldfrid, *ib.* pp. 316, 317; receives many gifts from him, and returns, *ib.* p. 317; plague rages during his visit, II. 195; does not include Iona in Scotland, II. 12, 186; his Life of Columba, v. Columba; Patrick mentioned in it, II. 26; Seghine furnishes him with facts for it, II. 113, 121; Bede had probably conversed with, II. 131, 302; confused with Adamnan of Coldingham, II. 258; Aldfrid a pupil of, II. 263; so-called law of, II. 285; vision ascribed to, II. 295; churches dedicated to, II. 301; his two visits to Aldfrid, *ib.*; obtains release of Irish prisoners, *ib.*; his voyages to Ireland, II. 302; legend of his expulsion from Iona, *ib.*; date of his death, II. 300, 303; his *de Locis Sanctis* cited, II. 303; relation of, to Arculfus and Bede, II. 303, 304.
- Adamnanus**, 'de genere Scottorum,' a monk of Coldingham, iv. 25, p. 263 and notes; story of his sin and repentance, *ib.* pp. 263, 264 and notes (cf. p. xxx; II. 137); prophesies the destruction of Coldingham in consequence of an apparition which he had had, *ib.* pp. 264, 265 and notes; story of, narrated to Bede by Aedgils, *ib.* pp. 265, 266 (cf. p. xlv note); confused with Adamnan of Iona, II. 258.
- Ad Baruae**, id est Ad Nemus, in Lindsey, ? Barrow, Linca., II. 104; Wulfhere grants Ceadda

- land at, for a monastery, iv. 3, p. 207 and note; Wynfrid retires to, and dies at, iv. 6, p. 218 and note.
- Ad Candidam Ossam**, Whitern, II. 104; see of Nynias at, iii. 4, p. 133 and notes; stone church built by Nynias at, *ib.* and notes; hence the name, *ib.* and notes (cf. II. 101); occupied by the English in Bede's time, *ib.* and notes; Nynias buried at, *ib.* and notes; belongs to Bernicia, *ib.*; Pehthelm bishop of, in 731, v. 23, p. 351 and note (cf. II. 224); in the province of Northumbria, *ib.* (cf. II. 129); tract on subjection of bishops of, to York, p. cvii; church of, dedicated to St. Martin, II. 128; pilgrimages to, II. 129; later history of, *ib.*; letter of Alcuin to monks of, *ib.*; other names of, *ib.*; Trumwine's see wrongly placed at, II. 224; Pehthelm and Badwulf bishops of, II. 343; district of, relapses into heathenism after Nynias, *ib.*; Pehthelm's see probably in monastery of, II. 384.
- Ad Caprae Caput**, Gateshead, II. 104; Utta abbot of, iii. 21, p. 170 and note; date of, II. 149.
- Adda**, presbyter, accompanies Peada to evangelise the Middle Angles, iii. 21, p. 170 and note; brother of Utta, *ib.*
- Addi**, a gesith, Bishop John of York consecrates a church of, v. 5, p. 288 and note; miraculously heals a servant of, *ib.* and note.
- ADDITIONAL MSS.**, British Museum, pp. lxxxvi note, c, ciii, cvii, cxxiii; II. 171.
- 'ADEILADU'**, to build, II. 102.
- ADELMAR**, diaconus, his vision of the other world, II. 295.
- ADEMAR**, traces Bede's intellectual descendants, p. xxiv note.
- ADEODATUS**, Pope, grant of, to Abbot Hadrian, II. 204.
- Ad Gefrin**, Yeverin, Northumberland, a royal vill, Paulinus baptizes numerous Bernicians at, ii. 14, p. 115 and notes; deserted, *ib.*
- Ad Lapidem**, ? Stoneham on the Itchen, II. 104; two young princes of Wight captured at, iv. 16, p. 239 and note.
- Ad Murum**, ? Walton or Walbottle, Northumberland, II. 104; Peada and Sigbert baptized by Finan at place called, iii. 21, p. 170 and note; iii. 22, p. 172 and note; twelve miles distant from the Eastern sea, *ib.*
- Ad Nemus**, v. Ad Baruae.
- ADO**, archbishop of Vienne, letter of Nicolas I to, II. 212.
- ADOLANA**, abbess of Palentz, letter of Elfred to, II. 185.
- Adrianus**, v. Hadrianus.
- ADTANATOS**, v. Tanatos.
- Ad Tuifyrði**, 'Twyford,' ? Alnmouth, Northumberland, II. 104; on the Alne, iv. 28, p. 272; synod at, *ib.* and notes.
- 'aduena'** = convert, II. 227.
- Ad Uillam Sambuce**, ? Camboise or Sandoe, Northumberland, Ceolfred obtains land at, Hab. § 15, p. 380 and note.
- Adulualdus**, v. Eadbald.
- Eanfled**, Aeanfled, ii. 9, p. 99; iii. 24, p. 179; v. Eanfled.
- Aebba**, aunt of Egfrid, abbess of Coldingham, iv. 19, p. 243 and note (cf. II. 245); receives Adamnan's prophecy of the destruction of Coldingham, iv. 25, pp. 264, 265 and notes; half-sister of Oswy, II. 236; founded Ebbchester, *ib.*; friend of Cuthbert and Wilfrid, *ib.*; translated to Durham, *ib.*; St. Abb's Head called from, *ib.*; intercedes for release of Wilfrid, II. 326; life of, p. cxxxviii.
- Aebbercurnig**, Abercorn, Roman wall begins near, i. 12, p. 26 and note; situation of, iv. 26, p. 267 and note; Trumwine retires from monastery of, after Egfrid's death, *ib.* and notes; II. 385 (cf. II. 24, 224); his see probably in monastery of, II. 224, 384;

- Trumwine called abbot of, II. 262; separated from the see of York, II. 326.
- Aecci**, bishop of part of the East Angles (Dunwich), iv. 5, p. 217 and note.
- AED**, son of Brendan, prince of Tethba, grants Durrow to Columba, II. 133.
- Aedan**, king of the Scots in Britain, defeated by Ethelfrid at Degsastan, i. 34 and notes; son of Gabran, II. 13, 64; attacks the Orkneys, II. 13, 14, 65; inaugurated by St. Columba, II. 64, 65, 135; makes himself independent, II. 65; attacks Man, *ib.*; fights the battles of Leithrig and Circhend, *ib.*; his death, *ib.*; legends about, in Irish and Welsh, II. 65, 66; called Ean by Sigh. Gembl., II. 66.
- Aedan, Aidan**, bishop of Lindisfarne, sent as bishop at Oswald's request, iii. 3, p. 131 and notes; his Paschal errors, *ib.* and note; iii. 17, pp. 161, 162 and notes; tolerated on account of his piety, iii. 25, p. 182; his character, *ib.*; iii. 5, pp. 135, 136 and notes; p. xxxvi; Oswald grants him a see in Lindisfarne, iii. 3, p. 132 and notes (cf. II. 134); his imperfect knowledge of English, *ib.*; Oswald acts as interpreter to, *ib.* and note; a monk of Iona, *ib.*; sent from Iona, v. 22, p. 347 and note; iii. 5, p. 135 and notes (cf. II. 113); consecrated bishop, *ib.* and notes; redeems slaves, and trains them as clergy, *ib.* p. 136 and note (cf. II. 37, 193); tradition as to his mission, *ib.* p. 137 and notes; his delight at Oswald's charity, iii. 6, p. 138 and notes; his prophecy, *ib.* and notes; story of the horse given by Oswin to, iii. 14, pp. 156, 157 and notes (cf. II. 136, 367); foretells Oswin's death, *ib.* p. 157 and notes; dies, *ib.* and notes; iii. 17, pp. 159, 160 and notes; v. 24, p. 354; II. 91, 240; miracle wrought by, iii. 15; accustomed to seek retirement in Farne, iii. 16 and notes; buried in Lindisfarne cemetery, iii. 17, p. 160 and notes; translated to the church, *ib.*; succeeded by Finan, *ib.*; iii. 25, p. 181 and notes; miracles after his death, iii. 17, pp. 160, 161 and notes; highly honoured by Honorius and Felix, iii. 25, p. 182; length of his episcopate, iii. 26, p. 189; Eata one of his twelve English pupils, *ib.* p. 190 and note; part of his bones taken away by Colman, *ib.* (cf. II. 167); Ceadda a disciple of, iii. 28, p. 195 and note; recalls Hild to Northumbria, iv. 23, p. 253; frequently visits and instructs her, *ib.*; Heiu, the first Northumbrian nun, receives the veil from, *ib.*; institutes the monastic life at Lindisfarne, iv. 27, p. 270; asceticism of his disciples, iii. 5, p. 136; p. xxx note; life of, p. cxxxviii; date of his mission, II. 121; never received the pallium, II. 126, 189; arguments drawn from his mission under Edward I, II. 132; decline of his fame, II. 165; vision of, leads Cuthbert to the monastic life, II. 165, 266, 269; Bamborough Church dedicated to, II. 166; fate of his relics, II. 167; said to have been translated to Glastonbury, *ib.*; AS. vers. omits Bede's censures on, II. 124, 167; ascetic tradition of, at Lindisfarne, II. 340.
- AEDAN, v. Eadwine.**
- Aeddi**, 'cognomento Stephanus,' invited by Wilfrid from Kent to teach chanting to the Northumbrian churches, iv. 2, p. 205 and note (cf. II. 118, 359); his Life of Wilfrid, II. 206, 315; used by Bede without acknowledgement, p. xxiv note; II. 315.
- ÆDELMUS**, a scribe of MS. W., pp. cx, cxi.
- Aedgils**, presbyter, a monk, first of Coldingham, and then of Wearmouth and Jarrow, iv. 25,

p. 266 and notes; tells Bede the story of Adamnan of Coldingham, *ib.* pp. 265, 266; p. xlv note.

**Aedilbald**, king of the Mercians, all the provinces and kings south of the Humber subject to, in 731, v. 23, p. 350 and note; Tatwin consecrated in the fifteenth year of, v. 24, p. 356; treacherously devastates Northumbria, C. 740; Cuthred of Wessex rises against, C. 750 and note (cf. II. 342); treacherously murdered, C. 757; II. 342; grant of, II. 220; letter of St. Boniface to, II. 306, 339, 342, 379, 385, 386; appointment of Tatwin probably due to, II. 341; his wars against Wessex, Northumbria, and the Welsh, II. 342; traditional founder of Croyland, *ib.*; genuine grants of, *ib.*; vision of future punishment of, *ib.*; Felix' Life of Guthlac dedicated to, *ib.*; Guthlac foretells accession of, *ib.*; persecuted by his predecessor Ceolred, *ib.*

**Aedilberot**, king in Kent, i. 25, p. 44; extent of his power, *ib.* p. 45; ii. 3, p. 85 and note; ii. 5, p. 89 and notes (cf. II. 43); third of the seven great English kings, *ib.* and notes; receives Augustine and his companions, i. 25, pp. 45, 46 and notes; afraid of magic arts, *ib.* p. 45 (cf. II. 59); gives them a settlement in Canterbury, *ib.* p. 46 and note; i. 26, p. 47; married to Bertha, a Frankish princess, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 94); baptized, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 142); refuses to force Christianity on his people, *ib.* and note; letter of Gregory to, i. 32, pp. 67-70 and notes (cf. II. 58); builds the church of SS. Peter and Paul, near Canterbury, i. 33 and notes; helps Augustine to bring about a conference with the British bishops, ii. 2, p. 81 and notes; Sæbert, king of the East Saxons, nephew and subject to, ii. 3, p.

85 and note; Rricula sister of, *ib.*; builds the churches of St. Paul in London and of St. Andrew in Rochester, *ib.* and notes; endows them and Canterbury, *ib.* and notes; his conversion recorded in Augustine's epitaph, *ib.* p. 86; letter of Boniface IV to, ii. 4, p. 88 and note; his death, v. 24, p. 353; ii. 5, p. 89 and notes; the first English king to win the heavenly kingdom, *ib.* (cf. II. 390); even before his death his ascendancy was passing to Redwald, *ib.* and note; buried in St. Martin's porticus in the church of SS. Peter and Paul, *ib.* p. 90; his dooms reduced to writing, *ib.* and notes; son of Eormenric, *ib.* and note; succeeded by his son Eadbald, *ib.*; built the 'secretarium' of St. Andrew in Rochester, iii. 14, p. 154 and notes; legend that he removed his capital from Canterbury to Reculver, II. 44; heathen fane of, converted into a church, II. 58, 59; deposits gifts of Gregory in monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, II. 57, 62, 63; said to have sent messengers to Gregory, II. 63; spurious bull of Boniface IV addressed to, *ib.*; his supremacy extends over Britons, II. 73; called king of the East Saxons, II. 79; date of his accession, II. 85, 87; defeated by Ceawlin of Wessex, II. 87.

**Aedilberot**, son and co-heir of Witred king of Kent, v. 23, p. 348 and note; letter of, to St. Boniface, II. 338.

**Aedilberg**, daughter of Ethelbert and sister of Eadbald of Kent, ii. 9, p. 97 (cf. II. 321); called Tata, *ib.*; marriage of, to Edwin, *ib.* pp. 97, 98; Paulinus accompanies to Northumbria, *ib.* p. 98 and note; birth of her daughter Eanfled, *ib.* p. 99; letter of Boniface V to, ii. 11, pp. 104-106 and notes; retires with her children to Kent after the death



- of Edwin, ii. 20, pp. 125, 126 and notes; sends her son and grandson to Gaul for safety, *ib.* p. 126 and notes; II. 116; founds the monastery of Liming, after her return to Kent, *ib.*
- Aedilberg**, daughter of Anna, king of the East Angles, iii. 8, p. 142 and note; becomes abbess of Faremoutier-en-Brie, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 144); aunt of Earcongota, *ib.* p. 144; begins to build a church, *ib.*; her body found uncorrupted, and translated to the church of St. Stephen, *ib.*; confused with Aedilburga of Barking, II. 149, 217; possible Life of, II. 150.
- Aedilburga**, sister of Earconwald, who founds for her the monastery of Barking, iv. 6, pp. 218, 219 and notes; miraculous experience of, iv. 7, pp. 219, 220 and notes; vision at the time of her death, iv. 9, pp. 221, 222 and notes; miracle at her tomb, *ib.* pp. 222, 223; appears to a nun named Tortgyd, *ib.* pp. 223, 224 and note; succeeded by Hildilid, iv. 10, p. 224 and note; book of her life cited, *ib.* iv. 11, p. 225 (cf. iv. 7, p. 219 and note; p. xxiv note; confused with the preceding, II. 149, 217).
- Aedilfrid**, king of the Northumbrians, i. 34 and note; his successes against the Britons, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 75); defeats Aedan at Degsastan, *ib.* and notes; his brother Theobald slain, *ib.* and note; II. 10; defeats the Britons in the battle of Chester, ii. 2, p. 84 and notes; orders the massacre of the monks of Bangor, *ib.* and notes; persecutes Edwin, ii. 12, p. 107; II. 390; endeavours to force Redwald to kill or surrender him, ii. 12, pp. 107, 108; defeated and slain by Redwald in the battle of the Idle, *ib.* p. 110 and note (cf. II. 77, 93, 103); Eanfrid, son of, succeeds Edwin in Bernicia, iii. 1, p. 127 and notes; children of, in exile during Edwin's reign, and baptized among the Scotti, *ib.* and notes (cf. II. 93, 99, 120, 124, 161); called **Ædífred Fleamar**, II. 64; legends of, in the Triads, II. 64, 66; son of Ethelric, II. 93, 120; retains Deira with Bernicia, *ib.*; Acha wife of, II. 119, 124, 141, 165, 236; Bebbu wife of, according to Nennius, II. 141; not the father of Ebba, II. 236.
- Aedilheri**, king of the East Angles, brother and successor of Anna, iii. 24, p. 178 and note; caused the war between Oswy and Penda, *ib.* and note; slain in the battle of the Winwæd, *ib.* (cf. II. 106, 169); father of Aldwulf, II. 106.
- Aedilhild**, abbatisa, sister of Ethelwine and Aldwine, visits Queen Osthryth at Bardney, iii. 11, p. 149; still alive in Bede's time, *ib.*; demoniac cured in her monastery, *ib.* pp. 149, 150.
- Aedilhun**, son of Edwin and Ethelberg, ii. 14, p. 114; baptized, *ib.*; dies 'in albis,' and is buried at York, *ib.* and note.
- Aedilred**, king of the Mercians, succeeds his brother Wulfhere, v. 24, p. 354 and note (cf. II. 231); a great benefactor of the monastery of Bardney, iii. 11, p. 148 and notes; ravages Kent and Rochester, iv. 12, p. 228 and notes; v. 24, p. 355 (cf. II. 80, 215); Council of Hatfield in the reign of, iv. 17, p. 239 and note; battle of the Trent between Egfrid and, iv. 21 and notes (cf. II. 155, 215); Theodore makes peace between Egfrid and, *ib.* and notes; married to Osthryth, Egfrid's sister, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 154); Imma taken captive by a gesith of, iv. 22, p. 250 and note; orders Wilfrid to consecrate Oftfor, iv. 23, p. 255; becomes a monk and is succeeded by Cenred, v. 13, p. 311 and note; v. 24, pp. 355, 356 and note; II. 221; Ceolred, son of,

v. 19, p. 322; letter of Pope John VI to, *ib.* p. 327 (cf. II. 275); as abbot receives Wilfrid, and pleads his cause with Cenered, *ib.* p. 329 and note; said to have founded Bardney, II. 155; recovers Lindsey, *ib.*; spurious grants of, II. 154, 222; said to have expelled Wynfrid, II. 215; letter of Theodore to, II. 221, 326; probably conquers Dorchester, and sets up Ætla as bishop, II. 246; monk and abbot of Bardney, II. 154, 221, 327; Edwin's translation takes place in reign of, II. 116, 391; monastery of St. Peter's, Gloucester, founded under, p. cxiv.

**Ædilthryd**, daughter of Edwin and Ethelberg, ii. 14, p. 114; baptized, *ib.*; dies 'in albis,' and is buried at York, *ib.* and note.

**Ædilthryd**, daughter of Anna of East Anglia, iv. 19, p. 243 and notes; her first husband Tondbert, prince of the South Gyrwas, *ib.* and note; marries Egfrid of Northumbria, *ib.* and notes; remains a virgin, *ib.* and notes; Owine comes with, from East Anglia, iv. 3, pp. 207, 208 and notes; her chief thane and major-domo, *ib.* p. 208 and note; Wilfrid testifies to Bede of her virginity, iv. 19, p. 243 and note; enters Coldingham as a nun, receiving the veil from Wilfrid, *ib.* pp. 243, 244 and note (cf. II. 317); abbess of Ely, *ib.* p. 244 and note (cf. II. 245); her mode of life, *ib.* and notes (cf. pp. xxvi note, xxx note, xxxvi); dies and is succeeded by her sister Sexburgh, *ib.* and notes. cf. II. 195; stories connected with her death and translation, *ib.* pp. 244-246 and notes (cf. II. 242, 319, 324; found uncorrupted, *ib.* p. 245 and note (cf. II. 151); Bede's hymn in honour of, iv. 20, pp. 247, 248 and notes; her noble birth, *ib.* p. 248 (cf. II. 90); Imma a thane of, iv.

22, p. 251 and notes; grants the site for Hexham, II. 318; Lives of, II. 235; Egfrid marries Eormenburg before the death of, II. 236.

**Ædilualoh**, king of the South Saxons, iv. 13, p. 230 and note; baptized in Mercia, *ib.* and note; Wulfhere godfather, and grants Wight and the province of the Meanwari to, *ib.* and notes; promotes the conversion of his people by Wilfrid, *ib.*; grants Wilfrid land and its appurtenances at Selsey, *ib.* p. 232 and notes; slain by Cædwalla, iv. 15 and note; II. 229; does not christianise Wight, II. 228.

**Ædiluald**, king of the East Angles, brother of Anna, iii. 22, p. 174; godfather of Swidhelm of Essex, *ib.* and notes.

**Ædiluin**, **Ediluin**, bishop of Lindsey, iv. 12, p. 229 and note; brother of Ethelild and Aldwine, iii. 11, p. 149; brother of Ethelhun, iii. 27, p. 192; studies in Ireland, *ib.*; bishop of Lindsey for a long time, *ib.*

See also Adal-, Ægel-, Ael-, Agil-, Athel-, Edil-, Ethel-, Oidil-.

**Æduini**, king of the Northumbrians, born in 585, II. 93; the fifth of the seven great English kings, ii. 5, p. 89 and notes; extent of his power, *ib.* and notes; ii. 9, p. 97 and notes (cf. II. 390); reduces the Meauaniæ insulae, ii. 5, p. 89; ii. 9, p. 97 and notes; his power greater than any previous English king's, *ib.* and note; converted by Paulinus, *ib.* (cf. II. 390); marries Ethelberg, daughter of Ethelbert, *ib.* pp. 97, 98 and note; negotiates with Eadbald for the marriage, *ib.*; receives Paulinus, *ib.* p. 98; attempted assassination of, by a West Saxon emissary, *ib.* pp. 98, 99 and notes; saved by his thane Lilla, *ib.* p. 99 and note; birth of his daughter

(cf. II. 58 ; to his queen, Ethelberg, ii. 11, pp. 104 100 and notes ; care of Boniface V. conversion of, ii. 12, p. 109 ; exile at the court of Redwal, *ib.* p. 107 cf. II. 93, 390 ; mysterious experience there, *ib.* p. 107 110 and notes (cf. II. 5 390<sup>v</sup>) ; persecuted by Ethelfr of Northumbria, *ib.* p. 107 ; succeeds him, *ib.* p. 110 and not holds a witenagemót as to the adoption of Christianity, ii. 1 pp. 111, 112 and notes ; is himself converted, *ib.* p. 113 ; baptized at York, v. 24, p. 353 ; ii. 14, pp. 113, 114 and notes ; builds a wooden church at York, i. p. 114 and note (cf. II. 123) ; grants Paulinus a see at York, *ib.* ; begins a church of stone at York, *ib.* and note ; ii. 20, p. 125 his son Osfrid by his first wife Cwenburg, ii. 14, p. 114 and note (cf. II. 116) ; his children Ethelhun, Ethelthryth, and Wusefrea, by his second wife Ethelberg, *ib.* ; slain by pagans, *ib.* p. 115 ; converts Eorpwald of East Anglia, ii. 15, p. 115 and notes (cf. II. 93) ; presents Paulinus' baptisms in the Trent ii. 16, p. 117 ; peace in Britain under, *ib.* p. 118 and notes ; the 'tufa' carried before, *ib.* and

- v. 21, pp. 334-336; exodus of Israel from, one of Cædmon's subjects, iv. 24, p. 261; II. 253; nineteen-year cycle first adopted in, v. 21, p. 341 and note; observes the catholic Easter, iii. 25, p. 184; 'mater artium,' II. 349.
- Aelbert**, abbot of Cornu Vallis, Haa. § 29; II. 368.
- Aelfied**, **Aelfied**, daughter of Oswy and Eanfled, iii. 24, p. 178 (cf. II. 90, 391); devoted to God by Oswy, *ib.* and note; enters the monastery of Hartlepool, *ib.* p. 179 and note; transferred to Whitby, *ib.*; becomes abbess of Whitby, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 116, 391); dies and is buried there, *ib.* and notes; joint abbess with her mother, iv. 26, p. 267 and note (cf. II. 185, 245); a friend of St. Cuthbert, II. 185; letter of, to Adolana, abbess of Palentz, *ib.*; helps to restore Wilfrid, *ib.*; II. 326; John of Hexham trained under, II. 274; translation of Edwin takes place under, II. 391.
- Aelfric**, uncle of Edwin, father of Osric, iii. 1, p. 127 (cf. II. 186).
- ÆLFRIC**, II. 55; his colloquies cited, II. 6; Hexameron ascribed to, II. 7; homily on St. Alban, taken from Bede, II. 18; homily on St. Gregory, cited, II. 42; homily on St. Fursa, II. 169; on St. Ethelthryth, II. 235; on Imma, II. 243; on Drythelm, II. 295.
- Aelfuini**, **Ælfuini**, brother of Egfrid, slain in the battle of the Trent, iv. 21 and notes; v. 24, p. 355; II. 318; styled king, iv. 22, p. 249 and note; Imma one of his thanes, *ib.* and note; called 'rex Christianissimus,' II. 86, 243; probably underking of Deira, II. 120, 243.  
*See also Alf.*
- Aelli**, king of the South Saxons, the first of the seven great English kings, ii. 5, p. 89 and note.
- Aelli**, king of the Deiri, ii. 1, p. 80 and note; II. 72, 390; father of Edwin, II. 93, 390; said to have been slain by Ethelric, *ib.*; son of Yffi, II. 119; his death, II. 120; Acha daughter of, II. 161.
- ÆLPHEGUS**, v. **Alphege**.
- Ænheri**, of the Hwiccas, brother of Eanfrid, iv. 13, p. 230 and note; a Christian, *ib.*
- Æodboldus**, ii. 7, p. 95; ii. 9, p. 97; v. **Eadbald**.
- Æosterwyni**, v. **Eosterwyni**.
- Æequinoctium**, v. **Baeda**, **Equinox**.
- Æscwine**, son of Cenfus, reigns in Wessex, II. 220, 221.
- Æsica**, name of a little boy in the monastery of Barking, iv. 8 and notes; dies there, *ib.*
- Ætherius**, **Etherius**, archbishop of Arles (really bishop of Lyons), Gregory commends Augustine to, i. 24 and note; Augustine consecrated by (really by Vergilius), i. 27, p. 48 and note; letter of Gregory to, II. 40.
- ÆTHIOPS**, II. 72.
- Ætius**, patricius, consul with Simmachus, i. 13 and note; implored to send help to Britain, *ib.* (cf. II. 27); his struggle against the Huns, *ib.*; put to death by Valentinianus, i. 21, p. 41 and note; his adherents murder Valentinianus, *ib.* and note; orders the Alani to attack the Armoricans, II. 34.
- Ætla**, bishop of Dorchester, iv. 23, p. 254 and note; educated under Hild at Whitby, *ib.*; wrongly identified by H. & S. with Hædde, II. 245; probably appointed by Ethelred of Mercia, II. 246; not found in episcopal lists, *ib.*
- Æfer**, **Æfr**, Severus and Abbot Hadrian Africans, i. 5; iv. 1, p. 202; v. **Eustatius**.
- Africa**, observes the catholic Easter, iii. 25, p. 184; daily communion the rule in, *Ee.* § 15; overrun by the Saracens, II. 339.

and note ; Hab. § 6, p. 360 and note ; receives Benedict Biscop and gives him a charter of privileges for his monastery, *ib.* and notes ; Hab. § 15, p. 386. Haa. §§ 16, 20 (cf. II. 300) orders John to inquire into the orthodoxy of the English Church, iv. 18, pp. 241, 242 and note ; receives his report after his death, *ib.* p. 242 ; Wilfrid pleads his first appeal before v. 19, p. 326 and note ; Council of Rome under, against the Monothelites, *ib.* pp. 326, 327 and notes (cf. II. 230) ; his decision on Wilfrid's case in this council cited in Wilfrid's second appeal *ib.* pp. 327, 328 ; gives books to Benedict Biscop, p. xix note said to have sanctioned the location of the West Saxon see at Winchester, II. 144 ; spurious grant of, to Chertsey, II. 217.

**Agatho**, a priest in attendance on Agilbert, iii. 25, p. 183 ; accompanies him to the Synod of Whithy, *ib.*

**AODE**, Council of, II. 212.

**'agenda'** = mass, II. 80, 81.

**Agilbert**, bishop of the West Saxons and of Paris, II. 144, 145 ; a Gaul by birth, iii. 7, p. 140 and note ; studies in Ireland, *ib.* and notes (cf. II. 196) ; comes

- Verolanium, on June 22, *ib.* p. 21 and notes; tomb of, visited by Germanus and Lupus, i. 18; intercession of, for their safe return, i. 20, p. 39; earliest mention of, II. 18; monastery of, said to have been founded by Offa, II. 20; Passion of, used by Bede, p. xxiv note; II. 17; called 'protomartyr Anglorum,' II. 17, 18, 20 (cf. II. 153); Ælfric's homily on, II. 18; church of, at Auxerre, built by St. Germanus, II. 3; lections on, I. 424; date of, I. 434.
- ALBANUS, St., of Mainz, confused with the British St. Alban, II. 18.
- ALBANUS, St., transference of Oedipus myth to, II. 18.
- 'albatus,' 'in albis,' II. 103, 280, 281.
- ALBERIC OF TROIS FONTAINES, his account of Bede cited, p. lxxviii note.
- Albinus, abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, letter of Bede to, I. 3; sends gifts and letters to Bede, *ib.*; instigates Bede to write the H. E., *ib.*; Pref. p. 7; helps him in it, I. 3; Pref. p. 6 and notes (cf. II. 13, 28, 45); Bede sends him the H. E., and the De Templo, I. 3; asks his prayers, *ib.*; a pupil of Theodore and Hadrian, Pref. p. 6; v. 20, p. 331 (cf. II. 205); succeeds Hadrian as abbot of SS. Peter and Paul, Canterbury, *ib.* (cf. II. 2); his knowledge of Greek and Latin, *ib.* and note; p. xviii note; furnishes Bede with documents, II. 2.
- ALBINUS, v. Alcuin.
- ALBINUS, martyr, confused with the British St. Alban, II. 18.
- Albion, ancient name of Britain, i. 1, p. 9.
- ALBUM CONGREGATIONIS, p. xxviii; II. 227, 273.
- Alohfled, daughter of Oswy, marries Peada, prince of the Middle Angles, iii. 21, pp. 169, 170 and note; said to have instigated his murder, iii. 24, p. 180 (cf. II. 175).
- Alohfried, son of Oswy, opposed to his father, iii. 14, p. 154 and note (cf. II. 198); persuades Peada to become a Christian, iii. 21, p. 170; married to Cyniburga, daughter of Penda, *ib.* and note; fights against Penda in the battle of the Winwæd, iii. 24, p. 178 (cf. II. 162); on the Roman side in the Easter question, iii. 25, p. 182 (cf. II. 323); a pupil and friend of Wilfrid, *ib.* and note; v. 19, p. 325 and notes; II. 317; grants Wilfrid land at Stamford, v. 19, p. 325 and note (cf. II. 317); grants Wilfrid the monastery of Ripon, which he had formerly granted to the Irish party, *ib.* and notes; iii. 25, pp. 182, 183 and notes (cf. II. 193, 317); Agilbert a friend of, *ib.* p. 183; requests Agilbert to ordain Wilfrid priest, *ib.*; v. 19, p. 325; attends the Synod of Whitby, iii. 25, p. 183; sends Wilfrid to Gaul to be consecrated, iii. 28, p. 194 and notes; v. 19, p. 325 and note; forbidden by his father Oswy to go to Rome with Benedict Biscop, Hab. § 2; under-king of Deira, II. 120, 189, 243, 323; friend of Cenwalh of Wessex, II. 143, 187, 322; memorial cross to, at Bewcastle, II. 176, 198; disappears from history after 664, *ib.*; probably not father of Osric of Northumbria, II. 338.
- Alolnith, Dumbarton, a strong city of the Britons, i. 1, p. 13; firth of, separates Picts and Britons, *ib.*; Scotti settle to North of, *ib.*; meaning of the name, i. 12, p. 26 and note; Roman wall terminates near, *ib.*; expedition of Eadbert and Oengus against, II. 346.
- ALCUIN, his lines on Bede, p. x note; relates an anecdote of Bede, pp. xii, xiii; relates a miracle worked by Bede's relics, p. lxxix

note; urges his example of diligence, p. xvii; founds schools in St. Martin's at Tours, *ib.* note; importance of, pp. xviii note, xx note; trained at York, pp. xviii note, xxiv; II. 379; librarian of the York library, *ib.*; founder of Frankish education, p. xxiv; name of, inscribed in the Album Congregationis of Wearmouth, p. xxvii note; Life of, cited, pp. xxxvi, lxxii note; II. 91; praises Bede's style, p. liv; his Lives of Wilbrord, *r.* Uilbrord; called *Saint* Alcuin, p. c; extracts from, *ib.*; uses Bede's *De Orthographia*, pp. cxlv, cxlvi note; his mistake about Bede's Lives of Cuthbert, p. cxlvii note; asks for a copy of Bede's *In Librum Tobiae*, p. clii; cites Bede's hymn on the six ages, p. cliii; poem called *Cuculus* probably by, p. clviii; gives the name of *Cuculus* to one of his disciples, *ib.* note; sends a MS. to Arno of Salzburg, p. clix note; II. 240; his account of Roman York, II. 17; asks Leo III for pallium for Eanbald II, II. 51; his mention of St. Gregory, II. 67; on the extent of Edwin's dominions, II. 86; superintends the rebuilding of York Cathedral, II. 102; sends a covering for tomb of St. Nynias, II. 129; his poem on the destruction of Lindisfarne, II. 166; his character of Bosa, II. 223; head of the monastery of St. Martin's at Tours, II. 234, 258; has not the gift of tears, II. 268; stops a fire by prayer, II. 269; his account of Wilfrid II, II. 278; relation of, to Charles the Great, II. 287; lines of, on Drythelm, II. 296, 297; asks a correspondent to send him paints, II. 360; his character of Eadbert and Egbert, II. 379; his love of correcting others, II. 380; letters of, to Gisla, p. xix note; to Ethelbald, abbot of Wearmouth, p. xxvii

note; to the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow, pp. xvii, xxxii note; II. 180, 259, 366; to the monks of York, p. xxxiii note; to Archbishop Ethelhard, II. 33, 36, 89, 266, 380; perhaps modelled on Bede's letter to Egbert, *ib.*; to various persons, urging the study of Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*, II. 70; to Ethelred of Northumbria, II. 126; to the monks of Candida Casa, II. 129, 161; to the English monks of Mayo, II. 210; to Hygbald of Lindisfarne, II. 70, 249; to the monks of Lindisfarne, II. 259; to the monks of Hexham, *ib.*; to Charles the Great, II. 280.

**Aldbert**, bishop of part of the East Angles (Dunwich) in 731, v. 23, p. 350 and note.

**Aldfrid**, king of the Northumbrians, his learning, v. 12, p. 309; iv. 26, p. 268 and note; said to be son of Oswy and brother of Egfrid, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 175); succeeds Egfrid, *ib.*; v. 19, p. 327; v. 1, p. 282; Ethelwald's life on Farne falls in the reign of, *ib.* and note; Eata dies at beginning of reign of, v. 2, p. 282 and note; Cædwalla resigns in the third year of, v. 7, p. 292; hears Drythelm narrate his vision when he visits Melrose, v. 12, pp. 309, 310 and notes; II. 294; Adamnan comes on a mission to, v. 21, p. 344; v. 15, p. 315 and note; receives from him his book on the holy places, *ib.* pp. 316, 317; gives it to others to read, *ib.* p. 317; dismisses Adamnan with gifts, *ib.*; dies and is succeeded by his son Osred, v. 18, p. 320 and note; v. 19, p. 329 and note; v. 24, p. 356 (cf. p. cxlvi); Wilfrid restored under, v. 19, p. 327 and notes; expelled again by, *ib.* and note; letter of Pope John VI to, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 275); refuses to receive Wilfrid, *ib.* p. 329 and note;

- II. 320; Benedict Biscop buys land of, *Hab.* § 9 and note; Biscop arranges, and Ceolfrid carries out, exchange of a MS. for land with, *Hab.* § 15, p. 380 (cf. II. 264); confirms the papal privilege granted to Ceolfrid, *ib.*; grants land to Witmer, at Dalton, *ib.* and note; Ceolfrid made abbot of Wearmouth in the third year of, *Haa.* § 17; growth of false monasteries after death of, *Ee.* § 13 and notes; II. 388; decline of Northumbria after, p. xxxiii; II. 306; character of his reign, *ib.*; Oswald confused with, II. 159; his succession foretold by Cuthbert, II. 263; an exile in Iona and Ireland, *ib.* (cf. II. 337); Egfrid wanted to make him a bishop, *ib.*; called Fland Fina by the Irish, *ib.*; his mother possibly Irish, *ib.*; a pupil of Adamnan, *ib.*; relations of, with Aldhelm, II. 264, 312; marries Cuthburga, II. 264; probably younger than Egfrid, *ib.*; his opposition to Wilfrid, *ib.*; charges his heir to make peace with Wilfrid, II. 306; called Acircius by Aldhelm, II. 309, 311, 312; Bede's admiration for, II. 316; letter of Theodore to, about Wilfrid, II. 326; probably father of Osric of Northumbria, II. 337, 338.
- Aldgils**, king of the Frisians, receives Wilfrid honourably, v. 19, p. 326 and note.
- Aldhelm**, bishop of Sherborne, priest and abbot of Malmesbury, v. 18, p. 320 and note; Pehthelm a deacon and monk under, *ib.* (cf. II. 343); made bishop of part of Wessex on the death of Hædde, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 144); writes a book against the errors of the Britons, *ib.* pp. 320, 321 and notes (cf. II. 114, 192, 301); his other works, *ib.* p. 321 and notes (cf. II. 309); dies, and is succeeded by Forthere, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 101); Bede's admiration for, p. liv; note on, p. cxxv note; his views on virginity and marriage, II. 54; his judgement of St. Gregory, II. 67; said to have degenerated after becoming a bishop, II. 68; letters of, to Eahfrid, II. 196; to Hadrian, II. 205, 309; a pupil of Hadrian, *ib.* *ib.*; his De Virginitate dedicated to Hildilid, II. 219; cited, II. 241, 259 (cf. II. 300); cites St. Gregory, II. 259; relations of Aldfrid to, II. 264, 312; his poem on Cædwalla, II. 278, 279; a friend of Ini, II. 281; and of Bertwald, II. 283; letter of, to Hædde, II. 307; Lives of, by Faricius and W. M., II. 308, 309; his skill as a minstrel and poet, II. 309; Alfred's opinion of his poetry, *ib.*; visits Rome, *ib.*; builds chapel of St. Lawrence at Bradford-on-Avon, *ib.*; chronology of life of, *ib.*; dies at Doulting, *ib.*; buried at Malmesbury, *ib.*; canonised by Lanfranc, *ib.*; a pupil of Maelduib, II. 309, 310; order of his works, II. 312; his learning, *ib.*; his style, *ib.*; question of biblical text used by, II. 313; letter of, to Wilfrid's clergy, II. 327; his statement as to the bitterness of British priests against the Saxons, II. 352, 353.
- ALDRED**, priest, author of the Northumbrian gloss in the Lindisfarne Gospels, II. 298.
- ALD SAXONES**, II. 261; v. *Saxones Antiqui*.
- Alduini**, abbot of Partney, brother of Ethelild and Ethelwine, iii. 11, p. 149.
- Alduini**, bishop of Lichfield, and of the province of the Mercians, v. 23, p. 350 and note; one of the consecrators of Archbishop Tatwin, *ib.*; alive in 731, *ib.*; called Worr, II. 341; succeeds Hedda, *ib.*
- Aldulf**, king of the East Angles, iv. 23, p. 253; ii. 15, p. 116 and



- notes; son of Ethelhere, II. 106; and of Hereswith, sister of Hild, iv. 23, p. 253; alive in Bede's time, ii. 15, p. 116; had seen in his youth the fane in which Redwald had placed Christian and pagan altars, *ib.* and note; Council of Hatfield in the reign of, iv. 17, p. 239 and note (cf. II. 107); succeeded Ethelwald, and succeeded by Alfwold, II. 106; dates of his accession and death, II. 107.
- ALDUULF**, bishop of Rochester, consecrated by Bertwald in succession to Tobias, v. 23, p. 349 and note; one of the consecrators of Archbishop Tatwin, *ib.* p. 350; succeeded by Dun, II. 338.
- ALEXANDER VI**, pope, epigram on, II. 383.
- ALEXANDER**, bishop of Lincoln, p. cvii.
- ALEXANDRIA**, visited by Arculfus, v. 15, p. 316 and note; St. Mark establishes the apostolic Easter tradition at, v. 21, p. 337 and note; the bishop of, used to announce the date of Easter annually to the churches, *ib.* p. 341 and note; Theophilus bishop of, *ib.* and note; Cyril bishop of, *ib.*; II. 232; Arianism originates at, II. 20; Eulogius bishop of, II. 44; Paschal rules mainly worked out at, II. 349, 352.
- ALEXIUS**, St., confessor, Life of, p. cvi.
- ALFRED**, king, his translation of Bede's H. E., p. cxxviii. note; his translation of Gregory's Cura Pastoralis, II. 56, 380; called king of the Gewissas, II. 89; has his children instructed in the Psalter, II. 139; his 'hand boc' used by W. M., II. 308; his opinion of Aldhelm's poetry, II. 309.
- ALFRED**, sacrist of Durham, concentrates relics of Northern saints at Durham, II. 158, 266.
- ALFWOLD**, king of the East Angles, brother and successor of Aldwulf, II. 106, 107; cf. II. xxvi.
- ALFWOLD**, king of the Northumbrians, murdered, II. 159.
- See also Aelf.*
- ALLECTUS**, causes Carausius to be killed, and seizes Britain, i. 6; put down by Asclepiodotus, *ib.*
- ALLEGORICAL METHOD**, pp. lvi-lix; II. 70; laws and rules of, pp. lix-lxi note.
- ALLEN**, Thomas, former owner of MS. O., p. cviii.
- ALMARICUS** de Leues uilla, p. c.
- Alne**, fluuius, Twyford near, iv. 28, p. 272.
- ALNMOUTH**, identified with Ad Tuifyrdi, II. 268.
- ALPHABETIC POEMS**, II. 241.
- ALPHEGE**, St., found uncorrupted after death, II. 240; parish of, in Canterbury, II. 43.
- ALRIC**, son of Heardbert, slain, II. 338.
- Alric**, son and co-heir of Witred king of Kent, v. 23, p. 348 and note.
- altare versus ara**, II. 60; portable altars, II. 289.
- ALTSIG**, abbot of York, letter of Lupus of Ferrara to, p. clv note.
- Aluchred**, king of the Northumbrians, accession of, C. 765.
- Aluic**, bishop of Lindsey, consecrated by Tatwin, C. 733.
- AMALRIC**, v. Almaricus.
- AMBLETEUSE**, v. Amfleat.
- AMBRONES**, II. 261; v. Hymbro-nenses.
- Ambrosius**, Sanctus, cited. Ee. § 5 and note; pp. lxxv. clxii; II. 275; use made by Bede of, p. 1 (cf. p. lxiii); extracts from, p. c; his Hexameron, II. 7; the first to use the term 'missa,' II. 44; the founder of church music, II. 118; biblical quotation of Bede agrees with, II. 394; v. Chanting.
- Ambrosius Aurelianus**, of Roman origin, leads the Britons against the Saxons, i. 16 and note.
- Amfleat**, Ambleteuse, Abbot Peter drowned and buried at, i. 33 and note; James II lands at, in 1689, II. 64.

**AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS**, cited, II. 9, 10, 34.

**AMPHIBALUS**, St., origin of myth of, II. 17, 26.

**ANACLETUS**, v. Cletus.

**Ananias**, example of, cited, Ee. § 16, p. 420; § 17, p. 422 and note.

**Anastasis**, church built on the site of the Resurrection, v. 16, p. 317 and note.

**Anastasius**, Sanctus, Bede corrects the translation of the Life of, v. 24, p. 359; p. cliv.

**Anatolius**, bishop of Laodicea, the Celts allege authority of, in favour of their Easter rules, iii. 3, p. 131; iii. 25, pp. 186, 187 and notes; cycle of nineteen years ascribed to, *ib.* p. 187; II. 351; Bede's letter on the equinox according to, v. 24, p. 359; v. Baeda; canon ascribed to, a forgery, II. 191.

**ANCHORITES**, pp. xxx, xxxi note; II. 172; manual labour of, p. xxv note.

**ANDELEY**, v. In Andilegum.

**Andhun**, a royal 'dux' of the South Saxons, expels Cædwalla from Sussex, iv. 15 and note; rules the South Saxons, *ib.*

**Andilegum**, v. In And.

**Andreas**, beatus, apostolus, church of, in Rochester, p. cxxvi; built by Ethelbert, ii. 3, p. 85 and notes; rebuilt by Lanfranc, II. 162; 'secretarium' of, built by Ethelbert, iii. 14, p. 154 and note; Paulinus buried in, *ib.* (cf. II. 80); porticus of St. Paul built in, by Bishop Tobias, v. 23, pp. 348, 349; church of, at Hexham, beautified by Acca, v. 20, p. 331; monastery of, at Rome, founded by Gregory, II. 38; tract on the cultus of, in Scotland, p. cvii.

**Andreas**, monachus, suggested as archbishop of Canterbury by Abbot Hadrian, iv. 1, p. 202; declines on account of illness, *ib.*

**ANDRED**, v. Ondred.

**Androgis**, 'dux' of the Trinovantes, surrenders to Caesar, i. 2, p. 14.

**ANFRITH**, v. Eanfrid.

**ANGERS**, Licinius bishop of, II. 40.

**ANGLESEY**, extent of, II. 40, 41, 94; the granary of North Wales, II. 41; origin of name, II. 94; applied by W. M. to Man, II. 94; v. Meuaniae.

**Angli**, i. 23, p. 42; i. 27, p. 49; i. 30, p. 65; i. 31, p. 66; i. 34; ii. 1, p. 79; one of three German tribes who settle in Britain, i. 15, p. 31 (cf. v. 9, p. 296 and notes); East Angles, Mediterranean Angles, Mercians, and Northumbrians derived from, *ib.* and note; Britons neglect to evangelise, i. 22 and note; ii. 2, p. 83 and note; v. 22, p. 347 and note; their mode of reckoning by hides, i. 25, p. 45 and note; ii. 9, p. 99; iii. 4, p. 133; iv. 16, p. 237; Haa. § 33; name of inhabitants of Britain, ii. 1, p. 80; II. 390; Edwin the most powerful of, up to his time, ii. 9, p. 99; date of their arrival in Britain, i. 15, p. 30 and note; ii. 14, p. 114; v. 23, p. 351; v. 24, pp. 352, 353; religion of, despised by the Britons in Bede's time, ii. 20, p. 125 and note (cf. II. 353); children of, taught by teachers of the Scotti, iii. 3, p. 132 (cf. II. 193); Birinus wishes to evangelise the inland districts of, iii. 7, p. 139; many of, go or send their children to Gaul for the sake of monastic discipline, iii. 8, p. 142 and notes; few monasteries in district of, *ib.* and notes; Adda, Betti, and Cedd belong to, iii. 21, p. 170; Ethelhun and Egbert noble youths of, iii. 27, p. 192 and note; the Scotti among, adopt catholic practices or withdraw, iii. 28, p. 195; Theodore's times the happiest since arrival of, in Britain, iv. 2, p. 205; dissensions of, with Scotti in monastery of Inisboffin, iv. 4, p. 213; remove to Mayo, *ib.*; Mayo still inhabited by, in Bede's

**Angli** (*continued*).

time, *ib.* p. 214 and note; report on the faith of, sent to Rome after the Synod of Hatfield, iv. 18, p. 242 and note; Picts recover their lands held by, iv. 26, p. 267 and note; Abercorn situated in the region of, *ib.* and note; Firth of Forth separates the lands of, from the Picts, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 224); called Garmani by the Britons, v. 9, p. 296 and note; Benedict Biscop belongs to the nobles of, v. 19, p. 323; model their religion on the Roman Church, v. 21, p. 332; Naiton rejoices at the gift received from the land of, *ib.* p. 345; Britons partly subject to, in 731, v. 23, p. 351; Benedict Biscop brings John the archchanter to, Hab. § 6, p. 369; about eighty of, accompany Ceolfred, Hab. §§ 21, 23; nobles of, resort to Ireland for study, Haa. § 3 and note; Ceolfred comes from the regions of, Haa. § 37; alleged to belong to Scotia (!), p. xxxix note; St. Alban called protomartyr of, II. 17, 18; Vortigern called 'dux' of, II. 18; Gregory wishes to train slave-boys of, as missionaries, II. 37; connexion of the Franks with, II. 41; Frankish bishops neglect to convert, *ib.*; Augustine baptizes 10,000 of, II. 44; devotion of, to the see of Rome, II. 67; the spiritual sons of St. Gregory, *ib.*; importance of the battle of Denisesburn to, II. 122.

Anglorum ecclesia, i. 27, pp. 48, 49, 52; i. 29, p. 63 and note (cf. ii. 4, p. 87); Mellitus consults Boniface IV about, ii. 4, p. 88 and note; well ruled by Mellitus and Justus, ii. 7, p. 94; Oswy and Egbert of Kent confer upon the condition of, iii. 29, p. 196 and note; ask for Wighard to be consecrated archbishop of, iv. 1, p. 201; the whole of, submits to Theodore, iv. 2, p. 204 and note; John the archchanter

ordered to report on the orthodoxy of, iv. 18, p. 241. Anglorum ecclesiae, decrees of a Roman Synod conveyed to, by Mellitus, ii. 4, p. 88 and note; Wilfrid teaches orthodox practices to, iii. 28, p. 195; iv. 2, p. 205 and note; Wighard to ordain catholic bishops for, iii. 29, p. 196; Vitalian seeks an archbishop for, iv. 1, p. 202; chanting learnt by, under Theodore, iv. 2, p. 205; Theodore desires to preserve from heresy of Eutyches, iv. 17, p. 238 and note; progress of, under Theodore, v. 8, p. 295; Adamnan studies the customs of, v. 15, p. 315; Benedict Biscop brings relics from Rome for, Hab. § 6, p. 369. Anglorum gentis ecclesia, consents to the sending of Wighard to Rome, iii. 29, p. 196 and note. Anglorum gens, i. 1, p. 9; i. 7, p. 21; i. 27, pp. 51, 54; i. 32, pp. 67, 68; ii. 2, p. 84; ii. 3, p. 85; iv. 23, p. 253; Bede's Ecclesiastical History of, v. Baeda; conversion of, Pref. p. 6; ii. 1, p. 73; invited into Britain by Vortigern, i. 15, p. 30; Augustine sent by Gregory to convert, i. 23, p. 42 and note; ii. 5, p. 89; v. 24, p. 353; their pagan religion, i. 25, p. 46; i. 30, p. 65 and notes; conversion of, announced to Gregory, i. 27, p. 48 and note; Britons made tributary to, i. 34 and note; kings of the Scotti after Aedan do not venture to attack, *ib.* and note; Augustine urges the Britons to evangelise, ii. 2, p. 83 and note; seven great kings of, ii. 5, p. 89 and notes; Oswald rules over (i.e. the Northumbrians), iii. 3, p. 131; Whithorn belonged to, in Bede's time, iii. 4, p. 133 and notes; Aidan's predecessor fails to convert, iii. 5, p. 137 and notes; Aidan converts, iii. 6, p. 137; v. 22, p. 347; Wilfrid belongs to, iv. 2, p. 205 and note; many of, resort to Ireland

for study, iii. 27, p. 192 and notes; about thirty of, retire with Colman from Lindisfarne, iv. 4, p. 213; Colman sent from Hii to preach to, *ib.*; many of, slain, enslaved, or put to flight by the Picts, iv. 26, p. 267; many of, go to Rome, v. 7, p. 294 and notes (cf. II. 366); Wilfrid destined to be bishop of, v. 19, p. 324; Wilfrid answers for faith of islands inhabited by, *ib.* pp. 326, 327 and notes; II. 230; Naiton, king of the Picts, seeks help from, v. 21, p. 332; Irish Paschal errors reformed by, v. 22, p. 347 and note; the Picts and Scotti in Britain at peace with, in 731, v. 23, p. 351 and note; hatred of the Britons to, *ib.*: II. 352, 353; Benedict Biscop belongs to a noble family of, IIab. § 1; learns the art of glass-making from Benedict's foreign workmen, Hab. § 5 and notes; Ceolfred resolves to exile himself from, IIaa. § 27; inertia of, p. xxii note; headship of, said to be at Canterbury, II. 92.

Anglorum gentes. Ethelbert rules over all, south of the Humber, ii. 3, p. 85 (cf. II. 85); Theodore traverses all parts occupied by, iv. 2, p. 204.

Anglorum genus, blind man of, cured by Augustine, ii. 2, p. 82; Cadwalla threatens to exterminate, from Britain, ii. 20, p. 125; Wighard belongs to, iv. 1, p. 201. Anglorum imperium, Man and Anglesey subject to, ii. 5, p. 89; ii. 9, p. 97 and note; province of the Picts subject to, iv. 12, p. 229 and note.

Anglorum lingua, i. 12, p. 26; ii. 2, p. 82; ii. 16, p. 117; iii. 1, p. 128; iii. 2, p. 129; iii. 19, p. 164; iv. 19, p. 245; v. 2, p. 284; one of the five languages of Britain, i. 1, p. 11 and note; one of four languages, iii. 6, p. 138 and note; Wilfrid speaks in, at the Synod of Whitby, iii. 25, p. 184 and note; Aidan

imperfectly acquainted with, iii. 3, p. 132 and note; Albinus' native tongue, v. 20, p. 331 and note; Bede translates the Creed and Lord's Prayer into, Ee. § 5 and note. Anglorum natio, Britons refuse to evangelise, ii. 2, p. 83 and note; Egbert belongs to, iii. 4, p. 134; Trumhere belongs to, iii. 21, p. 171; iii. 24, p. 179; twelve boys of, brought up by Aidan, iii. 26, p. 190 and note; term applied to the Northumbrians, ii. 9, p. 97; to the East Angles, ii. 15, p. 116; Irish always most friendly to, iv. 26, p. 266; the two Hewalds belong to, v. 10, p. 299; Wilfrid saved by belonging to, v. 19, p. 325 and note.

Anglorum populi (i. e. Anglian tribes), i. 15, p. 31; northern and southern, divided by Humber, i. 25, p. 45 and note; subject to Edwin, ii. 5, p. 89; their custom in the time of Cuthbert, iv. 27, p. 269 and note; Britons neglect to evangelise, v. 22, p. 347 and note; Britons remain unorthodox after the conversion of, *ib.* and note.

Anglorum provincia, many from, resort to Mayo, iv. 4, p. 214; = East Anglia, iii. 19, p. 167; = Northumbria, iii. 26, p. 189.

Anglorum provinciae, ruled by Oswald, evangelised by missionaries of the Scotti, iii. 3, p. 132. Anglorum regnum, II. 92; Oswy subjugates the Picts to, iii. 24, p. 180 and note; decline of, dates from the death of Egfrid, iv. 26, p. 267.

Anglorum rex, Ethelbert of Kent, i. 32, p. 67; Ethelfrid of Northumbria, ii. 2, p. 84; Edwin of Northumbria, ii. 10, p. 100; ii. 17, p. 119; Redwald of East Anglia, ii. 12, p. 107; Aldfrid of Northumbria, v. 15, p. 315.

Anglorum reges, Uric and Eanfrid (Deira and Bernicia), iii. 1, p. 128; iii. 9, p. 145; Oswy and Egbert of Kent, iii. 29, p.

**Angli** (*continued*).

196 and note; Ethelred of Mercia and Aldfrid of Northumbria, v. 19, p. 327; Earconbert of Kent the first of, to enforce destruction of idols and observance of Lent, iii. 8, p. 142 and note. Anglorum sermo, Kentish dooms written in, ii. 5, p. 90 and note; v. Saxones.

ANGLIA, use of the term, a mark of forgery, II. 111 (cf. II. 149); Offa's Dyke separates Wales from, II. 152; derivation of the name from 'angulus,' II. 29, 72, 192.

**Angli Mediterranei**, i. 15, p. 31; also called Middilangli, iii. 21, p. 169 and note; converted under their prince Peada, *ib.* and notes; v. 24, p. 354; Diuma dies and is buried among, iii. 21, p. 171; iii. 24, p. 179 and note; Wilfrid administers the bishopric of, iv. 23, p. 255; II. 319. Anglorum Mediterraneorum episcopus, Diuma, iii. 21, p. 171; Sexwulf, iv. 12, p. 229 and note.

Anglorum Mediterraneorum prouincia, Oswy sends for Cedd from, iii. 22, p. 172; Diuma first bishop in, iii. 24, p. 179 and note; Wynfrid bishop of, iv. 3, p. 212; Wulfhere king in, *ib.*

**Angli Orientales**, i. 15, p. 31 and note; materials for history of, derived by Bede partly from Albinus and Nothelm, partly from writings and traditions, partly from Abbot Esi, Pref. pp. 6, 7; ascendancy won by Redwald for, ii. 5, p. 89 and note; defeated by the Mercians, iii. 18 and note; Ceolfred visits, Haa. § 4; called 'stout-heris,' II. 86; conversion of, II. 93; confusion of, with East Saxons, II. 217, 315. Anglorum Orientalium episcopus, Felix, iii. 20 and note; Bisi, iv. 5, pp. 215, 217; II. 108; Herfast, II. 108; Herbert Losinga, *ib.* Anglorum Orientalium gens, Ethelwald king of, iii. 22, p. 174 and note.

Anglorum Orientalium prouincia, Fursa comes to, iii. 19, p. 163 (cf. *ib.* p. 167); Swidhelm of Essex baptized in, iii. 22, p. 174; Owine comes with Ethelthryth from, iv. 3, p. 208; divided into two bishoprics, iv. 5, p. 217 and note (cf. II. 108); Ely situated in, iv. 19, p. 246; Ethelthryth belongs to, *ib.*; Hild retires to, iv. 23, p. 253 and note; Aldbert and Hadulac bishops of, in 731, v. 23, p. 350 and note; cessation of see of, II. 108. Anglorum Orientalium regnum, Sigbert governs, iii. 18.

Anglorum Orientalium rex, Redwald, ii. 5, p. 89 and notes; Earpwald, ii. 15, p. 115 and notes; Anna, iii. 7, p. 140 and notes; iil. 8, p. 142; iii. 24, p. 178; iv. 19, p. 243; Aldwulf, iv. 23, p. 253 (cf. II. 106, 107); Offa (wrongly), II. 217; v. Estrangli.

ANGLI-SAXONES, II. 279.

ANGLUS, as a term of praise, II. 308. **Angulus**, the original country of the Angli, left desert on their migration into Britain, i. 15, p. 31 and note.

'ANGULUS,' Anglia derived from, II. 29, 72, 192.

ANGUS, king of Fortrenn, defeats Nechtan, II. 331.

**Anna**, king of the East Angles, receives Cenwalh on his expulsion from Wessex, iii. 7, p. 140 and notes (cf. II. 169); converts him to Christianity, *ib.* and notes; his saintly progeny, *ib.* and notes; iii. 18; his step-daughter Saethryd, his daughters Ethelberg and Sexburgh, iii. 8, p. 142 and notes; II. 144, 217; son of Eni, iii. 18 and note; succeeds Egric, and slain by Penda, *ib.* and notes; a benefactor of St. Fursa's monastery of Cnobheresburg, iii. 19, p. 164; Ethelwald of East Anglia his brother, iii. 22, p. 174; Ethelhere his brother and successor, iii. 24, p. 178; II. 244; his

- daughter Ethelthryth, iv. 19, p. 243 and notes; II. 144; buried at Blythburgh, II. 169; wrongly made husband of Hereswith, II. 244.
- '*annale*,' meaning of the word, II. 227.
- ANNALS*, keeping of, prior to Bede, II. 121.
- ANNEMUNDUS*, archbishop of Lyons, wrongly called Dalfinus by Bede, II. 316, 317, 321, 322; v. Dalfinus.
- ANSCHIS*, form of the name of Hengist, II. 28.
- ANSELM V*, archbishop of Milan, II. 51.
- ANSELM*, archbishop of Canterbury, miracle at the burial of, II. 220.
- Antiochia*, Barnabas teaches at, Haa. § 6; John bishop of, II. 233.
- ANTIPHONAL SINGING*, II. 364.
- ANTIPHONS*, pp. lxxiv, clxi; II. 43.
- Antiqui Saxones*, v. *Saxones Antiqui*.
- ANTONINUS PIUS*, emperor, his wall in Britain, II. 16.
- Antoninus Uerus, M.*, joint emperor with Aurelius Commodus, i. 4 and note.
- Antonius*, v. *Bassianus*.
- ANTHIM*, county of, v. *Dal Riada*.
- Apocalypse*, v. *Iohannes euan-gelista*, *Paulus*.
- apocrisiarius*, nature of office of, II. 69.
- APOLLINARIANISM*, II. 230, 232.
- Apostolus*, v. *Paulus*.
- APPLEBY*, Thomas, bishop of Carlisle, grants an Indulgence to pilgrims to St. Herbert's Isle, II. 269.
- APSIMARUS*, v. *Tiberius III*.
- Aquila*, example of, cited, iii. 25, p. 185 and note.
- Aquileia*, Maximus captured and slain at, i. 9.
- Aquilonares Mercii*, v. *Mercii Aquilonares*.
- AQUITANIA*, invaded by the Saracens, II. 339; Prosper of, v. *Prosper*.
- ara*, versus altare, II. 60.
- ARATUS*, cited by St. Paul, II. 57.
- Arcadius*, joint emperor, son of Theodosius, i. 10 and note; legislation of, II. 47.
- archicantator*, II. 233.
- Arculfus*, a bishop of Gaul, v. 15, p. 316 and notes; visits the Holy Land and other places, *ib.* and notes; driven on the coast of Britain, *ib.* and notes; Adamnan writes his book on the holy places from the information of, *ib.* and notes; his see possibly Périgueux, II. 303; his guide, Peter of Burgundy, II. 303. 304; extent of his travels, *ib.*
- ARD MIC NASCA*, v. *Hollywood*.
- Arelas*, *Arhelas*, *Arles*, *Constantine* slain at, i. 11; Augustine consecrated at, i. 27, p. 48; Theodore and Hadrian come to, iv. 1, p. 203; John archbishop of, *ib.* and note; seat of Arigius possibly at, II. 37.
- Arelatensis archiepiscopus*, *Aetherius* (really Vergilius), i. 24 and note; i. 27, p. 48 and note; Augustine consecrated by, *ib.*
- Arelatensis episcopus*, entitled to pallium, i. 27, p. 52. of II. 50, 51; relation of Augustine to, defined, *ib.* pp. 52, 53; Vergilius, i. 28.
- ARIGIUS*, bishop of Gap, II. 40.
- ARIGIUS*, patricius of Burgundy, II. 37, 39.
- ARIMATHEA*, Joseph of, II. 91.
- ARIUS*, &c., v. *Arrius*.
- ARLES*, v. *Arelas*.
- ARMAGH*, Book of, II. 25; emendation of, II. 132.
- ARMAGH*, Tomene mac Ronain, abbot and bishop of, II. 112; James Ussher, archbishop of, p. cxvii; Scellán, the Leper, of, II. 113.
- ARMENIA*, II. 8; length of day in, i. 1, p. 11.
- ARMONICA*, Arvon, district of North Wales, Cadwallon driven by Edwin into, II. 115; Maserfelth on the borders of, II. 152; possible confusion of *Armorica* with, II. 279.
- ARMORICA*, application of the name,

- II. 8; Cadwalader said to have fled to, II. 279; perhaps confused with Armonica, *ib.*
- ARMORICANA** gens, Germanus intercedes for, i. 21, p. 41 and notes. *Armoricanus tractus*, Britons said to have come from, to Britain, i. 1, p. 11 and note.
- ARNO**, archbishop of Salzburg, Alcuin sends a MS. to, p. clix note; II. 240; letter of Alcuin to, II. 70.
- ARNULF**, bishop of Soissons, miracle wrought by relics of, II. 155.
- ARNUINI**, slain, C. 740 and note; son of Eadwulf, II. 345.
- ARRAS**, MSS. at, p. lxxxvi note.
- ARRIANA** heresis, the Arian heresy. II. 19; attacks Britain, i. 8 and note; condemned at Nicaea, *ib.*; refuted by Bede, p. lxii; prevalence of, II. 74.
- ARTIUS**, heretic, Council of Nicaea directed against, iv. 17, p. 240.
- ARTS**, religious use of the, II. 360.
- ARUALD**, king of the Isle of Wight, iv. 16, p. 237 and note; two of his family baptized, and put to death by Cadwalla, *ib.* pp. 237, 238.
- ARUNDEL** MS., British Museum, p. cxxvi.
- ARUNDEL** MS., College of Arms, p. lxxxvi note.
- ARVON**, v. Armonica.
- ASCETICISM**, pp. xxx-xxxii; II. 237, 298.
- ASCLIPIODOTUS**, praefectus praetorio, puts down Allectus and recovers Britain, i. 6.
- ASH WEDNESDAY**, antiphon for, II. 299.
- ASIA**, observes the catholic Easter, iii. 25, p. 184; successors of St. John in, *ib.* p. 186; large parts of, overrun by the Saracens, II. 339.
- ASTERIUS**, archbishop of Milan, wrongly called bishop of Genoa, iii. 7, p. 139 and note; consecrates Birinus, *ib.*
- ATCHAM**, v. Attingham.
- ATHANASIUS** contra mundum, II. 74.
- ATHELNEY**, pretended derivation of the name, II. 143.
- ATHELSTAN**, king, gives Bede's Lives of St. Cuthbert to the church of St. Cuthbert, p. cxlvii.
- ATHENAE**, Athens, Theodore educated at, II. 203.
- ATTERBURY**, origin of the name, II. 104.
- ATILA**, king of the Huns, i. 13; murders his brother Blaedla, *ib.*; overruns nearly all Europe, *ib.* and note; II. 286; ravages Gaul, II. 33; share of the Rugini in the wars of, II. 286.
- ATTINGHAM**, or Atcham, on Severn, church dedicated to Eata at, II. 193; birthplace of Ordericus Vitalis, *ib.*
- AUDLEY**, arms of, p. cxxvii note.
- AUDREY**, v. Aedilthryd.
- AUDUBALDUS**, ii. 10, p. 101; ii. 11, p. 104; v. Eadbald.
- AUGUSTINAE** Aco, id est Robur Augustini, on the borders of the Hwiccas and West Saxons, ii. 2, p. 81 and notes; conference of Augustine and British bishops at, *ib.* and notes (cf. II. 53).
- AUGUSTINUS**, archbishop of Canterbury, ii. 7, p. 94; ii. 18, p. 120; sent with others by Gregory I to Britain to convert the English, i. 23, p. 42 and note; ii. 5, p. 89 and note; v. 24, p. 353 (cf. II. 85, 390); they turn faint-hearted and Augustine returns to Gregory, i. 23, p. 42 and note (cf. II. 140); brings a letter from him to his companions, *ib.* p. 43 and notes (cf. II. 90); made abbot over them, *ib.*; recommended by Gregory to Etherius archbishop of Arles (really bishop of Lyons), i. 24 and notes; reaches Britain v. 24, p. 353; i. 25, p. 44 and note (cf. II. 85); lands in Thanet, *ib.* p. 45 and note; announces his arrival to Ethelbert by Frankish interpreters, *ib.* and note; meeting of, with Ethelbert, *ib.* pp. 45, 46 and notes (cf. p. cxviii); settlement in Canterbury, *ib.* p. 46 and notes; mode of life, i. 26, pp. 46, 47 and note

p. xxxvi; goes to Arles and is consecrated by Etherius (really Vergilius', i. 27, p. 48 and note; returns to Britain, *ib.*; announces his consecration and success to Gregory, *ib.*; consults him on various questions, *ib.* pp. 48-62 and notes (cf. ii. 1, p. 76; II. 63, 134); relation of, to bishops of Gaul and Britain defined, i. 27, pp. 52, 53 and notes; commended by Gregory to bishop of Arles, i. 28 and notes; receives fresh missionaries, a letter, pallium, relics, and other gifts from Gregory, i. 29, p. 63 and notes; v. 24, p. 353 (cf. II. 52, 60); receives through Mellitus Gregory's directions as to the treatment of English heathenism, i. 30, p. 65 and notes; Gregory writes to, on the subject of his miracles, i. 31, pp. 66, 67 and notes (cf. II. 44, 71, 191); Gregory exhorts Ethelbert to be obedient to, i. 32, pp. 68, 69 and note; founds Christ Church, Canterbury, i. 33 and notes; and the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, *ib.* and note; church of SS. Peter and Paul not consecrated by, *ib.*; his miracles, ii. 1, p. 78 and note; his conference with the British bishops at Augustine's Oak, ii. 2, pp. 81, 82 and notes; cures a blind man, *ib.* p. 82; his second conference with the British bishops, *ib.* pp. 82, 83 and notes (cf. II. 53); alleged prophecy of, as to the destruction of the Britons by the Saxons, *ib.* p. 83 and note; fulfilled in the battle of Chester after his death, *ib.* p. 84 and note; consecrates Mellitus and Justus, ii. 3, p. 85 and notes; his death, *ib.* p. 86 and notes (cf. II. 77); buried first outside, and then in the north porticus of the church of SS. Peter and Paul, *ib.* and notes (cf. i. 33); his epitaph, *ib.* and note; consecrates Laurentius as his successor, ii. 4, p. 86 and

notes; Laurentius buried near, ii. 7, p. 93; his monastic life in Kent, iv. 27, p. 270; letter of Gregory to (i. 29) cited, Ee. § 9, pp. 412, 413; verses on, p. cxx; called Augustinus Minor, II. 37; 'praepositus' of Gregory's monastery of St. Andrew at Rome, II. 38; relation of Liudhard to, II. 42; said to have founded a church at Ely, II. 43; wholesale baptisms by, II. 44; Gocelin's Life of, II. 44, 46; books brought by, to Britain, II. 56, 57; kindness of Bertha to, II. 63; his success alluded to in Gregory's Moralia, II. 71; his claims rejected by the Britons, II. 76; charges against, refuted, II. 76, 78; date of his death, II. 81; confused with St. Augustine of Hippo, *ib.*; his day ordered to be observed, *ib.* (cf. p. cxv); King Edmund murdered on his day, *ib.*; translation of his relics, *ib.*; arrives in Britain in the year of Columba's death, II. 132; schools at Canterbury probably due to, II. 168; said to have been consecrated by Gregory, II. 390; lectures on, I. 424-427.

**Augustinus**, Sanctus, bishop of Hippo, refutes the Pelagians, i. 10 and note; Bede's excerpts from, on St. Paul, v. Baeda; similar works by others, pp. clv, clvi; use made by Bede of, p. 1 (cf. p. lxiii); De lapsu monachi et uiduae, MS. of, p. c; treatises of, p. cxlii; on divisions of books, II. 67; cited, II. 164, 181, 191.

**Augustus**, emperor, i. 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, p. 30; i. 23, p. 42.

**Austr**, on the Severn, equated with 'Augustine's Oak,' II. 74; v. Traiectus Augusti.

**Australes Gyruil**, v. Gyruil Australes.

**Australes Mercii**, v. Mercii Australes.

**Australes Picti**, v. Picti Australes.



**Australes Saxones**, v. Saxones Australes.

**AUSTRASIA**, Theodebert king of, II. 39.

**Austrini Scotti**, v. Scotti Austrini.

**Autissidorensis ciuitas**, Auxerre, burnt, II. 33; Germanus bishop of, i. 17, p. 34 and notes; diocese of, p. c note; bishops of, Censorius, II. 32; Heribald, II. 35; church of St. Alban at, II. 33; monks of, sent to Marseilles for marble, II. 239.

**AUTUN**, bishops of, Syagrius, II. 39; Leodegar, II. 322.

**AUXERRE**, v. Autissidorensis ciuitas.

**AVARS**, the, perhaps included in the Huns, II. 286; their ravages, *ib.*

#### B.

**Badonicus mons**, Britons defeat Saxons at battle of, i. 16 and note; date of, II. 31; Gildas born in the year of, II. 31, 35.

**BADUCING**, v. Biscop.

**Badudegn**, a lay brother of Lindisfarne, miraculously cured of paralysis at Cuthbert's tomb, iv. 31, pp. 278, 279 and notes.

**Baduini**, bishop of part of the East Angles (Elmham), iv. 5, p. 217 and note.

**BADWULF**, v. Baldwulf.

**BAEDA**, writes to Albinus, I. 3; asks his prayers, *ib.*; visited by Nothelm, *ib.*; Pref. p. 6 and note; his view of historical composition, Pref. pp. 7, 8 and note; asks the prayers of his readers, *ib.* p. 8 and note; pp. lxv, lxvi; Wilfrid's testimony to, on the virginity of Ethelthryth, iv. 19, p. 243 and note; p. xlv note; tells from his own knowledge the story of the impenitent monk, v. 14, pp. 313-315; makes excerpts from Adamnan's book on the holy places, v. 15, p. 317; v. 17, p. 319; a priest of the monastery of Wearmouth and Jarrow, v. 24, p. 357; p. ix; born in the territory of the monastery, *ib. ib.*; enters it, and

is educated under Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrid, v. 24, p. 357; p. x (cf. II. 234); ordained deacon and priest by Bishop John (of Hexham), *ib. ib.*; his studies and occupations, *ib. ib.*; list of works of, v. 24, pp. 357-359; his prayer, *ib.* p. 360; dies, C. 735; stays with Egbert of York, p. xvi; Ee. § 1; writes to him, I. 405-423 and notes; prevented by illness from revisiting, Ee. § 1 and note; p. lxxi; his birthplace, p. ix note; his well at Monkton, *ib.*; chiefly to be known from his works, pp. x, xi; chronology of his life, p. xi; Alcuin's lines on, p. x note; anecdotes of, pp. xii, xiii (cf. II. 374); his devotion, *ib.*; his grief at Ceolfrid's departure, p. xv (cf. II. 375); visits Lindisfarne, p. xvi (cf. II. 272); visits Wiced, *ib.* note; his diligence as a student, p. xvii; school of York due to, pp. xviii note, xxiv; compares the Vulgate and Itala, pp. xix, liv, lv; II. 313, 333, 334, 392-394; his caution to copyists, p. xix note, xxiii note; acts as his own shorthand writer, &c., p. xx; MSS. ascribed to, p. xx note; his love of teaching, p. xxi; v. 24, p. 357; influence as a teacher, p. xxiv; his warning against despising the unlearned, pp. xxi, xxii; his desire to benefit his countrymen, pp. xxii, xxiii; his sense of literary property, p. xxiii; suffers from want of books, p. xxiii note; uses preceding works, pp. xxiii, xxiv; II. 315; his intellectual descendants traced by Ademar, p. xxiv note; his name inscribed in the Album Congregationis of Lindisfarne, p. xxvii note; his warnings against detraction, &c., p. xxxii; his affection for Ceolfrid and Hwætbert, p. xxxiii; for Acca, *ib.*; II. 329, 330; troubles of his time, pp. xxxiii, xxxiv; lament of, over ecclesiastical evils, pp. xxxiv,

xxxv; II. 194; insists that the teacher must practise what he teaches, p. xxxvi; acts up to this himself, *ib.*; his obligations to Isidore, pp. xxxvii note, xxxviii note, xli; his translation of Isidore, pp. xli note, lxxv, clxi; placed next to Isidore by Dante, p. xli note; studied by Dante, *ib.*; his obligations to Pliny, pp. xxxviii note, lii; II. 5; the first to introduce the date A.D. into Western Europe, p. xxxviii note; his reputation as a chronologer, p. xxxix note; II. 205; his zeal in the Paschal controversy, pp. xxxix-xli; his doctrine of the six ages of the world, pp. xli, xlii; refutes a charge of heresy, pp. xli note, clxvi; testimonies and appeals to, pp. xliii note, xlv note, xlvii, liv, lxx note, lxxvi note, lxxvii note, lxxviii note; II. 4; historical writing in England grows out of, p. xliii note; careful to indicate his authorities, pp. xlv, xlv note; II. 1, 2, 4; his suppression of incidents in the life of Wilfrid, p. xlv note; II. 315, and v. Wilfrid; his treatment of the anonymous Lives of Cuthbert and of the Abbots, pp. xlv note, xlvii, xlviii; of the Life of Fursa, II. 169, 170; of the Life of Ethelberg, II. 218; legends as to the origin of his name of Venerable, pp. xlviii, xlix; dedicates most of his theological works to Aoca, p. xlix; II. 329; his reverence for authority and tradition, p. 1; list of authors referred to by, pp. l-liv; his attitude towards pagan literature, p. liii; his style, pp. liii, liv; his admiration for Aldhelm, p. liv; II. 312; his knowledge of Greek, p. liv; Greek MS., Laud 35, used by, p. liv; his interest in textual criticism, pp. liv-lvi; his use of the allegorical method, pp. lvi-lxii; his zealous orthodoxy, pp. lxii, lxiii; list of

heresies refuted by, pp. lxii, lxiii note; miraculous element in works of, pp. xlvii, lxiv (cf. II. 278); believes himself to have been the subject of a miracle, p. lxiv note; his view of miracles, p. lxv note; his piety, pp. lxv-lxix; his humility as a scholar, p. lxvi; his insistence on the Day of Judgement, pp. lxvi, lxvii; on the blessedness of a holy death, p. lxviii; his view of Purgatory, p. lxvi note; II. 243, 387; his good sense, pp. lxix-lxxi; his views on virginity and marriage, p. lxxi note; II. 53, 54, 235; on the contemplative and active life, p. lxxi note; II. 68, 69; description of his death, pp. lxxii-lxxviii, clx-clxiv; date of his death, pp. lxxi-lxxiii; I. 434; his skill in English poetry, pp. lxxiv, clxi; his translations into English, pp. lxxv, clxii; II. 381; his amanuensis, Wilbert, pp. lxxvi, clxiii; his cell, p. lxxvii note; north porticus of Jarrow church dedicated to, p. lxxvii note; his epitaph, p. lxxviii note; fate of his relics, *ib.*; miracle worked by his relics, p. lxxix note; collect for his day, *ib.*; becomes a standard authority, *ib.*; II. 4; his mode of working, Pref. p. 5; II. 1, 2; his tendency to rely on authority, II. 4; includes Iona in Scotia, v. Hii; uses the Caesarean Indiction, II. 39, 212, 376; his national and ecclesiastical prejudices against the Britons, II. 78, 83, 84, 353; Jonas of Bobbio's Life of Columban ascribed to, II. 83; Chronicle wrongly ascribed to, p. cxiv; verses on, p. cxxiv; Life of St. Fara ascribed to, II. 148; does not regard Celtic orders as invalid, II. 178; his views on the intercession and invocation of saints, II. 181; his sympathy with Mercian independence, II. 187; with the Scotie missionaries, II. 194;

**Bæda** *'continued'*.

refutes the Paschal heresies of Victorius, II. 201; his obligations to the School of Canterbury, II. 205, 206; his views on the division of dioceses, II. 214, 380, 383; on divorce and remarriage, II. 214, 236; on secular rule and employment, II. 219, 220; on comets, II. 222; on translation of poetry, II. 250; on confirmation, II. 382; receives information from Acca, *r.* Acca; had probably seen Adamnan, II. 131, 302; his authorities for the life of Wilfrid, II. 315; his attitude towards Wilfrid and his opponents, II. 316, 383; the real author of Ceolfrid's letter to Nechtan, II. 332, 392; perhaps an eye-witness of what he describes in Hist. Abb., II. 363 (*cf.* p. xlvii); probably present at Hwætbert's election, II. 368; St. Boniface's opinion of, *ib.*; asks for works of, *ib.*; his statesmanlike view of the false monasteries, II. 385; not opposed to some control of monasteries by secular power, II. 387; probably used the early Life of Gregory, pp. clxv, clxvi, clxvii; II. 389; MSS. of Life of, pp. cv, cvi, cxvi, cxxxviii; Cuthbert's letter on death of, *r.* Cuthbert.

**BAEDA, WORKS OF**, classification of, p. xxxvii; chronology of, pp. cxlv-clv.

— **Capitula Lectionum**, on certain books of the O. T., and on the N. T. except the Gospels, v. 24, p. 358; p. clv; alluded to by Lupus of Ferrara, *ib.*; asked for by St. Boniface, *ib.*

— **Chronicle**, really part of the De Temp. Rat. *q. r.*, p. cxlix; Irish adaptation of, *ib.* note.

— **De Aequinoctio iuxta Anatolium** ad Wieredam, v. 24, p. 358; pp. xxxvii, cliv; cited, p. xvi note; II. 191.

— **De Arte Metrica**, &c., v. 24, p. 359; date of, p. cxlv; MSS.

of, *ib.* note; question of dedication of, *ib.*; cited, II. 22, 205, 241 (*ter*). 282.

— **De Bissextoad Helmwaldum**, v. 24, p. 358; p. xxxvii note; cited, *ib.*; MS. of, p. cxlii; date of, p. cxlix.

— **De Die Iudicii**, cited, II. 296; *r.* Hymns.

— **De eo quod ait Isaias, &c.**, v. 24, p. 358; date of, p. cxlviii; dedicated to Acca, *ib.* (*cf.* p. cxlix).

— **De Forti Muliere**, p. cxxvi; really a part of the In Proverbia, *q. r.*, p. clii.

— **De Locis Sanctis**, v. 17, *ad fin.* and notes; cited, v. 16, 17 and notes; II. 304; relation of, to Arculfus and Adamnan, *ib.*; date of, pp. xlix, cli.

— **De Mansionibus filiorum Israel**, v. 24, p. 358; date of, p. cxlviii; dedicated to Acca, *ib.* (*cf.* p. xlix).

— **De Natura Rerum**, v. 24, p. 359; sources of, pp. xxxvii, cxxxviii; cited, *ib.*; II. 222; date of, p. cxlix.

— **De Orthographia**, v. 24, p. 359; date of, p. cxlv; used by Alcuin and W. M., *ib.* note; cited, p. lxvii note.

— **De Sex Aetatibus Saeculi ad Plegwinum**, v. 24, p. 358; cited, p. xli note; date of, p. cxlvi.

— **De Situ Britanniae**, really H. E., i. 1.

— **De Tabernaculo**, v. 24, p. 357; date of, p. cl; character of, *ib.* note.

— **De Templo**, v. 24, p. 357; dedicated to Nothelm or Acca, p. xlix note; sent to Albinus, I. 3; date of, pp. xxxiv note, cl; character of, *ib.* note; cited, p. xxxiv note; II. 208, 209, 360.

— **De Temporibus**, v. 24, p. 359; date of, pp. xxxviii, cxlvi; other names of, p. xxxviii note; cited, II. 167.

— **De Temporum Ratione**, v. 24, p. 359; dedicated to Hwætbert, pp. xiv note, xxxix; date of, pp. xxxix, cxlix, cl; other

**Bæda, Works of** (*continued*).

- names of, p. xxxix note; II. 167; cited, iii. 17, p. 161; II. 60, 191, 201, 275, 332-334.
- Epigrammata, p. cliv.
- Epistola ad Albinum, I. 3; II. 2; date of, p. cl.
- Epistola ad Ecgbertum, printed, I. 405-423 and notes; date of, pp. xvi, lxxi, cli; II. 378, 384, 386, 388; MSS. of, pp. cxli, cxlii; editions of, p. cxlii; translation of, p. cxxxii; cited, pp. xvi, xxxiv, xxxv; II. 214.
- Epistolæ ad Diuersos, v. 24, p. 358; MS. of, p. cxlii.
- Excerpts from Augustine on St. Paul, v. 24, p. 358; pp. clv, clvi; MSS. of, *ib.*; cited by Lupus of Ferrara, *ib.* note.
- Excerpts from Jerome on the Prophets, v. 24, p. 358; p. clv.
- Hexameron, v. In Genesim.
- Historia Abbatum, printed, I. 364-387 and notes; date of, pp. xlv, cxlviii; MSS. of, pp. cvi, cxxxii-cxl; editions of, pp. cxxxiii, cxxxviii, cxxxix; translations of, p. cxxxii; conflation of, with Hist. Abb. Anon., p. cxxxv.
- Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum, v. 24, pp. 356, 357, 359; dedicated and sent to Ceolwulf, Pref. p. 5 and note; his motive in writing, *ib.* and note; sent to Albinus, I. 3; authorities used in the composition of, how far acknowledged by Bede himself, pp. xxiv note, xlv, xlv note, and references there given; clxv, clxvi, clxvii; II. 3, 4, 5, 17, 22, 25, 31, 35, 150, 169, 218, 219, 267, 304, 315; two recensions of, issued by Bede himself, pp. xciv-xcvii; dates of the two recensions, pp. xcvi, xcvii (cf. II. 345); MSS. of, very numerous, p. lxxxvi; three types of MSS. of, pp. xciv ff.; classification of MSS. of, pp. xciv ff.; editions of, pp. lxxx-lxxxv, cxxix-cxxxi; AS. vers. of, pp. cxviii, cxxix; cited by Ælfric and Rudborne, *ib.* note; attributed to Bede himself, *ib.* note; MS. of, p. cvii; Editio Princeps of, p. cxxxi; cited, notes, passim; other translations of, p. cxxxii; importance of, pp. xlii-xliv; importance of chronological summary at end of, II. 343; structure of, II. 4. 36; intended for public reading, II. 299; v. Lections; date of, pp. xi, cli; II. 262.
- Homilies, v. 24, p. 358; pp. xlvii, xlviii, lxxviii note, cliii; liturgical use of, p. xlviii note; cited, pp. xi, xiii; II. 181, 276, 277, 299.
- Homily on Benedict Biscop, p. xlviii; MS. of, p. cxxxiii; editions of, *ib.*; II. 355; cited, p. xxviii note; II. 355-359, 363.
- Hymns, v. 24, p. 359; pp. xlii note, xlix note, cliv; Hymn on Ethelthryth, iv. 20 and notes; found separately, II. 240.
- In Acta, v. 24, p. 358; date of, p. cxlvii; dedicated to Acca, *ib.* (cf. p. xlix); cited, II. 57, 58, 277, 300, 388.
- In Apocalypsin, v. 24, p. 358; dedicated to Hwætbert, pp. xiv note, cxlvii; date of, *ib.*; cited, II. 20 (cf. p. cliv).
- In Cantica Canticorum, v. 24, p. 358; p. l note; date of, p. clii; first book of, directed against Julian of Eclanum, *ib.*; II. 21; last book of, a cento of extracts from Gregory, p. clii; Lullus asks Cuthbert for, *ib.* note; poem on, by Walafridus Strabo, *ib.*
- In Canticum Habacum, v. 24, p. 358; date of, p. clii; question of dedication of, *ib.*; the Itala used for, p. lv note; II. 334.
- In Catholicas Epistolas, v. 24, p. 358; p. l note; MS. of, p. cxlii; date of, p. cxlvii; cited, II. 54, 55, 156, 259, 300.
- In Ezram et Nehemiam, v. 24, p. 358; dedicated to Acca,

**Baeda, Works of** (*continued*).

- p. xlix note; date of, p. cl; character of, *ib.* note; cited, p. xxii; II. 44, 209, 245, 381-385.
- In *Genesim*, v. 24, p. 357; dedicated to Acca, pp. xlix, cxlix; date of, *ib.*; cited, II. 7, 220.
- In *Libros Regum Quæstiones*, v. 24, p. 358; dedicated to Nothelm, p. cli; date of, *ib.*
- In *Librum Tobiae*, v. 24, p. 358; date of, p. clii; Alcuin asks for a copy of, *ib.* note.
- In *Lucam*, v. 24, p. 358; composition of, hindered by external troubles, p. xxxiv; relation of, to the homilies, pp. xlvii, xlviii; dedicated to Acca, p. xlix; date of, pp. xxxiii, xxxiv, cxlvii; cited, pp. xiii, xx, xxxiii, xxxiv; II. 3, 46, 68, 70, 156, 219, 259, 276, 290, 296.
- In *Marcum*, v. 24, p. 358; MS. of, p. cxii; dedicated to Acca, p. xlix note; date of, p. cxlviii; cited, p. xiii; II. 157, 236, 266, 267, 276.
- In *Prouerbia*, v. 24, p. 358; MS. of, p. cxli; date of, p. clii; St. Boniface and Hincmar ask for copies of, *ib.* note; wrongly ascribed to Jerome, *ib.*; cited, II. 20, 298, 299, 363.
- In *Samuelem*, v. 24, p. 357; dedicated to Acca, p. xlix note; date of, pp. xv, xvi, cxlviii; Lullus asks Archbishop Ethelbert for a copy of, *ib.* note; character of, *ib.*
- *Martyrology*, v. 24, p. 359; date of, p. clii; interpolated, *ib.*; character of, *ib.*
- *Retractatio in Acta*, date of, pp. xlix, cli; cited, p. xix note.
- *Vita S. Anastasii*, translation of, corrected by Bede, v. 24, p. 359; p. clii.
- *Vita S. Cudbereti*, 'uersibus heroicis,' 'heroico metro,' iv. 28, p. 271 and note; v. 24, p. 359; MSS. of, pp. cxxxviii, cxlvii note; date of, p. cxlvi; sent by Cuthbert of Wearmouth to St. Boniface, p. cxlvii note; given by Athelstan to the church of St. Cuthbert, *ib.*; cited, II. 165.
- *Vita S. Cudbereti*, 'simplici oratione,' 'plano sermone,' iv. 28, p. 271 and note; v. 24, p. 359; Pref. p. 7; based on an earlier Life, *ib.* and note; p. xlv note; other authorities cited in, *ib.*; MSS. of, pp. cxxxviii, cxlvii note; II. 272; dedicated to Eadfrid of Lindisfarne, p. cxlviii; date of, pp. xvi, xlvii, cxlviii (cf. II. 297); sent by Cuthbert to St. Boniface, p. cxlvii note; given by Athelstan to the church of St. Cuthbert, *ib.*
- *Vita S. Felicis*, v. 24, p. 359; p. clii; v. Felix.
- Spurious and doubtful works ascribed to Bede, pp. clvi-clix; II. 275.
- BAEDA**, a priest of Lindisfarne, p. lxxvii, note.
- BAEDA**, a chief of the Lindisfari, p. lxxviii note; II. 355.
- BAEDA**, a monk, p. lxxviii note.
- BAEDAN MAC CARILL**, king of Ulster, II. 65; father of Maeluma, II. 66.
- BAEITHIN**, abbot of Bangor in Ireland, II. 113.
- BAEITHIN MÓR**, bishop of Tibohine, II. 112.
- BÆLDEG**, son of Woden, ancestor of the kings of the Bernicii, II. 119.
- Baithanus**, Irish bishop, letter of John, pope elect, and others to, ii. 19, p. 123 and note.
- Balaam**, example of, cited, Ea. § 17, p. 422.
- BALDER**, Fosite, son of, II. 290.
- BALDHELM**, priest of Lindisfarne, recites the praises of St. Cuthbert, II. 344.
- Baldhild**, queen of the Neustrian Franks, orders the execution of Dalfinus (really Annemundus), bishop of Lyons, v. 19, p. 325 and note; wife of Clovis II,

- II. 173, 322; of English race, II. 148; a benefactress of Faremoutier-en-Brie, *ib.*; restores Chelles, II. 149; makes Leodegar bishop of Autun, II. 322; Sigebert put to death as an adherent of, *ib.*; retires to Chelles, *ib.*; confused with Brunhild, *ib.*; sainted, *ib.*
- BALDWIN VII, Count of Flanders, p. cxix.
- BALDWOLF, last bishop of Whithorn, II. 343.
- BALLIOL COLLEGE, Oxford, owns MS. O<sub>19</sub>, pp. cxi, cxii.
- BALLIOL, Edward, does homage to Edward III, p. cvii.
- BALNHUSIN, SIGFRIDUS DE, record of his friendship, p. xxxiii note.
- BAMBOROUGH, *v.* Bebbanburg.
- BANCOR, Bangor-is-coed, Flint, monastery of, ii. 2, p. 84 and note; its size, *ib.* and note; monks from, massacred by Ethelfrid at the battle of Chester, *ib.*; confused by W. M. with Bangor, the bishop's see, II. 77, 78.
- BANCORNABURG, English name of Bangor, ii. 2, p. 82 and note; Dinoot abbot of, *ib.* and note.
- BANGOR, Co. Down, Ireland, Baeithin abbot of, II. 113; Cronan abbot of, *ib.*
- BAPCHILD, Kent, witenagemot of, II. 284; Tobias present at, *ib.*
- BAPTISM, special times for, II. 34, 44, 95, 96, 280; defect of British Church in regard to, II. 75, 76; confirmation a completion of, II. 76, 382; validity of, II. 276, 277.
- 'BARBARUS,' = English, II. 308 (cf. II. 321); opposed to Anglus, *ib.*
- BARDNEY, *v.* Beardaneu.
- BAR-IONA, meaning of the name, II. 127.
- BARKING, *v.* In Berecingum.
- BARLOW, Thomas, bishop of Lincoln, former owner of MS. O<sub>19</sub>, p. cxvi.
- BARNABAS, apostolus, seeks Saul at Tarsus, Haa. § 6; teaches at Antioch, *ib.*; example of, cited, Ee. § 4; quarrel of, with St. Paul, cited, II. 321.
- BARROW, near Goxhill, Lincs., probably identical with Ad Baruae, II. 208.
- BARTHOLOMEW, anchorite of Farne, asceticism of, p. xxvi note; Life of, p. cxxxvii; II. 273.
- BARTON ON HUMBER, identified by Smith with Ad Baruae, II. 208.
- Baruae, *v.* Ad Baruae.
- BASILISSA, virgin, II. 242.
- Basilus, Sanctus, cited, i. 1, p. 10 and note; II. 275; his Hexameron, translated by Eustatius Afer, II. 6, 7.
- BASLE, Hetto bishop of, II. 294; MS. belonging to University of, II. 295, 299.
- BASQUES, compared to Picts, II. 8.
- BASS, a thane of Edwin, conducts Paulinus, Ethelberg, and her children to Kent after Hatfield, ii. 20, p. 125 and note.
- BASS, mass-priest, Egbert grants Reculver to, II. 283.
- BASSIANUS, 'cognomine Antonius' (Caracalla), son of Severus, succeeds his father, i. 5.
- BATH, abstinence from, a mark of asceticism, II. 237; use of, a memorial of baptism, II. 238.
- BATHILDIS, *v.* Baldhild.
- BEANUS, an Irish prelate, seen by Fursa in his vision, II. 171; translated to Péronne, *ib.*
- Beardaneu, Bardney, Lincs., a noble monastery in Lindsey, iii. 11, p. 148 and notes; Ethelred and Osthryth of Mercia great benefactors of, *ib.* and notes; bones of Oswald translated by Osthryth to, *ib.* and notes; Osthryth sojourns there, *ib.* p. 149; Abbess Ethelhild visits, *ib.*; Ethelred becomes a monk and abbot of, II. 154, 221, 327; buried there, II. 154; said to have founded, II. 155; Partney, a cell of, II. 109; a double monastery, II. 150;

- Hygbald probably abbot of, II. 209.
- BEAUCHAMP, Frederick, Earl, cited, p. lxvi.
- BEAUMONT WATER, *v.* Gleni fluvius.
- Bebba, Northumbrian queen.
- Bamborough called from, iii. 6, p. 138 and note (cf. II. 157); iii. 16 and note.
- [Bebbanburg], Bamborough, Northumberland, regia ciuitas, Oswald's hands buried at, iii. 6, p. 138 and notes; iii. 12, p. 152 and note; Penda besieges, iii. 16 and notes; miraculously saved by Aidan, *ib.* and notes (cf. II. 181); royal vill and church of Aidan near, burnt by Penda, iii. 17, pp. 160, 161 and notes; forms of the name, II. 141; church of, dedicated to St. Aidan, II. 166; fortifications of, *ib.*; Osred besieged in, II. 306.
- BECKET, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, verses on, p. cxv; murder of, p. cxxiii.
- BEGA, Irish saint, whence St. Bee's, II. 248; I. 431.
- Begu, a nun of Hackness, sees a vision of Hild's death, iv. 23, pp. 257, 258 and note.
- BELI, father of Theudor king of the Strathclyde Britons, II. 346.
- BELLS, use of, II. 248.
- BEMETOLUS, *v.* Methodius.
- BENEDICTUS I, pope, Gregory I apocrisiarius to, II. 69 (cf. II. 73); allows Gregory to start for Britain, but recalls him, II. 390.
- BENEDICTUS XIV, consecrates the Colosseum to prevent depredations, II. 240.
- Benedictus, abbas, saying of Gregory I about, Hab. § 1 and note; appoints twelve abbots under himself, Hab. § 7, p. 371 and note; rule of, cited, Hab. § 11, p. 375 and note; § 16 and note; Haa. §§ 16, 25; Anglo-Saxon translation of, II. 366.
- BENEDICTUS CRISPUS, archbishop of Milan, writes the epitaph on Cædwalla, II. 281.
- Benedictus, *v.* Biscop.
- BENEVENTUM, Eclanum near, II. 21; Grimwald duke of, II. 279.
- Beniamin, i. 34.
- BENSINGTON, Oxon., battle of, II. 245.
- 'bene uenire,' = to be welcome, II. 219.
- Beornred, king of the Mercians, accession of, C. 757; expelled by Offa, *ib.*; II. 342; said to have murdered Ethelbald, *ib.*
- BEORNRED, archbishop of Sens, and abbot of Epternach, Alcuin's Life of Wilbrord written at request of, II. 287.
- BEORNSTAN, bishop of Winchester, beautiful legend of, II. 138, 139.
- BEOWULF, the, II. 249, 290.
- Beret, a dux of Egfrid of Northumbria, iv. 26, p. 266; sent by him with an expedition against Ireland, *ib.* and notes; II. 301.
- Bercta, of the royal race of the Franks, wife of Ethelbert of Kent, i. 25, p. 45 and notes; buried in the church of SS. Peter and Paul at Canterbury, ii. 5, p. 90 (cf. II. 42); daughter of Charibert, king of Paris, II. 42; called also Ethelberg, *ib.*; letter of Gregory I to, II. 63; kindness of, to Augustine, *ib.*; dies before Ethelbert, II. 88.
- Berctfrid, 'praefectus,' fights with the Picts, v. 24, p. 356; supports Osred against Eadwulf, II. 306.
- Berctgils, 'cognomine Bonifacius,' of Kent, bishop of the East Angles, succeeds Thomas, iii. 20 and note (cf. II. 199); consecrated by Honorius, *ib.* (cf. II. 106); dies, and is succeeded by Bisi, iv. 5, p. 217 and note; his orthodoxy, II. 206.
- Berothun, a royal dux of the South Saxons, expels Cædwalla from Sussex, iv. 15 and note; rules the South Saxons, *ib.*; slain by Cædwalla, *ib.*

- Berethun**, deacon of Bishop John of Hexham, afterwards abbot of Inderawuda (Beverley), v. 2, p. 283 and note; furnishes Bede with information about Bishop John, *ib.*; v. 3, p. 285 (cf. v. 5, p. 289); p. xlv note; co-founder of Beverley, II. 274.
- Berotred**, a 'dux regius' of the Northumbrians, slain by the Picts, v. 24, p. 355.
- Berctuald**, archbishop of Canterbury, abbot of Reculver, v. 8, p. 295 and notes; succeeds Theodore, *ib.* and note; consecrated by Godwin metropolitan of Gaul, *ib.* and note; consecrates Tobias to Rochester, *ib.* and note; Wilfrid consecrates Swidbert during absence of, v. 11, p. 302 and note; II. 319; receives Wilfrid after his second appeal, v. 19, p. 329 and note; consecrates Aldwulf as bishop of Rochester, v. 23, p. 349 and note; dies and is succeeded by Tatwin, *ib.* pp. 349, 350 and note; v. 24, p. 356; buried in the church of SS. Peter and Paul at Canterbury, ii. 3, p. 86; letter of, to Waldhere, II. 220; letter of Waldhereto, II. 283; letter of, to Forthere, *ib.*; doubtful letters of Sergius I to, *ib.*; a friend of Aldhelm, *ib.*; grant of Hlothhere to, *ib.*; present at Northumbrian council which condemns Wilfrid, II. 319; v. Bertwald.
- Berecingum**, v. In Ber.
- BERENGAR**, king of Italy, makes grants to St. Martin's at Tours, II. 137.
- BERGHAMSTYDE**, v. Bersted.
- BERGUES**, French Flanders, monastery of St. Winnoc at, II. 158, 161.
- BERHTHERE**, v. Perctarit.
- BERNACUS**, St., expels evil spirits, II. 267.
- BERNARD**, St., Life of St. Malachias by, p. cxxi; account of his mother's death, II. 251; letter of Peter the Venerable to, II. 353.
- BERNE**, MSS. of Bede's H. E. at, pp. lxxvi note, xcix note.
- BERNICIA**, battle of the Winwæd located in, by Fl. Wig., II. 183.
- Bernicii**, origin of the name, II. 105; pedigree of kings of, II. 119.
- Berniciorum gens**, Oswald's cross at Hefenfelth, the first erected in, iii. 2, p. 130 and note (cf. II. 105, 140); Lindisfarne the mother church of, II. 125.
- Berniciorum provincia**, boundaries of, II. 120; evangelised by Paulinus, ii. 14, p. 115 and note; one of the divisions of the Northumbrians, iii. 1, p. 127 and note; iii. 14, p. 155 (cf. II. 105); Whiterne belongs to, iii. 4, p. 133; united to Deira by Oswald, iii. 6, p. 138 and note; Oswy rules over, iii. 14, p. 155; dissensions with Deira, *ib.* and note; relation of, to Deira, II. 119, 141, 199; Oswy grants six estates in, for the foundation of monasteries, iii. 24, p. 178 and note; Eata made bishop of, iv. 12, p. 229; vision of an impenitent monk in, v. 14, p. 315 and notes.
- Berniciorum regnum**, Eanfrid succeeds Edwin in, iii. 1, p. 127 and note; Ethelric king of, II. 93.
- Bernuini**, nephew and clerk of Wilfrid, from whom he receives a fourth part of Wight, iv. 16, p. 237; evangelises the island with help of Hiddila, *ib.*
- BERSTED**, near Maidstone, Kent, witenagemót of, II. 284; Gebmund present at, *ib.*
- BERTFRITH**, v. Berctfrid.
- BERTIN**, St., monastery of, at St. Omer, p. xvii note (cf. I. 430); MS. of Bede's H. E. belonging to, p. lxxxvi note.
- BERTWALD**, abbot of Glastonbury, II. 283; not to be identified with Bertwald, archbishop of Canterbury, *ib.*
- BETENDUNE**, II. 275; v. Uetadun.
- Bethleem**, description of, v. 16, p. 317.
- BETRICHSWORTH**, earlier name of Bury St. Edmund's, q. v., II. 148, 168.



**Betti**, presbyter, accompanies Peadar to evangelise the Middle Angles, iii. 21, p. 170 and note.

**BEVERLEY**, c. In Derawuda.

**Bewcastle**, Cumberland, memorial cross to Alchfrid at, II. 176, 198.

**Bible**, translations of, Vulgate and Itala, II. 365; compared by Bede, pp. xix, liv, lv; II. 313, 333, 334, 392-394; used by Aldhelm, II. 313; Septuagint cited by Aldhelm, *ib.*; Septuagint and Aquila, cited by Bede, p. lv note.

'**BIBLIOTHECA**.' = binding or case of a book, II. 329; name given to the Bible, II. 365.

**Bibulus**, Lucius, consul with Julius Caesar, i. 2, p. 13 and note.

**Birinus**, bishop of the West Saxons, II. 144, 145; sent to Britain by Pope Honorius, iii. 7, p. 139 and notes; consecrated bishop by Asterius, *ib.* and note; converts the West Saxons and their king Cynegils, *ib.* and notes; Dorchester granted to, as his see, *ib.* and notes; dies and is buried there, *ib.* p. 140 and notes; translated to Winchester, *ib.* and notes (cf. p. cx); first bishop of the West Saxons, iv. 12, p. 227; baptizes Cuthred, II. 142, 281; called a Roman bishop, II. 146.

**BIRRA**, Parsonstown, Co. Louth, Ireland, Synod of, c. 696, II. 285.

**Biscop**, 'cognomine, cognomento Benedictus,' called Baducing, II. 321, 355; on his name Bi-cop, *ib.*; Benedict not his original name, *ib.*; date of birth of, II. 357; of noble birth, v. 19, p. 323; Hab. § 1 and note; p. xxxv note (cf. II. 90); his visits to Gaul, Italy, and the Islands, Haa. § 5 and note; a thane of Oswy, Hab. § 1 and note; resigns his secular position, *ib.* and note; goes to Kent, v. 19, p. 323 and notes; ordered by Earconbert to conduct Wilfrid to Rome, *ib.*; leaves Wilfrid

at Lyons and goes on to Rome, *ib.* p. 324 and note; II. 316, 356; his first and second visits to Rome, Hab. § 2 and notes; becomes a monk at Lérins, *ib.* and notes (cf. Haa. § 5); p. xviii; his third visit to Rome, Hab. § 3 and notes; had intended to remain abroad all his life, II. 357; ordered by Pope Vitalian to accompany Theodore to Britain, p. xviii; Hab. § 3 and notes; arrives in Kent, *ib.* and note; p. xviii; receives the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul at Canterbury, *ib.*; Hab. § 3 and notes; II. 204 (cf. II. 206); his fourth visit to Rome, Hab. § 4 and notes; returns to Britain, *ib.*; visits Cenwalh of Wessex, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 143); returns to Northumbria, *ib.* and note; obtains Ceolfrid from Wilfrid, Haa. §§ 5, 6 and notes; receives a grant of land at Wearmouth from Egfrid, *ib.* and notes; Haa. § 7; founds St. Peter's monastery at Wearmouth, iv. 18, p. 241; Hab. §§ 1, 4 and notes; Haa. §§ 5, 7; procures masons and glass-makers from Gaul, Hab. § 5 and notes; Haa. § 7 and notes (cf. II. 101); persuades Ceolfrid to return to Wearmouth, Haa. § 8 and note; fifth visit to Rome with Ceolfrid, iv. 18, p. 241 and note; Hab. § 6 and note, § 7 and notes, § 16; Haa. §§ 9, 10; II. 361; brings back from Rome books, relics, pictures, a papal privilege, and John the arch-chantor, Hab. § 6, pp. 368-370 and notes; § 15, p. 380; Haa. §§ 9, 10, 20; II. 119, 233, 358, 359; iv. 18, p. 241 and notes; decrees of the Roman council copied in his monastery, *ib.* p. 242 and note; receives a grant of land at Jarrow, Hab. § 7, p. 370; Haa. § 11; founds the monastery of Jarrow, *ib.* *ib.* and notes (cf. Hab. § 15, p. 379 and note); builds the church at

Jarrow, Haa. § 12 and note; makes Ceolfred abbot of Jarrow, and Easterwine of Wearmouth, Haa. § 7 and note; Haa. §§ 10, 11, 12 and notes; p. xi; II. 82; Easterwine cousin of, Haa. § 8, p. 371 and note; Haa. § 10 and note; visits Rome the sixth time, and brings back treasures, Haa. § 9 and notes; Haa. §§ 12, 13, 15 and notes; buys land of Aldfrid to the south of the Wear, Haa. § 9 and note; on his return finds Easterwine dead, and Sigfrid elected in his place, Haa. § 10 and note; Haa. § 15; he falls ill, Haa. § 11, p. 374 and notes; Haa. § 15; his exhortations to the brethren, Haa. § 11, pp. 374-376 and notes (cf. II. 262); rules of his monastery compiled from seventeen different monastic rules, *ib.* pp. 374, 375 and note (cf. § 4 and note); his devotions during his last illness, Haa. § 12 and note; his last interview with Sigfrid, pp. xiv, xxxiii; Haa. § 13; causes Ceolfred to be elected abbot of both monasteries, *ib.*; Haa. § 16; p. xiv; his death, Haa. § 14, pp. 377, 378 and note; Haa. § 17 and note; pp. xiv, lxxviii; buried in the church of St. Peter, Haa. § 14, pp. 378, 379 and note; Haa. § 18; his co-abbots, Haa. § 14, p. 379 and note; Haa. § 18 and note; governed Wearmouth for sixteen years, Haa. §§ 1, 14 and note; Haa. § 17 and note; succeeded by Ceolfred, v. 21, p. 332; Bede educated under, p. x; II. 205; v. 24, p. 357; Bede's Life of, *ib.* p. 359; v. Baeda, Hist. Abb.; Bede's homily on, v. Baeda; his library, pp. xviii, xix; Haa. § 15, p. 379; Haa. § 20; buys a MS. of the Cosmographers at Rome, Haa. § 15, p. 380; arranges to exchange it for land with Aldfrid, *ib.*; chronology of life of, II. 364, 374; relics of Easterwine and

Sigfrid placed near, Haa. § 20 and notes; his body said to have been translated to Thorney, II. 365; part of his churches still remaining, p. lxxix note; importance of, in the history of learning, p. xviii; fame of his monastery, II. 335.

**BISHOPS**, bishops of tribes not of cities, II. 176; function of, in councils, II. 325; evil lives of, p. xxxiv; II. 380; neglect of, p. xxxiv; II. 381, 382; share of, in grants of land, II. 386; v. Confirmation, Consecration.

**Bisi**, bishop of the East Angles, attends the Council of Hertford. iv. 5, p. 215; consecrated by Theodore as successor to Boniface or Beretgils, *ib.* p. 217 and note (cf. II. 206); two bishops consecrated in his stead during his life, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 108).

**Bissexti ratio**, Bede's letter on, v. Baeda.

**BLACKWATER**, the, v. Penta.

**Blaecca**, prefect of Lincoln, first of the province of Lindsey to be converted, ii. 16, p. 117 and note.

**Blaedla**, king of the Huns, i. 13; murdered by the treachery of his brother Attila, *ib.* and note.

**BLEIDDIAN**, Welsh name of St. Lupus, II. 33.

**Bliththryd** (Plectrudis), wife of Pippin, who, at her request, grants In Litore (Kaiserswerth) to Swidbert, v. 11, p. 302 and note.

**BLOOD-LETTING**, precepts on, II. 275.

**BLYTHBURGH**, Suffolk, Anna of East Anglia buried at, II. 169.

**BOBBIO**, Columban founder of, II. 83; dies at, *ib.*; Jonas of, v. Jonas.

**BODLEY MSS.**, pp. cviii, cxiii, cxviii.

**BODLEY & MUSAEO**, MS., p. cxxvii.

**Boisil**, 'sacerdos,' prior of Melrose, v. 9, p. 297; iv. 27, p. 269 and note; Cuthbert a pupil of, *ib.* and note; Cuthbert succeeds,

- ib.*; his missionary journeys, *ib.*; prophecies that Cuthbert will be a bishop, iv. 28, p. 272 and note; appears twice in a vision to a former disciple, v. 9, pp. 296-298 and notes; practises what he teaches, p. xxxvi; his death, pp. lxxviii, lxxv; II. 195, 266; was he a bishop?, II. 55, 268; St. Boswell's called from, II. 266; Tweedmouth church dedicated to, *ib.*
- BOLDON**, **UTRED DE**, prior of Finchale, former owner of MS. Buz., p. cviii.
- Bonifacius IV**, pope, consulted by Mellitus about the English Church, ii. 4, p. 88 and note; holds a synod of Italian bishops, *ib.* and note; writes to Laurentius and Ethelbert, *ib.* and note; obtains a grant of the Pantheon from Phocas, *ib.* and note; converts it into a church, *ib.* and note; spurious bull of, to Ethelbert, II. 63; spurious letter of, to Ethelbert, II. 84.
- Bonifatius V**, pontiff of the Roman see, succeeds Deusdedit, ii. 7, p. 94 and note (cf. II. 97); writes to Mellitus and Justus, *ib.* and notes; gives Justus authority to consecrate bishops, ii. 8, p. 95; sends him a letter and pallium, *ib.* pp. 95-97 and notes (cf. II. 52); letter of, to Edwin, ii. 10, pp. 100-104 and notes (cf. II. 58); to Ethelberg, Edwin's wife, ii. 11, pp. 104-106 and notes; his care for the conversion of Northumbria, ii. 12, p. 106; succeeded by Honorius, ii. 17, p. 118 and note; spurious letter of, to Justus, II. 91; died Oct. 625, II. 97.
- Bonifatius**, iii. 20; iv. 5, p. 217; v. Beretgila.
- Bonifatius**, 'archidiaconus et consiliarius papae,' Wilfrid makes friends with, on his first visit to Rome, v. 19, p. 324 and note; identifies Wilfrid at his second appeal, *ib.* p. 328; presents Wilfrid to Eugenius I, II. 322.
- Bonifacius**, 'qui et Uinfridus,' II. 174; bishop of the Franks, martyred, C. 754 and note; succeeded by Redger, *ib.* and note; succeeded by Lullus, p. xx (cf. II. 347); letters of Daniel to, II. 30, 57, 308; sends to Nothelm for a copy of Gregory's Responsa, II. 45, 47; sends documents to Egbert of York, II. 45; addresses questions to Gregory II, and Gregory III, II. 45, 48; letter of, cited, II. 48; letters of, to Daniel, II. 58, 308; forbidden by Pope Zacharias to name his successor, II. 82; Cuthbert of Wearmouth sends MSS. to, p. cxlvii note; asks Egbert of York for Bede's *In Prouerbia*, p. clii note; letter of Eangyth to, II. 150; of Sigebald to, II. 217; letter of, to abbees of St. Mildred's (Eadburg), II. 219; Hildilid a friend of, *ib.*; letters of Pope Zacharias to, II. 82, 266, 277; letter of, to Pope Zacharias, *ib.*; letter of, to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, II. 282, 386; to an English abbees (Bugga), II. 282, 339; hears of the death of Radbod on return from Rome, II. 289; letter of Bugga to, *ib.*; assists Wilbrord, but refuses to be consecrated by him, *ib.*; letter of, to Stephen III about Wilbrord, II. 292, 293; letter of, on the vision of a monk of Wenlock, II. 294; letter of, to Ethelbald, II. 306, 339, 342, 379, 385, 386; commendatory letter for, by Daniel of Winchester, II. 308; letter of Ethelbert II of Kent to, II. 338; letters of, to Egbert of York, and Herefrid, II. 342, 346, 379; Life of, by Willibald, II. 346; letters of, to Hwaetbert, pp. xiv, xxiv; II. 368; to Eadburg, p. xx note.
- Bononia ciuitas**, Boulogne, body

- of Abbot Peter translated to, i. 33 and note; Roman pharus near, II. 23; v. Gessoriacum.
- Boructuari**, one of the tribes of Germany, v. 9, p. 296 and note; expelled by the Old Saxons, v. 11, p. 302; Swidbert goes as missionary bishop to, *ib.* and notes; identified with the Bructeri, II. 286.
- Bosa**, bishop of York, a monk, made bishop of the Deiri on Wilfrid's first expulsion, v. 24, p. 355; iv. 12, p. 229 and note (cf. II. 324); his see at York, *ib.*; consecrated at York by Theodore, *ib.*; iv. 23, p. 253; educated under Hild at Whitby, *ib.*; dies, and is succeeded by John of Hexham, v. 3, p. 285 and note; II. 274, 327; Acca trained under, v. 20, p. 331 and note; expelled from York, II. 326, 330; restored, II. 327.
- Bosanhām**, Boshām, Sussex, small monastery of Irish monks at, iv. 13, p. 231 and notes.
- Bosel**, made bishop of the Hwiccas in place of Tatfrid, iv. 23, p. 255 and note (cf. II. 266); resigns through ill-health, *ib.*; succeeded by Offfor, *ib.*
- Bothelm**, a monk of Hexham, miraculously cured by moss from the cross of Oswald at Hefenfelth, iii. 2, pp. 130, 131 and notes.
- Botuulf**, abbot and founder of Icanhoe, II. 358; Ceolfrid trained under, Haa. § 4 and note (cf. p. xxv); Life of, cited, II. 358; by Folcard, II. 372; his relics translated by Ethelwold, *ib.*
- Bovium**, Cowbridge, Glamorgan-shire, a ruined Roman town, II. 77.
- BOULOGNE**, v. Bononia, Gessoriacum.
- BOURGES**, MS. at, II. 295.
- BOWNESS**, on Solway, Roman wall ends at, II. 15.
- BRADFORD-ON-AVON**, chapel of St. Lawrence at, II. 309.
- BRANDER**, Mr., former owner of MS. O., p. cxvi.
- BREDON**, v. Briudun.
- BREG**, v. Magh Bregh.
- Bregusuid**, mother of Hild, and wife of Hereric, iv. 23, p. 255; her dream before Hild's birth, *ib.* pp. 255, 256 and note.
- BREMEN**, v. Henricus Bremensis.
- BRENDAN**, father of Aed, prince of Tethba, II. 133.
- BRENDAN**, St., legend of mother of, II. 247.
- Brettones**, ii. 2, p. 84; come from Armorica, and occupy the South of Britain, i. 1, p. 11 and note; separated from Picts by Firth of Clyde, *ib.* p. 13; Alcluith, a city of, *ib.*; Pelagius a Breton, i. 10 and note; part of Britain inhabited by them stripped of its military resources, i. 12, p. 25; send embassies to Rome to ask aid against the Picts and Scots, *ib.* pp. 26, 27 and notes; Romans refuse further help to, *ib.* p. 27; help them to fortify Britain, *ib.* and note; implore help unsuccessfully of Aetius, i. 13 and notes; II. 27; attacked by famine, i. 14, p. 29; resist their enemies, *ib.*; harassed by the Picts, *ib.*; invite the Angli, v. 24, p. 352; cowardice of, i. 15, p. 31 and note; Horsa slain in battle by, *ib.*; misery of, *ib.* p. 32; make head against the Saxons under Ambrosius Aurelianus, i. 16 and note; defeat them at Mons Badonicus, *ib.* and note; Picts and Saxons allied against, i. 15, p. 32 and note; i. 20, p. 38 and note; defeated by, under Germanus and Lupus, *ib.* p. 39; neglect to convert the Saxons, i. 22, p. 42 and note; II. 76; harassed by Ethelfrid of Northumbria, i. 34 and note; conferences of Augustine with bishops of, ii. 2, pp. 81-83 and notes; bishops of, unable to cure blind man, *ib.* p. 82; ecclesiastical errors of, *ib.* p. 83 and notes; ii. 4, p. 87

(cf. II. 19); at first held in honour by the Roman missionaries, *ib.* and note; their errors identical with those of the Scotti, *ib.* p. 88; Laurentius writes letters to the clergy of, *ib.* and notes; peoples of, subject to Edwin, ii. 5, p. 89 and note; ii. 9, p. 99; the Meuaniae islands of, ii. 5, p. 89; their contempt for the religion of the English in Bede's day, ii. 20, p. 125 and note; stone churches unknown to, iii. 4, p. 133 and note (cf. II. 101); St. Fursa passes through, on his way to East Anglia, iii. 19, p. 167 and note; share the obstinacy of the Scotti on the Easter question, &c., iii. 25, p. 184 and note (cf. iii. 28, p. 195); v. 22, p. 347 and note; v. 23, p. 351; part of, recover their liberty after the death of Egfrid, iv. 26, p. 267 and note; some of, adopt the orthodox Easter, v. 15, p. 315 and note; especially those subject to the West Saxons, v. 18, p. 321 and note; Aldhelm writes against the errors of, *ib.* p. 320 and note; their errors a punishment for their neglect to convert the English, v. 22, p. 347 and note; their hatred of the Angli, v. 23, p. 351; partly independent, partly subject, *ib.*; II. 311; not easily conquered, II. 29; consecration by a single bishop common among, II. 49; said to have fought at Degastan, II. 66; Ethelbert's supremacy extends over, II. 73; political revival of, c. 600, *ib.*; their defects as missionaries, II. 76; reject the claims of Augustine, *ib.*; call the West Saxons Gegwis, II. 89; wooden buildings characteristic of, II. 101; battle of Denisesburn fatal to, II. 122; broken up by the Saxon invasions, II. 128; probably engaged against Oswald at Maserfelth, II. 152; probably allied

with Penda against Oswy, II. 181, 182; extension of Wilfrid's authority over, II. 208; accused by W. M. of destroying Aldhelm's letter to Gerontius, II. 312.

**Brettonum dux**, Cædwalla, iii. 1, p. 125 and note; meaning of title, II. 122.

**Brettonum gens**, Edwin rules over, ii. 20, p. 124; two bishops of, assist at the consecration of Ceadda, iii. 28, p. 195 and note; call the Angles and Saxons Garmani, v. 9, p. 296 and note; Wilfrid answers for faith of islands inhabited by, v. 19, p. 327 (cf. II. 230).

**Brettonum lingua**, one of the five languages of Britain, i. 1, p. 11 and note; one of four languages, iii. 6, p. 139 and note.

**Brettonum natio**, Nynias belongs to, iii. 4, p. 133; miraculous experience of a member of, iii. 10 and notes; subject to Oswald, iii. 6, p. 138 (cf. II. 86).

**Brettonum prouincia**, ii. 2, p. 81 and note; ii. 9, p. 99.

**Brettonum rex**, Cædwalla, ii. 20, p. 124 and notes; iii. 1, p. 127 and notes; iii. 9, p. 145; Cerdic, iv. 23, p. 255 and note; Cadwaladrus, p. cxvi; v. Strathclyde.

**Brettonicus rex**, Cædwalla, iii. 1, p. 128.

**BRETWALDADOM**, nature of, II. 85, 110, 186.

**Bridius**, son of Meilchon, king of the Picts in the time of Columba, iii. 4, p. 133 and notes; grants Iona to Columba, II. 131, 132.

**BRIDLINGTON**, Yorks., MS. O., possibly belonged to monastery of St. Mary at, p. cxxi.

**BRIGANTES**, name of Berniciî derived from, II. 105.

**Brigensis abbatissa**, Saethryd, iii. 8, p. 142; Aedilberg, *ib.* and note; v. In Brige.

**BRIGHT**, St., vision of, II. 287.

**BRINTHELM**, II. 294; v. Dryethelm.

**Britannus**, v. 7, p. 293.

**BRITISH CHURCH**, peculiarities and defects of, II. 75, 76; neglects

to convert the Saxons, II. 76, 101; v. Celtic Churches.

**Brittani**, overcome Caesar's cavalry, i. 2, p. 14; dispersed by Caesar, *ib.*; Caesar returns from, to Gaul, *ib.*; converted under Lucius, i. 4 and note; keep the faith till the time of Diocletian, *ib.*; originate Pelagianism, i. 10 and notes; assisted by the Romans to fortify Britain, i. 12, p. 27 and notes; letter of, to Aetius, i. 13 and notes; grant settlement to the Saxons, i. 15, p. 31 and notes; apply to the bishops of Gaul for help against the Pelagians, i. 17, pp. 33, 34 and note; merchants of, come to Gaul, II. 72; relations of, to Chester, II. 77. **Brittanorum insula**, Arculfus driven on to, II. 304.

**Brittania**, i. 14, p. 30; position and measurements of, i. 1, p. 9 and notes; products of, *ib.* p. 10 and notes; hot springs in, *ib.* and note; former cities of, *ib.* and note; length of days in, *ib.* pp. 10, 11 and note; five languages in, *ib.* p. 11 and notes; South of, occupied by the Britons, *ib.* pp. 11, 12 and note; the largest island, *ib.* p. 11; North of, occupied by the Picts, *ib.* p. 12 and note; settlement of Scotti in, *ib.* and notes; inferior to Ireland in salubrity, *ib.* and note; unknown to the Romans till the time of Julius Caesar, i. 2, p. 13 and note; twice invaded by him, *ib.* pp. 13, 14; shortest passage to, from the Morini, *ib.* p. 13; reduced by Claudius, i. 3 and notes; Vespasian sent to, *ib.* and notes; distance of Wight from, *ib.*; nearly lost by Nero, *ib.*; Lucius king of, v. 24, p. 352; fortified by Severus, *ib.*; recovered by Asclepiodotus from Allectus, i. 6; glory of, in the persecution of Diocletian, *ib.*; gave birth to Alban, i. 7, p. 18 and note; churches of, at peace, i. 8; invaded by the Arian heresy, *ib.*

and note; Constantius dies in, *ib.* and note; Constantine emperor in, *ib.* and note; Maximus tyrant in, i. 9 and note; v. 24, p. 352; Roman occupation of, i. 26, p. 47; II. 4, 17; Roman remains in, i. 11 and notes; cessation of Roman rule in, *ib.*; v. 24, p. 352; stripped of its military resources, i. 12, p. 25 (cf. II. 23); attacked by Picts and Scots, *ib.*; arrival of Angles and Saxons in, i. 15, p. 30 and note; v. 24, p. 352; civil wars and demoralisation of, i. 22 and notes; inhabitants of, neglect to evangelise the Angles and Saxons, *ib.* and note; Augustine sent to, i. 23, p. 42 and notes; i. 24; v. 24, p. 353; arrives in, *ib.*; i. 25, p. 44 and note; returns to, after consecration, i. 27, p. 48; bishops in, how to be appointed, i. 29, p. 63; all bishops of, to be subject to Augustine, *ib.* p. 64 and note; pallium sent by Gregory to, v. 24, p. 353; English slaves from, sold in Rome, ii. 1, pp. 79, 80 and notes; Gregory wishes to send missionaries to, *ib.* p. 80; ancient inhabitants of, cared for by Laurentius, ii. 4, p. 87; Ireland next to, *ib.*; Britons in, *ib.*; Roman missionaries enter, *ib.*; Mellitus returns to, *ib.* p. 88; all inhabitants of, English and British, subject to Edwin, ii. 5, p. 89; the Mevaniae insulae between Ireland and, *ib.*; northern parts of, occupied by Picts and Scots, *ib.* pp. 89, 90; Hengist the first to enter, *ib.* p. 90; all districts of, occupied by English and Britons, subject to Edwin, ii. 9, p. 99; Edwin wanders through all the provinces of, ii. 12, p. 108; date of the arrival of Angli in, ii. 14, p. 114; v. 23, p. 351; v. 24, pp. 352, 353; v. Saxones; Cædwalla threatens to exterminate the English from, ii. 20, p. 125 and note; wall built across, by the Romans, iii. 2,

of the manuscript in, *ib.* p. 134;  
 note: all nations and provi  
 of, subject to Oswald, iii.  
 p. 138: four languages of  
 and note: Birinus comes to,  
 7, p. 139: Agilbert departs fr  
*ib.* p. 141 and notes: many  
 from, to the Frankish mon  
 teries of Gaul, iii. 8, p. 142 a  
 note; II. 373: fame of Oswa  
 throughout, iii. 13, p. 152 a  
 notes; ravages of plague in, *ib.*  
 Haa. § 13; begins in the Sou  
 of, iii. 27, p. 192 and note; E  
 bert vows not to return to,  
 p. 193 and note; Wine the en  
 bishop in, canonically cons  
 crated, iii. 28, p. 195 and note  
 • Wilfrid returns to, *ib.*; church  
 of the English in, iii. 29, p. 196  
 Wighard sent from, Haa. §  
 and note; letter of Vitalia  
 sent to, *ib.* and notes; Vitalia  
 asks Hadrian to go to, as arch  
 bishop, iv. 1, p. 202; Hadrian  
 promises to conduct Theodore  
 to, *ib.*; Theodore sent to, *ib.*  
 p. 203; sails from Quentawic  
 to, *ib.* and note; Ebroin sus  
 pects Hadrian of having a mis  
 sion from the emperor to the  
 kings of, *ib.* and note; Theo  
 dore's times the happiest since  
 the Angli came to, iv. 2, p. 205;  
 Wilfrid sent from, *ib.*; Hygbald

- II. 7; reasons for Roman invasion of, II. 8, 11; frequently attacked from the Orkneys, II. 13, 14; Roman fortifications in, II. 15-17; Roman administration of, II. 4, 17; persecution of Diocletian does not extend to, II. 18; influence of Arianism in, exaggerated, II. 20; other heresies in, *ib.*; impolicy of local emperors in, II. 22, 23; Geronius invites the Germans to invade, II. 23; called the island of the Deiri, II. 23; Roman lighthouses in, *ib.*; continental Saxons said to have come from, II. 29; popularity of St. Martin in, II. 43; churches of, placed under Augustine by Gregory, II. 52; divided into Upper and Lower, by Severus, *ib.*; Oswald emperor of, II. 86; Canterbury metropolis of, II. 92; Lindisfarne the most sacred place in, II. 126; Whitern the first stone church in, II. 130; Irish missions to North of, II. 131; the only name given by Bede to the whole island, II. 149; later comes to mean Wales, *ib.* (cf. II. 172); Adamnan includes Iona in, II. 186; Cunibert, king of the Lombards, thinks of flying to, II. 279. *Britanniae dorsum*, ? *i.e.* the Mounth, II. 331. *Britanniae lingua*, ii. 1, p. 78. Scotti qui inhabitant Britanniam, *v.* Scotti.
- Britanniae**, Julius Caesar and Claudius the first and second of the Romans to invade, *v.* 24, p. 352; Lucius king of, i. 4 and note; seized by Carausius, i. 6 and note; Gratianus tyrant in, i. 11; Pelagianism introduced into, i. 17, p. 33; Germanus and Lupus sent to, *ib.* pp. 34, 35 and notes; Germanus and Severus visit, i. 21, p. 40; Wight the last of the provinces of, to be converted, *iv.* 16, p. 238; Bede's ecclesiastical history of, *v.* 24, p. 356; *v.* Baeda; Vitalian deliberates whom to send as archbishop to, *Hab.* § 3; manufacture of glass unknown in, before Benedict Biscop, *Hab.* § 5 and note; Biscop brings John the archchanter to, *Hab.* § 5, p. 369 and note; papal privilege for Ceolfred brought to, *Hab.* § 15, p. 380. *Britanniarum archiepiscopus*, Augustinus, ii. 3, p. 85. *Britanniarum episcopi*, relations of Augustine to, defined, i. 27, pp. 52, 53 and notes.
- Brittanious**, Claudius gives his son the title of, i. 3.
- BRITANNY**, *p.* *eviii.*
- Briudun**, Bredon, Worcestershire, Tatwin a priest of the monastery of, *v.* 23, p. 350 and note; in Mercia, *ib.*
- Brocmall**, appointed to guard the monks of Bangor at the battle of Chester, ii. 2, p. 84; his flight, *ib.* and note.
- BROMNIS**, unidentified, Osfrith prefect in, II. 325, 326.
- BROWNING**, Robert, cited, pp. xxxviii, lxxv note; II. 250.
- brucosus**, II. 305.
- BRUCTERI**, *v.* Boructuari.
- BRUDE MAC BILL**, king of the Picts, attacks the Orkneys, II. 14; defeats Egfrid at Nechtsnamere, II. 261; his pedigree, *ib.*
- BRUDE MAC DERILL**, king of the Picts, II. 331; *v.* Bridius.
- BRUNANBURGH**, battle of, compared with Degsastan, II. 66; compared with the Winwæd, II. 183; other names of, *ib.*
- BRUNHILD**, queen of the Franks, II. 39, 41; Baldhild confused with, II. 322.
- BRUNO**, archbishop of Verona, II. 51.
- BRUSSELS**, Irish MS. at, II. 285.
- BRUTUS**, legend of, II. 8, 149.
- BUGGA**, letter of, to St. Boniface, II. 289; letter of St. Boniface to, II. 282, 339 (cf. II. xxxvi); *v.* Eadburg.
- BUILDING**, modes of, II. 101, 102, 154, 331.
- BURFORD**, battle of, II. 346.
- BURGH CASTLE**, *v.* Cnobheresburg.



Burghelm, presbyter, assists Wilfrid in the conversion of Sussex, iv. 13. p. 230.

BURGUNDIA, Petrus de, v. Petrus.

Burgundii, Bishop Felix comes from, ii. 15, p. 116 and note (cf. II. 168); Langres a city of, Haa. § 32; Arigius patricius of, II. 37, 39; Theoderic king of, II. 39; Columban apostle of, II. 83 (cf. II. 108); invaded by the Saracens as a divine judgement, II. 339; a dux of, carries off the relics of the twin martyrs, II. 370.

BURGUNDOFARA, v. Fara.

BURIAL on day of death, II. 36, 227, 240. 369.

BURNEY MSS., pp. cvii, cxx, cxxxvii.

BURTON, North, or Cherry Burton, II. 276; granted to Beverley, *ib.*

BURTON, South, or Bishop Burton, II. 276.

BURY ST. EDMUND'S, Henry VI stays at, II. 5; date of foundation of, II. 148; founded by Sigbert the Good, of East Anglia, II. 168; MS. formerly belonging to, II. 366.

BUTLER, Joseph, bishop of Durham, his dying words cited, p. lxxiv note.

### C.

CADOC, St., said to have studied in Ireland, II. 196.

CADROE, St., Life of, cited, II. 127.

CADVAN, king of Gwynedd, Edwin takes refuge with, II. 93, 114.

CADWALADRUS, king of North Wales, confused with Cædwalla of Wessex, p. cxvi; II. 279, 280; son of Cadwallon, II. 152, 279; probably engaged against Oswald at Maserfelth, *ib.*; dies of the plague, II. 195, 279; said to have fled to Armorica, and died at Rome, *ib.*

CADWALLON, v. Cædualla.

Cæcilia, iv. 20, p. 248 and note; Willbrord consecrated in the church of, at Rome, v. 11, p. 303 and note.

Cædmon, a monk of Whitby, iv. 24, pp. 258, 260; none among the English could equal his religious poems, *ib.* p. 259 (cf. II. 254); story of his miraculous gift of song, *ib.* pp. 259, 260 and notes (cf. p. xliiv); his mode of composition, *ib.* pp. 260, 261 and notes (cf. II. 257); his character, *ib.* p. 261 and note; story of his death, *ib.* pp. 261, 262 and notes; p. lxviii; II. 165, 368; AS. version of his hymn, pp. cxiii, cxxiv; II. 251, 252; derivation of the name, II. 249; alleged translation to Glastonbury, II. 251; authorship of the poems ascribed to, II. 252-254; their relation to the *Heliand*, II. 253, 254.

Cædualla, king of the Britons, identical with Cadwallon, king of Gwynedd, II. 114; son of Cadvan, II. 93, 114. 279; Edwin brought up with, II. 114; rebels against Edwin, ii. 20, p. 124 and notes; defeats and slays him in the battle of Hatfield, *ib.* and notes; his barbarity, *ib.* p. 125 and note; threatens to exterminate the English race from Britain, *ib.* and note; slays Osric and Eanfrid, iii. 1, pp. 127, 128 and notes; ravages Northumbria, *ib.* p. 128; captures York, *ib.* and note; slain by Oswald at Denisesburn, *ib.* and notes; besieged by Edwin in Priestholme, and obliged to flee to Ireland, II. 115; said to have forced Penda to join him, *ib.*; driven by Edwin into Arvon, *ib.*; confused with Cædwalla of Wessex, II. 122, 279.

Cædualla, Cæduald, king of the West Saxons, of the royal race of the Gewissai, iv. 15 and note; while in exile slays Ethelwalh, and oppresses Sussex, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 229); expelled by Berthun and Andhun, *ib.* and note; recovers and oppresses Sussex, *ib.*; conquers

- Wight, exterminating the population, iv. 16, pp. 236, 237; places West Saxons in it, *ib.* p. 237; grants a fourth part of it to Wilfrid, *ib.* and note; wounded, *ib.*; allows two young princes to be baptized before execution, *ib.* pp. 237, 238 and note; gains the West Saxon throne, *ib.*; iv. 16, p. 236 and note; iv. 12, p. 228 and notes; resigns, *ib.*; v. 7, p. 292 and notes; goes to Rome, *ib.* *ib.* and notes: v. 24, p. 355 (cf. II. 345); dies at Rome, iv. 12, p. 228; v. 7, p. 292 and notes; v. 8, p. 294; succeeded by Ini, iv. 15; v. 7, p. 294 and note; baptized at Rome under Sergius, by the name of Peter, v. 7, pp. 292, 293 and notes; buried in St. Peter's at Rome, *ib.* p. 293; his epitaph, *ib.* and note; Theodore dies a year after, v. 8, p. 294; confused with Cadwalader of North Wales, p. cxvi; II. 279, 280; with Cædwalla or Cadwallon, II. 122, 279; his rise to power, II. 220, 221; said to have granted Selsey to Wilfrid, II. 226; receives assistance from Wilfrid, II. 229, 326; Wilfrid at court of, II. 319; recovers districts belonging to Wessex, II. 246; his encroachments on Kent, II. 265; extent of his power, II. 278; his gifts to St. Vulmar, II. 279; received by Cunibert, king of the Lombards, *ib.*
- Caelestinus**, v. 24, p. 352; v. Celestinus.
- CAELIAN HILL**, church of the 'Quattuor Coronati' on, II. 91.
- Caelin, Ceaulin**, king of the West Saxons, the second of the seven great English kings, ii. 5, p. 89 and note; defeats Ethelbert of Kent, II. 87.
- Caelin**, brother of Cedd, iii. 23, pp. 175, 176; domestic chaplain to Ethelwald of Deira, *ib.* p. 175 and note.
- Caesar, C. Iulius**, consul with Lucius Bibulus, i. 2, p. 13 and note; makes war on the Germans and Gauls, *ib.*; comes to the Morini, *ib.*; invades Britain twice, *ib.* pp. 13, 14 and notes (cf. II. 6); battles with the Britons, *ib.* p. 14; returns to Gaul, *ib.* and note; first to invade Britain, *ib.* p. 13 and note; i. 3, 11; v. 24, p. 352; dedicates an offering of British pearls, II. 6; command in Gaul conferred upon, II. 12.
- CAESAREA PHILIPPI**, sources of Jordan near, II. 4.
- CAHOES**, Desiderius bishop of, II. 168.
- Caiphaz**, vision of, in torment, v. 14, p. 314 and note.
- CAIRBRE RIADA**, son of Conaire, eponymous of Dal Riada, II. 9.
- Calcaria ciuitas**, Tadcaster, Yorks., Heiu retires to, iv. 23, p. 253; called by the English Kælcaestir, *ib.* and note.
- Calcedon**, Council of, against Nestorius and Eutyches, iv. 17, p. 240 and note; II. 230; collection of canons approved by, II. 212.
- Cale**, iv. 23, p. 253; v. In Cale.
- CALIXTUS II**, letter of Archbishop Ralph to, II. 12.
- CALVINUS**, letter of Alcuin to, II. 70.
- CAMBOISE**, Northumberland, perhaps identical with Ad Uillam Sambuce, II. 365.
- CAMBRAI**, Gerard bishop of, II. 48.
- CAMBRIDGE**, University of, MSS. given to, by George I, p. lxxxix; MSS. belonging to, pp. lxxxix, clii note; origin of, traced to Sigbert's East Anglian school, II. 168 (cf. I. 429).
- Campania**, Iulianus of, i. 10; v. Iulianus; Neapolis in, iv. 1, p. 202.
- Campodonum**, ? Slack, near Huddersfield, royal vill at, ii. 14, p. 115 and note; Paulinus builds church at, *ib.* and note; burnt

Church by Gregory I.  
commended by him to Ethel-  
*ib.* and note; letter of G  
to, II. 37.

CANDLEMAS, ceremonies of,  
ferred from Lupercalia, II.  
CANONICAL HOURS, observan-  
pp. xxv, xxvi.

CANT, Walter, of Edinburgh.  
merly owned MSS. O<sub>3</sub>, O<sub>1</sub>,  
cxxi, cxxv.

Canterbury, verses on the  
bishops of, p. cxx; sc.  
school of, Italian in charac-  
p. xx note; Liudhard not a  
bishop of, II. 42; Ken-  
capital not transferred from,  
44; documents preserved at,  
2, 45; archbishops of, go  
Rome for their pallium, II.,  
substituted for London as  
metropolitan church of Sou-  
ern Britain, II. 52; unkno-  
to the Romans, *ib.*; question  
primacy of, II. 52, 53, 57; do-  
ments forged in support  
claims of, II. 84, 91, 92, 1  
205, 283; Gregory asserted  
have fixed the primacy at,  
92; claims to possess the sk  
of St. Fursa, II. 174; scho-  
at, II. 168, 205; obligations  
Bede to, II. 206; archbish-  
of, r. Cuthbert, Odo, Dunst-  
Ethelhard, Lanf-

- Edwin's treasures still preserved in, in Bede's time, ii. 20, p. 126 and notes; commemorations in, II. 138. Cantiae reges, to be buried in the church of SS. Peter and Paul, i. 33 and note; Mul not to be reckoned among, II. 265.
- Cantica** **Canticorum**, Bede's commentary on, v. 24, p. 358; Bede's chapters of readings on, *ib.*; v. Baeda.
- Cantuarii**, not subject to Edwin, ii. 5, p. 89; Roman mode of chanting in use among, ii. 20, p. 126 and note; schools of, imitated in East Anglia, iii. 18 and note; Rochester a castle of, iv. 5, p. 215 (cf. II. 80); the South Saxons next to, iv. 13, p. 230. **Cantuariorum ecclesia**, Albinus trained in, Pref. p. 6 and notes; acts of Gregory's disciples in, *ib.* **Cant. ecclesiae** (*i.e.* Canterbury and Rochester), Tatwin and Aldwulf bishops of, in 731, v. 23, p. 350. **Cant. episcopus**, Honorius, iii. 25, p. 182. **Cant. gens**, Ithamar belongs to, iii. 14, p. 154 and note. **Cant. provincia**, Bertgils belongs to, iii. 20. **Cant. regnum**, Eadbald rules, ii. 9, p. 97; foreign kings ruin, iv. 26, p. 268 and note. **Cant. rex**, Ethelbert, ii. 5, p. 89 and notes; v. 24, p. 353; II. 390; Eadbald, iii. 8, p. 142; v. 24, p. 354; Egbert, iii. 29, p. 196; iv. 5, p. 217; v. 24, p. 354; Hab. § 3; Earcnbert, iv. 1, p. 201; iv. 19, p. 244; v. 24, p. 354; Hlothhere, iv. 26, p. 268; v. 24, p. 355; Witred, v. 23, p. 348 and note; v. 24, p. 356. **Cant. reges**, called Oiscingas, ii. 5, p. 90 and note; Edwin allied with, ii. 9, p. 97; v. Centenses.
- Caprae Caput**, *r.* **Ad Caprae Caput**. **Capraja**, *r.* **Cerui Insula**.
- CAPUA**, Victor bishop of, II. 201.
- Caracalla**, *v.* **Bassianus**.
- Carausius**, **Corausius**, of low origin, i. 6; sent to repress the piracy of the Franks and Saxons, *ib.*; seizes Britain and makes himself emperor, *ib.* and note; slain by the treachery of Allectus, *ib.*; impolicy of, and his successors, II. 22.
- CARITATE**, S. Maria de, monastery of, in diocese of Auxerre, p. c note; Gerard, prior of, *ib.*; MS. H<sub>1</sub> probably belonged to, *ib.*
- Carlegion**, British name of **Ciuitas Legionum**, *or* **Chester**, ii. 2, p. 84 and note (cf. II. 77).
- CARLISLE**, Cuthbert and Eormenburg at, at time of Egfrid's death, II. 261; Thomas Appleby, bishop of, II. 269; v. **Lugubalia**.
- CARNARVON**, origin of the name, II. 152.
- CAROLINE MINUSCULE**, developed at St. Martin's, Tours, p. xx note.
- Caroloman**, succeeds his father Charles Martel as king of the Franks, C. 741 and note; resigns and becomes a monk at Rome, II. 345, 346.
- Carolus** (Charles Martel), king of the Franks, dies, C. 741 and note; II. 289; father of Pippin and grandfather of Charles the Great, *ib.*; at war with Radbod, *ib.*; contest of Plectrudis with, II. 291; regrants Utrecht to Wilbrord, II. 292; defeats the Saracens at Tours, II. 339.
- CARPOPHORUS**, one of the 'quatuor Coronati,' II. 91.
- CARTHAGE**, Council of, II. 212.
- CASINO**, **MONTE**, *v.* **Monte Casino**.
- CASSIODORUS**, his use of previous writers, p. l note; on the **Palma**, MS. of, ascribed to Bede, p. xx note; cited, p. clvi note.
- Cassobellaunus**, leads the Britons against Caesar, i. 2, p. 14; his capital captured, *ib.*
- CASTLE HOWARD**, MS. at, II. 265.
- CASTOR**, Northants, Cyneburg and Cyneswith nuns at, and buried at, II. 175.
- CASTORIUS**, a saint, II. 91.
- 'castus,' 'castitas' = 'orthodox,' 'orthodoxy,' II. 199, 311, 331.
- CATALOGUS FELICIANUS**, II. 14.

**Cataracta, Cataracto.** Catterick, Yorkshire, on the Swale, ii. 14. p. 115 and note; village near. called after James the deacon. ii. 20. p. 126 and note; Wilfaresdun ten miles from, iii. 14. p. 155 and notes.

**CATOABAIL CATGUOMMED,** king of Gwynedd, escapes from the battle of the Winwæd, II. 183.

**CATSCAUL,** Welsh name of the battle of Denisesburn. II. 121.

**CATTERICK,** *r.* Cataracta.

**Ceadda,** bishop of the Mercians, converts the Mercians. Pref. p. 7 and note; reconverts the East Saxons, *ib.* and note; founds Lastingham, *ib.* and note; brother of Cedd, iii. 23. p. 176; iii. 28. p. 195; succeeds Cedd at Lastingham, *ib.* *ib.*; third bishop of the Mercians under Wulfhere, iii. 24. p. 180 and note; sent by Oswy with Eadhed to Kent to be consecrated, iii. 28. pp. 194, 195 (cf. v. 19. p. 326 and notes; v. 24. p. 354; II. 189. 316; goes to Wessex and is consecrated by Wine and two British bishops, *ib.* p. 195 and notes (cf. II. 146); a disciple of Aidan, *ib.* and note; his character, *ib.*; p. xxxvi; deposed by Theodore, iv. 2. p. 205 and notes; reconsecrated by Theodore, *ib.* and notes; in retirement at Lastingham, v. 19. p. 326; iv. 3. p. 206 (cf. II. 207); Theodore asks Oswy to send him to Mercia as bishop, *ib.* and note; Theodore insists on his riding on his episcopal tours, *ib.* (cf. II. 136); becomes bishop of the Mercians and Lindisfari, *ib.* p. 207 and note; Wulfhere grants him land for a monastery at Ad Baruae, *ib.* and note; fixes his see at Lichfield, *ib.* and note; story of his death, *ib.* pp. 207-210 and notes (cf. p. lxxviii; II. 195); his character, *ib.* pp. 210, 211 (cf. p. lxxvii); had studied in Ireland, *ib.* p. 211 (cf. II. 190,

196); buried near St. Mary's Church, Lichfield, iv. 3. p. 212; translated to St. Peter's Church, *ib.*; miracles wrought at his tomb, *ib.*; succeeded by Wynfrid, *ib.*; confused with Cedd, II. 162, 176.

**Cearl,** king of the Mercians, father of Cwenburg, Edwin's first wife, ii. 14. p. 114 and note.

**Ceaulin,** *r.* Caelin.

**Cecilia,** *r.* Caecilia.

**Cedd,** bishop of the East Saxons, as presbyter accompanies Peada to evangelise the Middle Angles, iii. 21. p. 170 and note (cf. Pref. p. 7 and note); recalled by Oswy, and sent to reconvert the East Saxons, iii. 22. p. 172 (cf. Pref. p. 7 and note); goes to Lindisfarne to consult Finan, *ib.*; consecrated bishop of the East Saxons by him, *ib.* and note; builds churches, &c., *ib.* p. 173 and note; founds monasteries at Ythancaestir and Tilbury, *ib.* and notes; excommunicates a royal geith for an unlawful marriage, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 48); foretells the death of Sigbert for having intercourse with the excommunicate, *ib.* pp. 173, 174; baptizes Swidhelm at Rendlesham, *ib.* p. 174 and note; frequently visits his own province Northumbria, iii. 23. p. 174; receives from Ethelwald of Deira a site for the foundation of a monastery at Lastingham, *ib.* pp. 174, 175 (cf. Pref. p. 7 and note; II. 133); ascetic ritual observed by, at the foundation, *ib.* pp. 175, 176 (cf. II. 178); summoned by Ethelwald during the foundation, *ib.* p. 176; leaves his brother Cynibill to complete it, *ib.*; trained at Lindisfarne, *ib.* and note; dies of the plague at Lastingham, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 195); burial and translation of, *ib.*; his brothers, Cynibill, *ib.*; Caelin, *ib.* pp. 175, 176; Ceadda, *ib.* p. 176 (cf. iii. 28,

- p. 195); leaves Lastingham to Ceadda, *ib.*; some of his monks from E-sex come to Lastingham to be near his tomb, *ib.* and notes; all die of the plague except one preserved by his intercession, *ib.* pp. 176, 177 and notes; consecrated by the Scotti, iii. 25, p. 183; acts as interpreter at the Synod of Whitby, *ib.* and note; gives up the practices of the Scotti, iii. 26, p. 189 (cf. II. 193); retires to his see, *ib.*; his soul seen in a vision coming to fetch the soul of Ceadda, iv. 3, p. 211; asceticism of, p. xxx note; rides, II. 136; confused with Ceadda, II. 162, 176; never called bishop of London by Bede, II. 178.
- CEILA**, Keilah, relieved by David, II. 367.
- CELANENSIS**, miswriting of Eclanensis, II. 22; v. Eclanum.
- Celestinus**, pontiff of the Roman Church, sends Palladius as bishop to the Christian Scotti, i. 13 and notes; v. 24, p. 352; said to have sent Germanus to Britain, II. 32.
- Cellach**, iii. 24, p. 179; v. Ceolach.
- CELTIC CHURCHES**, dates of conformity of, on the Easter question, p. xxxix note; II. 125, 300, 301; consecration by a single bishop common in, II. 49; but not universal, II. 178; those in Britain placed under Augustine by Gregory, II. 52; how far subject to Rome, II. 53; relations of Laurentius with, II. 82, 83; v. British Church, Irish Church.
- CENEDA**, Fortunatus born at, II. 18.
- CENFUS**, reigns in Wessex, II. 200, 201.
- CENSORIUS**, bishop of Auxerre, Constantius' Life of Germanus addressed to, II. 32.
- CENTENSES**, the people of Kent, II. 264; v. Cantuarii.
- CENTWINE**, king in Wessex, II. 221; entry into monastery, death, and burial, *ib.*; succeeded by Cædwalla, II. 278; married to a sister of Eormen-burg, II. 326; expels Wilfrid from Wessex, *ib.*; Wilfrid helps Cædwalla against, *ib.*
- CENULF**, king of Mercia, letter of, to Leo III about the primacy, II. 53; 57.
- See also* Coen-, Coin-.
- Ceolfrid**, abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, presbyter, Haa. § 1; his noble birth, Haa. § 2 and note (cf. p. xxxv note); becomes a monk at Gilling, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 164); invited to Ripon by Wilfrid, Haa. § 3 and note (cf. II. 323); ordained priest by him, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 317); goes to Kent, *ib.* and note; p. xviii note; trained under Botulf in East Anglia, Haa. § 4 and note (cf. p. xxv); returns to Ripon, *ib.* and note; joins Benedict Biscop, and assists him in the foundation of Wearmouth, Haa. §§ 5-7 and notes (cf. Hab. § 22; II. 369); retires to Ripon in disgust, but returns, Haa. § 8 and note; p. xxix note; accompanies Benedict to Rome, iv. 18, p. 241 and note; Hab. § 7, p. 370 and note; § 16; Haa. § 9 and note; § 10; p. xiv; II. 359, 361, 369; co-founder of Jarrow, Hab. § 15, p. 379 and note; Haa. §§ 11, 12 (cf. II. 193, 361); made abbot of Jarrow, Hab. § 7, p. 370; § 13; § 14, p. 379; Haa. § 12; p. xi (cf. II. 335); consents to the election of Sigfrid as abbot of Wearmouth, Hab. § 10 and note; Haa. § 13 and note; his conduct during the plague, Haa. § 14 and note; p. xii; II. 195; made abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, v. 21, p. 332; Hab. § 13 and note; § 15, p. 379 and note; II. 364; Haa. §§ 16-19; p. xiv; his government, Hab. § 15, pp. 379, 380 and notes; Haa. §§ 19, 20; pp. xiv, xxix; II.

335, 364; governs for twenty-seven years, Haa. § 19 and note; increases Benedict's library, pp. xviii, xix; Hab. § 15, p. 379 and notes; Haa. § 20; brings a MS. of the Itala from Rome, Hab. § 15, p. 379 and note; takes a MS. of the Vulgate (Codex Amiatinus) with him when he resigns, *ib.* and note; Haa. §§ 20, 37; p. xix; exchanges a MS. with Aldfrid for land, Hab. § 15, p. 380 and notes; exchanges this land with Osred for other land, *ib.* and note; sends monks to Rome for a new papal privilege, *ib.* and note; Haa. § 20; p. xvii; Witmer becomes a monk under, Hab. § 15, p. 380 and note; Naiton (Nechtan), king of the Picts, sends envoys to, v. 21, pp. 332, 333; his letter to Naiton on the Easter and tonsure questions, *ib.* pp. 333-345 and notes (cf. II. 353); argues with Adamnan on these questions, *ib.* pp. 344, 345 (cf. II. 301, 302, 353); sends architects to Naiton, *ib.* p. 333; his letter to Naiton really by Bede, II. 332, 392; resolves to resign and go to Rome, pp. xiv, xv; II. 282; Hab. § 16 and notes; Haa. §§ 21, 22; his departure, pp. xiv, cxlviii; II. 330; Hab. § 17 and notes; Haa. §§ 23-28 and notes; confirms the election of Hwætbert, p. xiv; Hab. § 18 and notes; Haa. §§ 29, 30; commendatory letter of Hwætbert for, Hab. §§ 18, 19, pp. 383, 384 and note; Haa. § 30 and note; sojourns in the monastery of Cornu Vallis, Haa. § 29; II. 368; embarks at the mouth of the Humber, Haa. § 31; reaches Gaul, Haa. § 32; is received by Chilperic II, *ib.* and note; his death at Langres, burial, and character, Hab. §§ 21-23 and notes; Haa. §§ 32-36 and notes; p. xv; his devotion to the Psalter, Hab. § 22 and note;

Haa. § 33 (cf. II. 127); proceedings of his comrades after his death, Hab. § 21 and notes; Haa. §§ 37, 38 (cf. II. 180); anecdote of his father, Haa. § 34 and note; Gregory II acknowledges his gift, Haa. § 39 and notes; miracles after his death, Haa. § 40; Bede educated under, p. x; v. 24, p. 357; Bede ordained deacon and priest by command of, *ib.* *ib.*; Bede's life of, *ib.* p. 359; v. Baeda, Hist. Abb.; anonymous Life of, printed, I. 388-404 and notes; Bede's account of, and grief at his departure, pp. xv, xvi; II. 366, 367; letter of Pope Sergius to, pp. xvi, xvii; affection of Bede for, p. xxxiii; alleged translation of, to Glastonbury, II. 167, 369; related to Benedict Biscop, II. 364; his body translated to Wearmouth, II. 369; chronology of life of, II. 370.

**Ocellach**, 'de natione Scottorum,' bishop of the Middle Angles and Mercians, succeeds Diuma, iii. 21, p. 171; iii. 24, p. 179 and note; resigns the bishopric and retires to Iona (Scottia), *ib.* *ib.* and note; succeeded by Trumhere, *ib.* *ib.* and note.

**Ceolred**, king of the Mercians, son of Ethelred, succeeds Cenred, v. 19, p. 322 and note; dies, v. 24, p. 356; his vicious character, II. 306, 314; his death, *ib.*; vision of his future punishment, II. 294, 314; his wars with Inl, *ib.*; a friend of Wilfrid, *ib.*; II. 328; persecutes Ethelbald, II. 342; succeeded by him, *ib.*; attacks on the Church date from, II. 314, 386.

**Ceolulf**, king of the Northumbrians, Bede dedicates and sends the H. E. to, Pref. p. 5 and note (cf. II. 340); his zeal for knowledge, *ib.*; brother of Cenred, v. 23, p. 349 (cf. II. 336); succeeds Oario, *ib.* and note; troubles of his reign, *ib.* and note (cf. pp. xxxiv, xl);

- king in 731, *ib.* p. 350; imprisoned, tonsured, and restored, C. 731; p. xxxiv; II. 340; voluntarily tonsured, C. 737; p. xxxiv; II. 340; succeeded by Eadbert, C. 737; Bede urges Egbert to co-operate with, *Ee.* § 9, p. 412 and note; son of Cuthwine, II. 336, 340; called Eochaid by the Irish, *ib.*; relaxes the asceticism of Lindisfarne, *ib.*; buried there, *ib.*; his body translated to Norham, *ib.*; his head at Durham, *ib.*; makes Egbert bishop of York, II. 379; his relationship to Egbert and Eadbert, II. 384.
- Cerberus, *Ee.* § 17, p. 422 and note.
- Cerdio, rex Brettonum, Hereric, an exile, poisoned at the court of, *iv.* 23, p. 255 and note.
- CERETIC, *v.* Cerdic.
- Cerotaessi, id est Ceroti insula, Chertsey, in Surrey near the Thames, *iv.* 6, pp. 218, 219; Earconwald founds a monastery at, *ib.* and notes; Sigebald abbot of, (?) II. 217; forged charters of, *ib.*; destroyed by Danes and restored by Edgar, *ib.*
- Cerui Insula, *v.* Heruteu.
- CERUI INSULA, Capraja, II. 184.
- CESTRA, II. 77; *v.* Legionum Ciuitas.
- CETULA, a British king, slain at the battle of Chester, II. 77.
- CHAINS, miraculously loosed, II. 243.
- Chaldaei, destroy Jerusalem, *i.* 15, p. 32.
- CHÂLONS-SUR-SAÔNE, Lupus bishop of, II. 39.
- CHANTING, systems of, Ambrosian, Gregorian, and Irish, II. 118, 119, 234.
- CHARIBERT, king of Paris, father of Bertha, II. 42, 117.
- CHARLES MARTEL, *v.* Carolus.
- CHARLES THE GREAT, extends the use of Gregorian chanting in Europe, II. 118; letter of
- Alcuin to, II. 280; relation of Alcuin to, II. 287; vision of his future punishment, II. 295; the philosopher-king, II. 332.
- CHARLES THE BALD, letter of Hericus to, II. 170, 332; Judith daughter of, II. 249.
- CHARLES III, emperor, his vision, II. 295.
- CHARLES THE SIMPLE, grants of, to St. Martin at Tours, II. 138.
- CHARLES V, king of France, permanent use of title 'rex Christianissimus' dates from, II. 86.
- CHARLES II, king of England, restoration of, p. cxiii.
- Charmi, father of Achan, *Ee.* § 17, p. 422.
- CHARTERS, forgery of, II. 217.
- Charybdis, *v.* 21, p. 338.
- CHAUCER, cited, p. lxxvii.
- Chebron, Hebron, once the metropolis of David, *v.* 17, p. 319; description of, *ib.* and note.
- CHELLES, *v.* In Cale.
- CHERTSEY, *v.* Cerotaessi.
- CHESTER, *v.* Legionum Ciuitas.
- CHESTER-LE-STREET, Co. Durham, identified by Moberly with Incuneningum, II. 295; wooden church at, II. 101; see of St. Cuthbert at, p. cxlvii; body of St. Cuthbert at, II. 157; *v.* Cunungaceaster.
- CHESTERS, *v.* Scythlecester.
- CHICHESTER, St. Mary's Hospital at, II. 367.
- CHILDEBERT I, king of Paris, abolishes idolatry, II. 148.
- CHILDEBERT II, king of Austrasia, II. 42.
- CHILPERIC I, king of the Neustrian Franks, II. 106, 117.
- CHILPERIC II, *v.* Hilperic.
- CHILTERN, *v.* Ciltine.
- Chorintus, Corinth, example of St. Paul at, cited, *iii.* 25, p. 185 and note.
- CHRISM, mode of making, II. 151; relation of, to baptism and confirmation, II. 382, 383; consecration of, *ib.*
- CHRISMALE, unloosing of the, II. 280.



- CHURCH, influence of, on national unity, II. 200, 205, 211.
- CHURCHES, newly consecrated, hung in white, II. 280, 281.
- CHURCH-SCOTS, law of, II. 382.
- Cilicia, Tarsus in, iv. 1, p. 202.
- CILTINE, Chiltern, Cædwalla takes refuge in, II. 228.
- CINAN, father of Selim king of North Wales, II. 77.
- CIRCHEND, battle of, II. 65.
- Circuli, *v.* Paschal Cycles.
- CITEAUX, Stephen Harding abbot of, II. 194.
- CITRA-UMBERENSES, II. 29.
- Civitas Legionum, *v.* Legionum civitas.
- CLAUDIAN, cited, II. 10, 13, 34.
- Claudius, emperor, eager for victory, i. 3; reduces Britain, *ib.* and note; *v.* 24, p. 352; adds the Orkneys to the Roman Empire, *ib.* and notes; *ib.*; returns to Rome, i. 3; gives his son the title of Britannicus, *ib.*; sends Vespasian to Britain, *ib.* and note; succeeded by Nero, *ib.*; the second of the Romans to invade Britain, *v.* 24, p. 352; Agrippa I dies while celebrating return of, II. 13.
- CLAUDIUS, a saint, II. 91.
- Clemens, consecrated by St. Peter as his successor, ii. 4, p. 87 and note.
- Clemens, name given to Wilbrord at his consecration, *v.* 11, p. 303; II. 287.
- CLETUS, or Anacletus, said to have been consecrated as a suffragan bishop by St. Peter, II. 82.
- Clofeshooh, unidentified, synod of the English Church to be held annually at, iv. 5, p. 216 and note; Council of, 716 A.D., II. 214, 223; Aera present at, II. 330; Council of, 747 A.D., II. 214, 378; forbids heathen customs, II. 60; orders the observance of St. Gregory's day, II. 67; of Augustine's day, II. 81; regulates the use of the psalms, II. 138, 139; on nuns, II. 259; on the ignorance of clergy, II. 380; on the duties of bishops, II. 379, 380, 383; on episcopal visitation of monasteries, II. 385, 386; Council of, 825 A.D., p. xxix note.
- CLOARD, Colman mac Ui Telduib abbot of, II. 112.
- CLOTHAIRE II, king of Soissons, II. 39.
- CLOTHAIRE III, king of the Neustrian Franks, II. 198, 203.
- CLOTHILDE, wife of Clovis I, founder of Chelles and Andeley, II. 149.
- CLOVIS I, king of the Franks, p. cxix; date of baptism and death of, p. c; Clothilde wife of, II. 149.
- CLOVIS II, king of the Franks, Bathildis or Baldhild wife of, II. 148, 149, 173, 322; *v.* Hloduius.
- CLTAIN CONAIRE, Leinster, Nynias said to have founded church of, II. 128.
- Cluith, the Clyde, i. 12, p. 26; Roman wall connecting the Forth and, II. 15.
- Cnobheresburg, id est urbs Cnobheri, Burgh Castle, Norfolk, Fursa builds a monastery at, iii. 19, p. 164 and note; date of, II. 149.
- COCBOY, Welsh name of the battle of Maserfelth, II. 152.
- CODEx AMIATINUS, MS. of the Vulgate given by Ceolfrid to the Pope, p. xix; II. 376.
- CODEx SALMANTICENSIS, Life of Fursa in, II. 169.
- Coenred, Coinred, king of the Mercians, succeeds Ethelred, *v.* 19, p. 322 and note; *ib.* p. 329; *v.* 24, p. 356; *v.* 13, p. 311 and note; vision of an impenitent thane whom he had tried to convert, *ib.* pp. 311-313 and notes (cf. II. 314); resigns in the fourth year of Osred, and goes to Rome, *v.* 24, p. 356; *v.* 19, p. 321 and notes (cf. II. 329); becomes a monk and dies there, *ib.* pp. 321, 322 and note; succeeded by Ceolred, *ib.* p. 322

- and note; receives Wilfrid after his second appeal, v. 19, p. 329.
- Coenred**, succeeds Oared in the kingdom of the Northumbrians, v. 22, p. 346 and note; succeeded by Osric, v. 23, p. 348 and note; Ceolwulf brother of, *ib.* p. 349 (cf. II. 336); Cuthwine father of, II. 336; said to have been concerned in the slaying of Osred, *ib.*
- COFFINS**, of wood and stone, II. 239, 240.
- '**cognatus**,' '**cognata**,' = brother-in-law, sister-in-law, II. 48, 168, 175, 243; = cousin, II. 371.
- Coifi**, '**primus pontificum**,' '**pontifex sacrorum**,' argues for the adoption of Christianity in the Northumbrian witenagemot, ii. 13, pp. 111, 112 and notes; converted by Paulinus, *ib.* p. 112; destroys the heathen fane at Goodmanham, *ib.* p. 113 and notes.
- Coinred**, v. Coenred.
- Coinualch**, **Counualh**, king of the West Saxons, succeeds his father Cynegils, iii. 7, p. 140 and note; rejects Christianity, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 18); divorces Penda's sister and is expelled by him, *ib.* and notes; takes refuge with Anna, king of the East Angles, *ib.* (cf. II. 169); converted by him, *ib.* and note; restored, *ib.* and note; offers the see of Wessex to Agilbert, *ib.*; wearies of his 'barbarous tongue,' *ib.* (cf. II. 41); attempts to divide the diocese, *ib.* and notes; brings in Wine, and places him at Winchester, *ib.* and notes; expels him, *ib.* p. 141 and notes; asks Agilbert to return, *ib.*; receives Hlothhere as bishop, *ib.* and note; on his death various under-kings divide the kingdom, iv. 12, p. 227 and note; Benedict Biscop goes to, *Hab.* § 4 and note (cf. II. 143, 220); his death, *ib.* and note; builds the 'old church' at Winchester, II. 143; marries Sexburgh, *ib.*; a friend of Alchfrid, *ib.*; II. 189, 322; wars of, II. 147.
- COLDINGHAM**, v. Coludi urbs; Reginald of, v. Reginald.
- '**COLLATIO**' = creed, II. 231.
- '**COLLECTOR**,' meaning of, p. lxxii note.
- COLLINGHAM**, Yorks., memorial cross to Oswin at, II. 164; identified by some with In Gellingum, *ib.*
- Colman**, **Colmanus**, bishop of Lindisfarne, succeeds Finan, iii. 25, p. 182 and note; comes from Scottia, *ib.* (cf. II. 186); attends the Synod of Whitby, *ib.* p. 183; spokesman of the Celtic side, *ib.* pp. 184-188 and notes; retires to Scottia, iv. 1, p. 201; v. 24, p. 354; iii. 26, p. 189 and notes (cf. II. 186); succeeded by Tuda, *ib.* and note; length of his episcopate, *ib.* (cf. II. 189); Tuda comes to Britain during his pontificate, *ib.* p. 190; asks for Eata to be made abbot of Lindisfarne, *ib.* and note; affection of Oswy for, *ib.*; takes part of the bones of Aidan with him, *ib.* (cf. II. 167, 210); character of, and of his predecessors, *ib.* pp. 190, 191 and notes; English students in Ireland in time of, iii. 27, p. 192 and notes; takes with him all the Scotti and about thirty English monks from Lindisfarne, iv. 4, p. 213; retires to Iona, whence he had been originally sent, *ib.* (cf. II. 127); thence to Inisboffin, where he founds a monastery for his monks, *ib.* and note; founds another monastery at Mayo, *ib.* and notes; wrongly called archbishop of York by Eddius, II. 117; never received the pallium, II. 126, 189; said to have been sent by St. Columba (1), II. 210.
- COLMAN MAC UI TELDUIS**, abbot

- of Clonard, and a bishop, II. 112; v. Columbanus.
- Colonia ciuitas**, Cologne, near the Rhine, v. 10, p. 301; the two Hewalds buried at, *ib.* and note; church of St. Pantaleon at, II. 18; MS. belonging to cathedral of, II. 240; church of St. Cunibert at, II. 290; Hanno II archbishop of, *ib.*; Frederick archbishop of, *ib.*
- Colosseum**, consecrated by Benedict XIV, II. 239.
- Coludi urbs**, Coldingham, Co. Berwick, monastery of, Ebba abbess of, iv. 19, p. 243 and note; Ethelthryth enters, *ib.* and note; burnt, as a judgement on its corruptions, iv. 25, pp. 262-265 and notes (cf. II. 91); Adamnan a monk in, *ib.* p. 263 and notes (cf. p. xxx); Aedgils a monk in, *ib.* p. 266 and notes; date of, doubtful, II. 149; a double monastery, II. 150; Cuthbert visits Ebba at, II. 236; Ebba's relics translated from, II. 236.
- Colville**, Samuel, former owner of MS. O., p. cxiii.
- Columba**, presbyter and abbot of Iona, comes to Britain from Ireland to preach to the Northern Picts, iii. 4, p. 133 and notes (cf. v. 9, p. 297 and notes; v. 24, p. 353); his success, iii. 4, p. 133 and note; Iona granted to, for a monastery, *ib.* and notes; buried there, *ib.* and note; his successors still hold it, *ib.* and note; founds a monastery at Durrow, *ib.* p. 134 and note; monasteries in Ireland and Britain founded by disciples of, *ib.* and note; a presbyter not a bishop, *ib.* and note; writings concerning him said to be extant, *ib.*; II. 131; his Paschal practice cited, iii. 25, pp. 187, 188 and notes; Egbert ordered to reform the monasteries of, v. 9, p. 297 and note; called Columcelli, *ib.* and note; founder of Iona, *ib.*; Lives of, by Guimine and Adamnan, p. xlv; II. 113, 121, 122, 130, 131, 152, 170, 191, 301; other Lives of, II. 130, 131; inaugurates Aedan mac Gabrain, II. 64, 65, 135; expels snakes from Iona, II. 10; Dallan mac Forgaill's elegy on, II. 65, 131; mediates at the convention of Druim Cott, II. 65; scourged by an angel, II. 89; appears to Oswald before the battle of Denisesburn, II. 122; play on name of, II. 127; hymn by, II. 131; arguments drawn from mission of, under Edward I, II. 132; fate of his relics, *ib.*; date of his death, *ib.*; synchronous with Augustine's arrival, *ib.*; monasteries derived from, called his family, II. 134, 135, 286, 303; called bishop of Dunkeld, II. 135; alleged hasty temper, *ib.*; acquiesces in the prolongation of his life, II. 139; alleged cause of his exile, II. 170; said to have sent Colman to Northumberland (!), II. 210; foretells the troubles caused by the Paschal question, II. 191, 303.
- Columbanus**, abbas, in Gaul, ii. 4, p. 88 and note; apostle of Burgundy, founder of Luxeuil and Bobbio, II. 83; his life by Jonas of Bobbio ascribed to Bede, *ib.*; Bishop Felix possibly connected with, II. 108; his treatise *De Cantu* lost, II. 119; play on name of, II. 127; said to have dedicated St. Fara, II. 148.
- Columbanus**, Irish bishop, letter of John, pope elect, and others to, ii. 19, p. 123 and note.
- Columcelli**, v. Columba.
- COMETS**, nature of, II. 222, 223, 338.
- COMITATUS**, II. 19, 161; devotion of, to the lord, II. 95, 160; grants of land by king to, II. 355.
- 'COMMENDATITIAE EPISTOLAE'**, II. 213.
- Commodus**, Aurelius, joint em-

- peror with M. Antoninus Verus, i. 4 and note.
- COMMUNICATION, difficulty of, in Britain, II. 165.
- COMMUNION, neglect of the Holy, p. xxxv; in both kinds, II. 247; daily, II. 387.
- COMMUNISM, in the early Church, II. 245, 267.
- COMPIÈGNE, v. In Compendio.
- COMPLINE, v. Canonical Hours.
- COMPUTARIUM DEFUNCTORUM, II. 227.
- CONAIRE, father of Cairbre Riada, II. 9.
- CONALL MAC CONGAILL, king of the Dalriadic Scots, said to have given Iona to Columba, II. 131, 132.
- CONAN, v. Cinan.
- CONFIRMATION, a completion of baptism, II. 76, 382; possibly neglected by the British Church, *ib.*; use of white robes at, II. 280; history of, II. 382; confirmation-tours oppressive, *ib.*; sponsors at, II. 383; relationships created by, *ib.*
- CONN, v. Leth Cuinn.
- CONNOR, Co. Antrim, Dima Dubh bishop of, II. 112.
- Compendio, v. In Con.
- CONSECRATION, by a single bishop, II. 48, 75, 178, 324.
- 'CONSIGNATIO,' II. 382.
- CONSTANS, son of Constantinus, a monk, made Caesar by his father, i. 11; slain by Geron-tius at Vienne, *ib.* and note.
- CONSTANS II, v. Constantinus IV.
- CONSTANTINIANA ecclesia, called Martyrium, the church built by Constantine on the site of the Invention of the Cross, v. 16, p. 317 and note; name of church built by Constantine at Rome, II. 305.
- Constantinopolis, attacked by famine, plague, and earthquake, i. 13 and note; Gregory sent as apocrisarius to, ii. 1, p. 75 and note; begins his commentary on Job at, *ib.* and note; Euty-chius, bishop of, *ib.* and note; church of, troubled by heresy of Eutyches, iv. 17, p. 238 and note; Councils of, against Macedonius, Eudoxius, Theo-doret, &c., *ib.* p. 240 and notes; II. 230; visited by Arculfus, v. 15, p. 316 and notes; patriarch of, assumes the style of uni-versal bishop, II. 38; John patriarch of, II. 68; synod of (448), condemns Eutyches, II. 230; Martin I sent to, II. 321.
- Constantinus, son of Constantius and Helena (Constantine the Great), emperor in Gaul and Britain, i. 8 and note; makes the Roman commonwealth Christian, i. 32, p. 68; builds a church on the site of the Invention of the Cross by his mother Helena, v. 16, p. 317 and note; letter on the Easter question, p. xl note; alleged Donation of, II. 44; builds a church at Rome called Con-stantiniana, II. 305.
- Constantinus III, son of Hera-clius, joint emperor, ii. 18, p. 122 and note.
- Constantinus IV, emperor, also known as Constans II, council at Rome in reign of, iv. 17, p. 240 and note; dies at Syra-cuse, II. 204; possible that Theodore had accompanied, *ib.*; suspected of an alliance with the English kings against the Franks, *ib.*
- Constantinus, his low origin, i. 11; made tyrant in Britain, *ib.*; crosses to Gaul, *ib.* and note; slain at Arles, *ib.*; Constans son of, *ib.*
- Constantinus, pope at the time when Cenred and Offa come to Rome, v. 19, pp. 321, 322 and note.
- Constantius (Chlorus), emperor, governs Gaul and Spain under Diocletian, i. 8 and note; dies in Britain, *ib.* and note.
- Constantius, comes, slays Con-stantinus at Arles, i. 11.
- CONSTANTIUS, presbyter of Lyons, induces Sidonius Apollinarius to

- publish his correspondence, II. 32; his *Life of Germanus*, II. 31, 32; used by Bede, p. xxiv note.
- 'CONSUMMATIO' = confirmation, II. 382.
- 'CONVERSATIO' = monastic life, II. 248.
- 'CONVERSIO' = entrance into the monastic life, II. 248.
- CONVERSIONS, wholesale, effect of, II. 44, 58, 105.
- CONUULF (Cynowulf), bishop of Lindisfarne, succeeds Ethelwald, C. 740.
- CORAUSIUS, v. CARAUSIUS.
- CORINTH, v. CHORINTUS.
- CORNU UALLIS, unidentified, Ceolfrid sojourns in monastery of, Haa. § 29; II. 368.
- CORNWALL, churches in, dedicated to St. Germanus, II. 33; Britons of, called West or South Welsh, II. 73, 74; possibly present at conference with Augustine, II. 73; some of, adopt Roman Easter, II. 301.
- CORONATI, quattuor, Martyrium of, in Canterbury, ii. 7, p. 94 and note; church of, at Rome, II. 91.
- COROTICUS, so-called letter of Patrick to, II. 76.
- CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MS. of Bede's *Lives* of St. Cuthbert belongs to, p. cxlvii.
- CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD, MS. O<sub>16</sub> belongs to, p. cvii; MS. *Life of Oswin* belongs to, II. 162; AS. vers. of Benedictine rule belongs to, II. 366.
- COTTON MSS., pp. lxxxvi, xci-xciv, cxxxvi; II. 162, 217.
- COUNCILS, functions of bishops in, II. 325.
- COUNTRIES, names of, construed as if names of towns, II. 234.
- COUNUALH, Hab. § 4; v. COINUALCH.
- COWAY STAKES, Halliford, Caesar fords the Thames at, II. 13.
- COWBRIDGE, v. BOUIUM.
- CREODA, his place in the Mercian pedigree, II. 103.
- CRIMEA, Martin I dies in the, II. 321.
- CRISPUS, v. BENEDICTUS.
- CROES OSWALLT, Welsh name of Oswestry, II. 153.
- CROIX OSWALDE, Oswestry, II. 153.
- CROMANUS, Irish bishop, letter of John, pope elect, and others to, ii. 19, p. 123 and note.
- CROMANUS, Irish presbyter, letter of John, pope elect, and others to, ii. 19, p. 123 and note.
- CRONAN BEC, bishop of Nendrum, II. 112; v. CROMANUS.
- CRONAN, St., of Movilla, II. 113; v. CROMANUS, presbyter.
- CROMAN, abbot of Bangor, Ireland, II. 113; v. CROMANUS, presbyter.
- CROSS, use of the sign of, II. 251, 387.
- CROSS-VIGIL, II. 269, 270.
- CROSTHWAITHE, Cumberland, indulgence granted to vicar of, for St. Herbert's Isle, II. 269.
- CROUCH RIVER, Essex, II. 178.
- CROYLAND, Ethelbald traditional founder of, II. 342; cf. II. xxxvi.
- CRUCIFIXION, day of the, II. 350.
- CUCULUS, name of poem by Alcuin, p. clviii; name given by him to one of his disciples, *ib.* note.
- Oudberot, bishop of Lindisfarne, Bede's *Lives* of, v. BAEDA; consecrated bishop, iv. 26, p. 266; iv. 27, p. 268; II. 267, 268; tries to dissuade Egfrid from attacking the Picts, iv. 26, p. 266 and note; lives as an anchorite on Farne, iv. 27, p. 268 and note; iv. 28, pp. 271, 272 and notes; pp. xxx-xxxii; II. 69; becomes a monk at Melrose, iv. 27, p. 269 and note; a pupil of Boisil, whom he succeeds as prior, *ib.* and notes (cf. II. 195); his missionary zeal, *ib.* pp. 269, 270 and notes (cf. p. xxv); sometimes rides, *ib.* (cf. II. 136); transferred as prior to Lindisfarne, *ib.* p. 270 and notes; p. xxix note; II. 195; elected bishop at the Synod of Twyford, iv.

28, p. 272 and note; his reluctance to accept the office, *ib.* (cf. II. 68); consecrated at York by Theodore, *ib.* p. 273 and note; elected to Hexham, but transferred to Lindisfarne, *ib.* and notes (cf. II. 193); his life as bishop, *ib.*; his gift of tears, *ib.* and note; after two years returns to Farne, iv. 29, p. 274 and note; foretells his death, *ib.*; friendship and annual meeting with Herbert, *ib.* and note; their last meeting at Carlisle, *ib.* pp. 274, 275 and note; their death on the same day, *ib.* p. 275 and note; Cuthbert consents to be buried in Lindisfarne, *ib.* and notes; dies on Farne, and is succeeded by Eadbert, *ib.* and notes, p. xlv; his body translated and found uncorrupted, iv. 30, pp. 276, 277 and note (cf. II. 240, 369); Eadbert buried in grave of, *ib.* p. 277 and note; miracles wrought at his tomb and by his clothes, iv. 31, pp. 278, 279 and notes; miracle wrought by his hair, iv. 32, pp. 279, 280 and notes; succeeded as anchorite of Farne by Ethelwald, v. 1, p. 281 and notes; his gentleness in discipline, pp. xxvi, xxix; II. 267; his asceticism, pp. xxvi, xxx-xxxii; his mind unhinged thereby, p. xxx; goes to Ripon with Eata, II. 192, 193; praepositus hospitum at Ripon, p. xxviii note (cf. II. 323); leaves Ripon, II. 189, 193, 323, 372; returns to Melrose, II. 193; his opinion of the anchoritic and coenobitic lives, pp. xxix, xxxi note; his foreboding of the plague, pp. xxxi, xxxii; practises what he teaches, p. xxxvi; anonymous Life of, used by Bede, p. xlv note; alluded to, *ib.*; Pref. p. 7 and note; 'Irish' Life of, pp. cxxxvii, cxxxviii; II. 135, 265; Life of, by Reginald of Coldingham, p. cxxxviii; Life

of, in Northern English, II. 265; fate of his relics, II. 102, 167; name of Holy Island due to, II. 126; wanderings of body of, II. 157; led to monastic life by vision of Aidan, II. 165, 266, 269; Elfled and Ebba friends of, II. 185, 236; visitation of the plague during episcopate of, II. 195; receives a sarcophagus from Abbot Cudda as a present, II. 239, 270; uses tents on his preaching tours, II. 240; prophesies the death of Egfrid, II. 261; has a vision of his death, *ib.*; foretells the succession of Aldfrid, II. 263; alleged Irish origin of, II. 265; story of childhood of, *ib.*; narrated by him to Trumwine, II. 268; admitted as a monk by Eata, II. 267; opposition to, at Lindisfarne, *ib.*; character of, *ib.*; spurious grant of Egfrid to, II. 268; his death signalled to Lindisfarne, II. 270; troubles after death of, *ib.*; description of his burial, *ib.*; translation of, in 1104, II. 271; miracles of, II. 275; cleric of Wilfrord cured at tomb of, II. 288; portable altar of, preserved at Durham, II. 289; Ethelwald a servant of, II. 297; Lindisfarne gospels written in honour of, *ib.*; visions of, *ib.*; on the Wilfridian view was a usurper, II. 316; conforms to the Roman Easter, and charges his monks in its favour, II. 323 (cf. II. 267); Baldhelm recites the praises of, II. 344; lections on, I. 432.

Cudberet, archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated in succession to Nothelm, C. 740; date of his accession, II. 3; the first archbishop not buried in St. Augustine's, II. 80; letter of St. Boniface to, II. 282, 386.

Cudda, athane of Oswy, II. 320; conveys Wilfrid to Lindisfarne, *ib.*; becomes abbot of Lindisfarne, *ib.*

CUDDA, abbot, gives a sarcophagus to St. Cuthbert, II. 270.

Cudret, king of the West Saxons, rises against Ethelbald and Oengus, C. 750 and note.

Cuduald, abbot of Oundle, v. 19, p. 330; probably identical with Cuthbald, abbot of Peterborough, II. 216.

*See also* Cuth-.

Cuichelm, king of the West Saxons, cf. II. 89; sends an emissary to assassinate Edwin, ii. 9, pp. 98, 99 and notes; baptized and dies 636, II. 95; gives his name to Cwichel-meshlæw, *ib.*; Edwin wrongly said to have slain, *ib.*; father of Cuthred and son of Cynegils, II. 142.

Cuichelm, bishop of Rochester, consecrated by Theodore in Rochester, iv. 12, p. 228 and note; resigns on account of poverty, *ib.*; succeeded by Gebmund, *ib.*

CUMENE AILBE, abbot of Iona, Life of St. Columba by, v. Columba.

CUMMIAN, letter of, on Paschal question, Patrick mentioned in, II. 26; addressed to Seghine of Iona, II. 113.

CUNEBURG, abbess, receives presents from Lullus, p. lxxvi note.

CUNENINGUM, v. In Cun.

CUNIBERT, king of the Lombards, receives Cædwalla, II. 279; married to Hermelinda, an Englishwoman, *ib.*; son of Perctarit, *ib.*

CUNIBERT, St., church and tomb of, at Cologne, II. 290.

CUNNINGHAM, commonly identified with Incuneningum, II. 295.

CUNUNGACEASTER, Saxon name of Chester-le-Street, q. v., II. 295.

CUTHBALD, abbot of Peterborough, II. 216; v. Cuduald.

CUTHBERT, bishop of Hereford after Walhstod, II. 341; his verses on his predecessors, *ib.*

CUTHBERT, abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, sends Bede's Lives of Cuthbert to St. Boniface, p.

cxlvii note; sends MSS. to Lullus of Mainz, pp. xi, xii, cl note; letters of, to Lullus of Mainz, II. 248, 249, 359; asked by Lullus for copy of Bede's In Cantica, p. clii note; his letter to Cuthwin on the death of Bede, pp. lxxii-lxxviii, clxiv; MSS. of, pp. cvii, cx-cxxii, cxxiv-cxxvii; Bede's De Arte Metrica perhaps dedicated to, p. cxlv; perhaps knew the early Life of Gregory, II. 349.

CUTHRED, son of Cwichelhelm, baptized by Birinus, II. 142, 281.

CUTHWIN, letter of Cuthbert to on the death of Bede, pp. lxxi-lxxviii, clx-clxiv.

CUTHWIN, father of Cenred of Northumbria, II. 336; and of Ceolwulf, II. 340.

*See also* Cud-.

Cw., v. Cu-, Qu-.

CWICHELMESHLEW, Scutclamly Barrow, Berks., origin of name of, II. 95.

CYCLES, v. Paschal Cycles.

CYIL CAMPUS, Kyle, Ayrshire, Eadbert of Northumbria annexes, C. 750 and note.

CYNEHARD, bishop of Winchester, letter of, to Lullus, II. 308.

CYNESWITH, sister of Cyneburg II. 175; becomes a nun at Castor, *ib.*; death, burial, and translation, *ib.*; mentioned on the Bewcastle Cross, II. 176; daughter of Penda, II. 182.

CYNEWULF, v. Conuulf, Cyniuulf.

Cyniberot, bishop of Lindsey, iv. 12, p. 229 and note; alive in 731, *ib.*; v. 23, p. 350 and note; furnishes Bede with materials for the history of Lindsey, Pref. p. 7 (cf. II. 223); dies, C. 732.

Cyniberot, presbyter and abbot of Hreutford, iv. 16, p. 237 and note; obtains leave from Cædwalla to baptize two young princes of Wight before their execution, *ib.* pp. 237, 238 and note.

Cynibill, brother of Cedd, iii. 23, p. 176; completes the founda-

tion ceremonies of Lastingham for him, *ib.*

**Cyniburga**, daughter of Penda, wife of Alchfrid, iii. 21, p. 170 and note (cf. II. 142); becomes a nun at Castor, II. 175; death, burial, and translation, *ib.*; mentioned on the Bewcastle Cross, II. 176.

**CYNIBURGA**, daughter of Cynegils, and wife of Oswald, II. 142.

**Cynefrid**, abbot of Gilling, Haa. § 2; brother of Ceolfred, *ib.*; retires to Ireland, *ib.* (cf. Haa. § 21); dies of the plague, Haa. § 3 (cf. II. 196).

**Cynifrid**, a physician, attends Ethelthryth in her last illness, iv. 19, pp. 245, 246 and notes; testifies to the miraculous incorruption of her body at its translation, *ib.*

**Cynigils**, king of the West Saxons, cf. II. 89, 94, 95; converted by Birinus, iii. 7, p. 139 and notes (cf. II. 95); Oswald his godfather and son-in-law, *ib.* and notes; grants Dorchester to Birinus as his see, *ib.* and notes; dies, succeeded by his son Cenwalh, *ib.* p. 140 and note.

**Cynimund**, a presbyter of Bede's monastery, Bede hears from, the story of Uta's miraculous experience, iii. 15, p. 158 and note.

**CYNIMUND**, monk and priest of Lindisfarne, II. 166 (probably identical with the preceding).

**Cyniuulf**, king of the West Saxons, dies, C. 757 and note.

**Cynuise**, queen of the Mercians, iii. 24, p. 178; Egfrid a hostage in the hands of, *ib.* and notes.

**CYPRIAN**, extracts from, p. c; the first to use 'symbolum' in the sense of creed, II. 231.

**Cyrrillus**, bishop of Alexandria, opposed by Theodoret and Ibas, iv. 17, p. 240 and note; composes a Paschal cycle of ninety-five years, v. 21, p. 341.

**CYRUS**, Theodoret bishop of, II. 232.

## D.

**Dacore amnis**, Cumberland, monastery of same name on, iv. 32, p. 279 and note; Swidbert abbot of, *ib.*; youth in, miraculously cured, *ib.* pp. 279, 280.

**Daegberectus** (Dagobert I), king of the Franks, Wuscfrea and Yffi sent for safety to be brought up by, ii. 20, p. 126 and note.

**Daganus**, a bishop of the Scotti, refuses to eat in the same inn with the Roman missionaries, ii. 4, p. 88 and note; II. 352.

**DAGOBERT II**, king of Austrasia, Wilfrid a friend of, II. 325; Wilfrid stays with (679), II. 318, 325; wishes to make Wilfrid bishop of Strasburg, *ib.*; had been an exile in Ireland, *ib.*; slain, II. 318; Wilfrid nearly put to death as an adherent of, *ib.*

**DALMLAG**, Duleek, Co. Meath, Ireland, origin of name, II. 102.

'**dál**'—division, i. 1, p. 12 and note.

**DALDENE**, Co. Durham, belongs to Wearmouth, II. 366.

**Dalfinus** (really Annemundus, Dalfinus being his brother and count of the city of Lyons, v. II. 321), archbishop of Gaul, Wilfrid sojourns with, at Lyons, iii. 25, p. 182; v. 19, p. 324 and note; bishop of Lyons, *ib.*; offers Wilfrid a large part of Gaul, *ib.* (cf. II. 316); sends him to Rome, *ib.*; receives him on his return, and wishes to make him his heir, *ib.* (cf. II. 316); executed by order of Baldhild, *ib.* p. 325 and note; II. 317.

**DALLAN MAC FORGAILL**, his elegy on Columba, II. 65.

**Dalreudini**, name of the Scotti who settled in Britain under Reuda, i. 1, p. 12 and note.

**DAL RIADA**, districts of, in Ireland and Britain, II. 9.

**DALSTON**, near Carlisle, equated by some with Degastan, II. 66.

**Daltun**, Dalton, Co. Durham, Ald-



- frid grants land at, to Witmer, who grants it to Wearmouth, *Hab.* § 15, p. 380 and note.
- Damascus**, visited by Arculfus, v. 15, p. 316 and note.
- Damian**, bishop of Rochester, a South Saxon, consecrated by Deusdedit in succession to Ithamar, iii. 20 and note; II. 324; dies, iv. 2, p. 206 and note (cf. II. 195, 199); succeeded, after a long interval, by Putta, *ib.* and note; his orthodoxy, II. 206.
- DAMNIS**, *v.* Devenish.
- 'damnum'** = fine, II. 47.
- Danai**, one of the tribes of Germany, v. 9, p. 196 and note.
- DANI**, name derived from Dan (!), II. 29; date of the coming of, II. 28; English tribute to, II. 67; ravages of, cause the suspension of the East Anglian see, II. 108; the desertion of Lindisfarne, II. 157; destroy Whitby, II. 184; and Chertsey, II. 217; destruction of literature by, II. 308, 330, 331; Wilbrord attempts to convert, II. 290; Ongendus king of, *ib.*; ravage Jarrow, II. 361; *v.* Scandinavia.
- Daniel**, propheta, Bede's extracts from St. Jerome on, v. 24, p. 358; example of, cited, p. liii.
- Daniel**, bishop of the West Saxons, furnishes Bede with materials for the history of the West and South Saxons, and of Wight, *Pref.* p. 7; II. 307; the first to exercise episcopal functions in Wight, iv. 16, p. 238; II. 307; made bishop of part of Wessex on the death of Hædde, v. 18, p. 320 and note (cf. II. 144); alive in 731, *ib.*; his see at Winchester, *ib.* p. 321; one of the consecrators of Archbishop Tatwin, v. 23, p. 350; one of the bishops of the West Saxons in 731, *ib.*; Wight belongs to diocese of, *ib.*; administers the province of the South Saxons, *ib.*; letters of, to St. Boniface, cited, II. 30, 57, 308; letter of St. Boniface to, cited, II. 58, 308; his learning, II. 307, 308; commendatory letter of, for St. Boniface, *ib.*; his blindness, *ib.*; journey to Rome, *ib.*; resignation and death, *ib.*; possible want of vigour, *ib.*; said to have been buried at Malmesbury, II. 308.
- DANMARC**, Saxons ravage from Rhine to, II. 28.
- DANTE**, places Bede next to Isidore in Paradise, p. xli note; studies Bede, *ib.*; theory of the fourfold sense of Scripture, p. lxii; on the need of discretion, p. lxix note; on translation of poetry, II. 250; cited, p. xliii note; II. 67, 137, 171, 294, 296, 297, 299.
- DATING**, modes of, II. 153, 341.
- Dauid**, *Ee.* § 11, p. 414; on what condition shewbread given to, i. 27, p. 59; Bethlehem the city of, v. 16, p. 317; Hebron once the metropolis of, v. 17, p. 319; psalter of, *Haa.* § 33; key of, p. xvi; II. 367; relieves Keilah, *ib.*
- Dawston**, in Liddesdale, probably to be equated with Degsaetan, II. 66.
- 'de,'** partitive use of, II. 166.
- Dearmach**, hoc est Campus Roborum, Durrow, King's County, Columba founds a monastery at, iii. 4, p. 134 and notes; granted to him by Aed, son of Brendan, II. 133.
- Deda**, priest and abbot of the monastery of Partney, ii. 16, p. 117; gives Bede information about Paulinus' work in Lindsey, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 3).
- DEFENSOR OF LIEGE**, author of the *Liber Scintillarum* ascribed to Bede, p. clix.
- Degsaetan**, id est Degsa Lapia, ? Dawston in Liddesdale, Ethelfrid defeats Aedan at, i. 34 and notes; v. 24, p. 353; importance of battle of, II. 10, 66 (cf. II. 77).
- Dei genetrix**, church of, founded by Eadbald in monastery of SS. Peter and Paul at Canter-

- bury, ii. 6, p. 93 and note; Hadrian buried in, v. 20, p. 331; church of, at Lastingham, iii. 23, p. 176; church of, at Barking, iv. 10, p. 224; church of, in St. Peter's monastery at Wearmouth, Hab. § 9; pictures for, *ib.*; mass said in, at Ceolfrid's departure, Hab. § 17, p. 382; Haa. § 25; v. Maria.
- Deiri, Deri**, slaves from, sold in Rome, ii. 1, p. 80 and note (cf. II. 390); Ælle king of, *ib.* and note; Britain called the island of, II. 23, 72; origin of name, II. 105; pedigree of kings of, II. 119; under-kings of, II. 120.
- Deirorum prouincia**, boundaries of, II. 120; baptisms in, by Paulinus, ii. 14, p. 115 and notes; no oratories or baptisteries in, under Edwin, *ib.* and notes; one of the divisions of the Northumbrians, iii. 1, p. 127 and note; iii. 14, p. 155; II. 105; united to Bernicia by Oswald, iii. 6, p. 138; ruled by Oswin, iii. 14, p. 155 and note; dissensions with Bernicia, *ib.* and note; relations of, to Bernicia, II. 119, 141, 198, 199; Oswy grants six estates in, to found monasteries, iii. 24, p. 178 and note; Bosa made bishop of, iv. 12, p. 229. **Deirorum regnum**, Osric succeeds Edwin in, iii. 1, p. 127 and note; Ethelwald rules over, iii. 23, p. 174 and note.
- Denisesburna**, id est riuus Denesi, the Rowley Water, Northumberland, or a tributary of it, Oswald defeats and slays Caedwalla at, iii. 1, p. 128 and notes; II. 122, 123.
- DEODATUS**, bishop of Toul, accompanies Wilfrid to Rome (679), II. 325.
- 'DEPOSITIO'** = burial and death day, II. 227, 240.
- Deraudu**, v. In Der.
- DEREHAM**, Norfolk, a daughter of Anna of East Anglia a recluse at, II. 144.
- Deri**, iii. 6, p. 138; iii. 14, p. 154; iii. 23, p. 174; iii. 24, p. 178; iv. 12, p. 229; v. Deiri.
- DERILE**, father of Nechtan king of the Picts, II. 331.
- DERMOT MAC MURROUGH**, or Dermot of the Strangers, invites Henry II into Ireland, II. 111.
- Derorum Silua**, v. In Derauada.
- Deruuentio**, Doruuentio amnis, the Yorkshire Derwent, royal vill of Edwin on, ii. 9, p. 99; Goodmanham near, ii. 13, p. 113.
- Deruuentio fluuius**, the Cumberland Derwent, rises out of a lake, iv. 29, p. 274 and note.
- DERWENTWATER**, St. Herbert's Isle in, II. 269.
- DESIDERIUS**, bishop of Vienne, II. 39, 40.
- DESIDERIUS**, bishop of Cahors, alleged correspondence of, with Sigbert III of Austrasia, II. 168.
- DESPENSER**, Henry, bishop of Norwich, probably owned MS. Ar., p. cxxvii; arms of, *ib.* note.
- DESPENSER**, Arms of, p. cxxvii note.
- DESPERATION**, spiritual, II. 298-300.
- 'destina'**, meaning of the word, II. 167.
- Deusededit**, pontiff of the Roman see, succeeded by Boniface V, ii. 7, p. 94 and note.
- Deusededit**, archbishop of Canterbury, a West Saxon, elected in succession to Honorius, iii. 20 and note (cf. II. 324); consecrated by Ithamar, *ib.* (cf. II. 49); consecrates Damian as Ithamar's successor, *ib.* and notes; dead before the arrival of Ceadda in Kent, iii. 28, p. 195 (cf. II. 189); Wighard one of his clergy, iii. 29, p. 196; his death, iv. 1, p. 201 and notes; iv. 2, p. 205; II. 195; the first native archbishop, II. 174; original name Frithonas, *ib.*; his orthodoxy, II. 206.
- 'deuteromisi'** = scribal tradition, II. 387.

- DEVENISH** or **Daminis**, in Lough Erne, Ireland. Sillan bishop of, II. 113.
- DEVIL'S WATER**, Northumberland, not identical with Denisesburna, II. 123.
- DEYBYR**, Welsh name for Deira, I. 428.
- Dicul**, 'de natione Scottorum,' has a small monastery at Bosham, iv. 13, p. 231; fails to convert the South Saxons, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 310).
- Dicul**, presbyter, Fursa entrusts his monastery to, iii. 19, p. 168 and notes.
- DICUL**, Irish monk, writes the *De mensura orbis terrae*, II. 225.
- DIGBY**, Sir Kenelm, former owner of MSS. O<sub>6</sub>, O<sub>7</sub>, A, pp. cxxiv, cxxxiii, cxi; of a MS. of Bede's *De Arte Metrica*, p. cxlv.
- DIMA**, or **DIMNA**, Irish bishop, II. 112.
- DIMA DUBH**, bishop of Connor, II. 112; v. Dinnaus.
- 'DIMINORIAE LITTERAE'**, II. 213.
- Dinnaus**, Irish bishop, letter of John, pope elect, and others to, ii. 19, p. 123 and note.
- Dinoot**, abbot of Bangor, ii. 2, p. 82 and note.
- 'diocesis'**, use and meaning of the term, II. 204, 212 (cf. II. 133, 135; English dioceses conterminous with kingdoms, II. 176, 210; subdivision of, II. 214, 380).
- Diocletianus**, emperor, the Britons keep the faith till the time of, i. 4 and note; elected emperor by the army, i. 6 and note; makes Maximianus Herculius his colleague, *ib.* and note; persecutes the Christians in the East, *ib.*; Constantius governs Gaul and Spain under, i. 8 and note; persecution of, does not extend to Britain, II. 18.
- Dionysius Exiguus**, his Paschal cycles extended to Bede's time, v. 21, p. 341 (cf. II. 350); book of Canons translated by, II. 212.
- Discretion**, the mother of virtues, p. lxix; iii. 5, p. 137 and note.
- Dissington**, near Newcastle-on-Tyne, equated with Degastan by Bates, II. 66.
- Diuma**, natione Scottua, bishop of the Mercians, as presbyter accompanies Peada to evangelise the Middle Angles, iii. 21, p. 170 and note; made bishop of the Middle Angles and Mercians, *ib.* p. 171 and note; iii. 24, p. 179 and note; consecrated by Finan, iii. 21, p. 171; dies in the district called Infeppingum, *ib.*; succeeded by Ceollach, *ib.*
- DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE**, II. 214, 236.
- 'DOMINICA IN ALBIS DEPOSITIS'** = Low Sunday, II. 280.
- Domnoo**, Dunwich, Suffolk, granted to Felix as the see of the East Angles, ii. 15, p. 117 and note; Felix buried at, II. 174; Æcce bishop of, II. 214; Aldbert bishop of, II. 341.
- DON**, tributary of the Tyne, Jarow at the mouth of, II. 361.
- DONAFELD**, Saxon translation of Campodonuin, q. v., II. 105.
- DONATUS**, v. Dinoot.
- DONCASTER**, identified by some with Tunnacaestir, II. 243.
- DONIA**, 'quae Danmarc nuncupatur,' II. 28.
- 'Dooms'**, native word for laws, II. 87.
- Dorcic**, Dorchester, Oxon., II. 144, 145; granted to Birinus as his see by Cynegil and Oswald, iii. 7, p. 139 and notes; Birinus buried there, and thence translated to Winchester, *ib.* p. 140 and notes.
- Doriccaestræ**, Dorchester, Oxon., Aetla bishop of, iv. 23, p. 254 and note (cf. II. 142); when did it become Mercian?, II. 245, 246.
- DOROSTADIUM**, or **Dorostat**, Wijk-bij-Duurstede, on the Rhine, Swidbert's see at, II. 291.
- Dorubreus ciuitas**, Rochester,

- Iustus bishop in, ii. 3, p. 85 and note; called Hrofæscæstræ by the English, *ib.* and note; twenty-four miles to the west of Canterbury, *ib.*; church of St. Andrew in, *ib.*; r. Hrofæscæstir, &c.
- Doruuentio amnis, ii. 13, p. 113; r. Deruuentio.
- Doruuernensis ciuitas, Doruuernis, Doruuernis ciuitas, Canterbury, Ethelbert gives Augustine and his companions a settlement in, i. 25, p. 46 and note; i. 26, p. 47; metropolis of Kent, *ib.* and note; Rochester twenty-four miles from, ii. 3, p. 85; fire in, miraculously quelled by Mellitus, ii. 7, p. 94 and notes; Theodore archbishop of, iv. 17, p. 239 and note; Tatwin consecrated in, v. 23, p. 350 and note. Doruuernensis antistes, relation of, to York defined, ii. 18, pp. 120, 121 and notes.
- Doruuernensis archiepiscopus, Augustine the first, ii. 3, p. 86; Theodore, iii. 7, p. 141.
- Doruuernensis cathedrae archiepiscopus, Deusdedit, iii. 20 and notes. Doruuernensis ecclesia, a bishop sought for, after Deusdedit, iv. 2, p. 205; see of, occupied by Mellitus, ii. 7, p. 94; Theodore styles himself bishop of, iv. 5, p. 215; Tatwin ninth archbishop, v. 24, p. 356; p. xcvi. Dor. eccl. antistes, Honorius, ii. 18, p. 120 and note. Doruuernensis episcopus, Deusdedit the sixth, iv. 1, p. 201. Doruuernenses episcopi, to be buried in the church of SS. Peter and Paul, i. 33 and note; v. 8, p. 294 (cf. ii. 3, p. 86 and note); endowed by Ethelbert, ii. 3, p. 85.
- DOUCE, Francis, former owner of MS. O., p. cxvi.
- DOULTING, Somerset, Aldhelm dies at, II. 101, 309.
- DOWN AMPNEY, near Cricklade, Wilts, Augustine's Oak located in, by Moberly, II. 74.
- DRIFFIELD, East Riding, Yorkshire, Aldfrid dies at, II. 305; his monument at, II. 306.
- DROGO, a monk of St. Winnoc's, Bergues, his Life of St. Oswald, II. 142, 161.
- DRUM CETT, Co. Londonderry, convention of, II. 65, 112, 113.
- DRUST, Nechtan imprisoned by, II. 331.
- Drycthelm, a householder of Incuneningum, v. 12, p. 304 and note; his vision of the other world, *ib.* pp. 304-309 and notes (cf. II. 171); enters the monastery of Melrose, *ib.* pp. 304, 310; narrates his visions to Haemgils, and to King Aldfrid, *ib.* pp. 309, 310 and note (cf. II. 294); his rigorous asceticism, *ib.* p. 310 and note (cf. p. xxx); date of his vision, II. 294, 297; Ælfric's homily on, II. 295; Alcuin's lines on, II. 296, 297.
- DUGGAL, DUGGAL, r. Thugdalus.
- DULEEK, r. Daimliag.
- DUMBARTON, r. Alcluth; meaning of the name, II. 24.
- DUN, bishop of Rochester, II. 338.
- DUNBAR, r. Dynbaer.
- DUNGAL, r. Thugdalus.
- DUNKELD, Co. Perth, becomes head of the Columbite monasteries in Scotland, II. 132, 135; claims to possess St. Columba's relics, II. 132; Columba called bishop of, II. 135.
- DUN NECHTAIN, Dunnichen, near Forfar, Egfridslain near, II. 261.
- DUNSTAN, archbishop of Canterbury, example of, cited, p. xxvi note; John XII grants pallium to, II. 52; goes to Rome for his pallium, II. 51; his buildings at Glastonbury, II. 80; letter of Abbo of Fleury to, p. cxxii; story of, and St. Edith, II. 140; Glastonbury myth with reference to, II. 167; his gift of tears, II. 268; letter of, to Abbo of Fleury, II. 271; his homage to Odo, II. 377.
- DURHAM, MSS. belonging to, p. xx

note; MS. C belonged to, pp. xciii, cv; MS. D belongs to, pp. civ-cvi, cxxxvi; MS. Bu., belonged to, p. cviii; MS. Harl. 4688 belonged to, p. cxli; Durham group of MSS. of H. E., pp. civ-cix; catalogue of relics belonging to, p. cvi note; Alfred, sacrist of, concentrates relics at, II. 158, 266; relics at, Cuthbert's and Oswald's, II. 157, 158; Ebba's, II. 236; Boisil's, II. 266; Eadbert's, II. 271, 272; Ethelwald's, *ib.*; Ceolwulf's head at, II. 340; bishops of, Ægelwin, II. 164; Walcher, II. 102; William of St. Carilef, p. cxxxvii; Joseph Butler, p. lxxiv note; Edward Maltby, II. 298; William of St. Carilef, prior of, p. xxix note; Wearmouth and Jarrow become cells of, p. xxxii note; temporary wattle church at, II. 102; new cathedral at, II. 271; portable altar of St. Cuthbert preserved at, II. 289; Ethelwald's stone cross at, II. 297.

DURHAM, Geoffrey of, *v.* Geoffrey.

DURHAM, Reginald of, *v.* Reginald.

DURROW, *v.* Dearmach.

DUSTIPHEL, William, of Brittany, scribe of MS. Bu., p. cviii.

DUUNCHAD, abbot of Iona at the time of the adoption of the orthodox Easter, *v.* 22, p. 347 and note.

DYNBAER, Dunbar, Co. Haddington, Tyddin prefect of, II. 325, 386.

## E.

EABAE, queen of the South Saxons, iv. 13, p. 230; belongs to the province of the Hwiccas where she had been baptized, *ib.* and note; daughter of Eanfrid, *ib.*

EADBALD, Aedobaldus, Adulwaldus. Audubaldus, king of Kent, succeeds his father Ethelbert, ii. 5, p. 90; refused to become Christian, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 18); marries his father's widow, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 48); attacked by madness, *ib.* pp. 90,

91; converted by Laurentius, ii. 6, p. 93 (cf. ii. 10, p. 101; ii. 11, p. 104); recalls Mellitus and Justus, *ib.*; his power inferior to his father's, *ib.* and note; builds a church of the Virgin in the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, *ib.* and note; Mellitus dies in reign of, ii. 7, p. 95; writes to Boniface V, ii. 8, p. 96 and note; negotiates with Edwin about the marriage of his sister Ethelberg, ii. 9, pp. 97, 98 and notes (cf. II. 321); receives her and Paulinus after the death of Edwin, ii. 20, pp. 125, 126 and notes; Edwin's son and grandson sent to Gaul for fear of, *ib.* p. 126 and note; invites Paulinus to accept the see of Rochester, *ib.*; dies, *v.* 24, p. 354; iii. 8, p. 142 and note; succeeded by his son Eadbert, *ib.* and note; names of his wives, II. 88; his donations to the Church, II. 89, 90; joins Edwin in approaching the pope on the affairs of the English Church, II. 111; grants Liming to Ethelberg for a monastery, II. 116, 117.

EADBERT, bishop of Lindisfarne, succeeds Cuthbert, iv. 29, p. 275 and notes; his charity, *ib.* pp. 275, 276; p. lxix note; covers the church of St. Peter with lead instead of thatch, iii. 25, p. 181 and note (cf. II. 102); agrees to the translation of Cuthbert, iv. 30, p. 276 and notes; the incorruption of Cuthbert's body reported to, *ib.* and note; his retirement during Lent, *ib.* and note; foretells his own death, *ib.* p. 277; dies and is buried in Cuthbert's grave, *ib.*; practises what he preaches, p. xxxvi; miracle worked by, II. 271; fate of his relics, *ib.*

EADBERT, a Mercian dux, heads the Mercians against Oswy, iii. 24, p. 180 and note.

EADBERT, abbot of Selsey, first bishop of the South Saxons, *v.*

- 18, p. 321 and note (cf. II. 228); dies, and is succeeded by Eolla, *ib.*
- Eadberot**, son and co-heir of Witred king of Kent, v. 23, p. 348 and note.
- Eadberot**, king of the Northumbrians, succeeds Ceolwulf, C. 737; makes war on the Picts, C. 740 (cf. II. 342, 346); annexes the Campus Cyil, C. 750 and note; eclipse in reign of, C. 753; tonsured and succeeded by his son Oswulf, C. 758 and note (cf. II. 345); expedition against Dumbarton, II. 346; brother of Egbert and Eged and son of Eata, II. 378; character of his rule, p. xxxiii note; II. 379; coins of, *ib.*; relationship of, to Ceolwulf, II. 384.
- Eadberot**, slain, C. 740 and note.
- EADBERT PRAEN**, usurps the kingdom of Kent, II. 89.
- EADBURG**, abbess of Thanet, letters of St. Boniface to, p. xx note; II. 219; Lullus sends presents to, p. lxxvi note; v. Bugga.
- Eadfrid**, son of Edwin by his first wife Cwenburg, ii. 14, p. 114 and note; baptized, *ib.*; flies to Penda after the battle of Hatfield, and is treacherously slain, ii. 20, pp. 124, 125 and notes; wrongly made father of Hereric, II. 244.
- EADFRID**, bishop of Lindisfarne, writes the Lindisfarne Gospels, p. cv; II. 297, 298; Bede's prose Life of St. Cuthbert dedicated to, p. cxlviii; dies 721, *ib.*
- Eadgar**, bishop of Lindsey, iv. 12, p. 229 and note.
- Eadgyd**, name of a nun in the monastery of Barking, iv. 8; dies there, *ib.*
- Eadhaed**, bishop of Lindsey, as presbyter accompanies Ceadda to Kent and Wessex, iii. 28, p. 195 and note; consecrated bishop on Wilfrid's first expulsion, v. 24, p. 355; first separate bishop of the Lindisfari, iv. 12, p. 229 and note (cf. II. 324); consecrated at York by Theodore, *ib.*; retires from Lindsey on its recovery by Ethelred, *ib.* and note; made bishop of Ripon, *ib.* and note (cf. iii. 28, p. 195 and note); expelled, II. 326.
- EADMER**, his Life of Wilfrid, II. 278; cited, II. 261; his opinion of Bede, p. xliii note; Life of Abbot Peter by, II. 64; letter of Nicolas, prior of Worcester, to, II. 140, 224; refutes the Glastonbury myth about Dunstan, II. 167.
- EADULF**, his vision of the other world, II. 295.
- EADWINE**, or Aedan, bishop of Mayo, II. 210.
- EADWULF**, usurps the Northumbrian throne on Aldfrid's death, II. 306, 345; Arnwine son of, *ib.*
- Eafa**, a Mercian dux, heads the Mercians against Oswy, iii. 24, p. 180 and note.
- EAFRID**, letter of Aldhelm to, on his sojourn in Ireland, II. 196.
- EALDELMESBURG**, Malmesbury, II. 311; v. Mailduff Urbs.
- EAN**, phonetic writing of Aedan, II. 66.
- EANBALD I**, archbishop of York, superintends the rebuilding of York Cathedral, II. 102.
- EANBALD II**, archbishop of York, Alcuin asks for pallium for, II. 51; urges study of Gregory's Cura Pastoralis on, II. 70.
- Eanfled**, ~~Eanfled~~, daughter of Edwin and Ethelberg (cf. II. 321, 391), her birth, ii. 9, p. 99; delivered by Edwin to Paulinus to be dedicated to Christ, *ib.*; first of the Northumbrians to be baptized, *ib.* and note; v. 24, p. 353; takes refuge in Kent after Hatfield, ii. 20, p. 126 and notes; sent for from Kent to marry Oswy, iii. 15, p. 157 and notes; buried at Whitby, iii. 24, p. 179 and note; founds the monastery of Gilling in expiation of the murder of Oswin, *ib.* pp. 179,

- 180 and note (cf. II. 164, 372); a relative of Oswin, *ib.* and note; observes the catholic Easter which she had learned in Kent, iii. 25, p. 181; her Easter sometimes differs by a week from her husband's, *ib.* p. 182 (cf. p. xl); has a Kentish chaplain, Romanus, *ib.* pp. 181, 182; Vitalian sends a gold cross to, iii. 29, p. 198 and note; joint abbess of Whitby, iv. 26, p. 267 and note (cf. II. 245, 391); sends Wilfrid to Kent, v. 19, p. 323 and note; said to have been translated to Glastonbury, II. 185; mother of Elfred, II. 391.
- Eanfrid**, eldest son of Ethelfrid (cf. II. 66, 99), succeeds Edwin in Bernicia, iii. 1, p. 127 and notes; baptized among the Scotti when in exile, *ib.*; relapses into paganism, *ib.* (cf. II. 18); goes to Cerdwalla to seek peace, *ib.* p. 128; put to death by him, *ib.* and notes; not reckoned in the list of kings, *ib.* and note (cf. iii. 9, p. 145); perhaps the father of Talorg mac Anfrith, II. 120.
- Eanfrid**, of the Hwiccas, father of Eaba queen of the South Saxons, brother of Ænhere, iv. 13, p. 230 and note; a Christian, *ib.*; probably father of Osric, II. 247.
- EANGYTH**, abbess, letter of, to St. Boniface, II. 150.
- Eanred**, dies, C. 750.
- EANWULF**, grandfather of Offa, founder of Bredon monastery, II. 341.
- Eappa**, presbyter, assists Wilfrid in the conversion of Sussex, iv. 13, p. 230 and note; abbot of Selsey, iv. 14, p. 233 and note (cf. II. 226); hears the vision of a sick boy in the monastery, *ib.* pp. 234, 235 and notes.
- Earconbert**, Erconbert, king of Kent, succeeds his father Eadbald, iii. 8, p. 142 and notes; first of English kings to order the destruction of idols and enforce the observance of Lent, *ib.* and notes (cf. II. 58, 59, 344); his wife Sexburgh, *ib.* (cf. iv. 19, p. 244 and note); his daughter Earcongota, *ib.* pp. 142-144 and notes; dies, succeeded by his son Egbert, iv. 1, p. 201; v. 24, p. 354 (cf. II. 195); Eanfred sends Wilfrid to, v. 19, p. 323 and note; he sends him to Rome with Benedict Biscop, *ib.* and notes; St. Ermingild daughter of, II. 344.
- Earcongota**, Earcongota, daughter of Earconbert of Kent and his wife Sexburgh, iii. 8, p. 142 and notes (cf. II. 144); enters the monastery of Faremoutier-en-Brie, *ib.* and note; story of her death and burial, *ib.* pp. 143, 144 and notes.
- Earconuald**, made bishop in London of the East Saxons, iv. 6, p. 218 and notes (cf. II. 178); his holy life, *ib.*; miracles wrought by his litter, *ib.*; founds a monastery for himself at Chertsey, and for his sister at Barking, *ib.* pp. 218, 219 and notes; succeeded by Waldhere, iv. 11, p. 226 and note; chronology of life of, II. 177; witnesses the reconciliation of Theodore and Wilfrid, II. 217; spurious charters of, *ib.*
- Earpuuald**, Eorpuald, Erpuuald, king of the East Angles, son of Redwald, ii. 15, p. 115 and notes; converted by Edwin, *ib.* and notes; murdered by Ricbert, *ib.* p. 116 and notes; succeeded, after three years, by his brother Sigbert, *ib.* and note; iii. 18; successor of Redwald, *ib.* (cf. II. 106).
- Eata**, bishop of Lindisfarne, iii. 26, p. 190 and note; one of the twelve English pupils of Aidan, *ib.* and note; abbot of Melrose, *ib.* and note; iv. 27, p. 269; v. 9, p. 297 (cf. II. 192); made abbot of Lindisfarne on Colman's departure, iii. 26, p. 190

- and notes; iv. 27, p. 270 and note (cf. II. 134); made bishop of the Bernicians with his see at Hexham or Lindisfarne, iv. 12, p. 229 and note; iv. 27, p. 269 (cf. v. 24, p. 355; II. 193, 224); a monk, iv. 12, p. 229; his see fixed at Lindisfarne, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 193, 224); transfers Cuthbert as prior to Lindisfarne, iv. 27, p. 270 and notes; transferred to Hexham, iv. 28, p. 273 (cf. II. 193, 224); dies, and is succeeded by John, v. 2, p. 282 and note; invited to Ripon by Alcfred, II. 192, 193; leaves Ripon, II. 189, 193, 323, 372; conforms to the Roman Easter, II. 323; church dedicated to, at Atcham or Attingham, II. 193; admits Cuthbert as a monk, II. 267; fate of relics of, II. 274; Life of, p. cxxviii; II. 193.
- EATA**, called Eata Glinmaur, father of Eadbert, Egbert, and Egred, descendant of Ida, II. 378.
- EBBSFLEET**, Kent, landing-place of Hengist and Horsa, and probable landing-place of Augustine, II. 41.
- EBCHESTER**, Co. Durham, on the Derwent, founded by Ebba, II. 236.
- EBER**, son of Miled, colonises the South of Ireland, II. 125.
- Eboracum**, v. Eburacum.
- EBORACUM**, name of Faremoutier-en-Brie, II. 148; v. In Brige.
- Ebrinus**, 'maior domus regiae,' allows Theodore and Hadrian to leave Arles, iv. 1, p. 203 and notes; allows Theodore to leave Gaul, *ib.*; detains Hadrian in Gaul, suspecting him of a mission from the emperor to the kings of Britain, *ib.* and notes (cf. II. 329); releases him, *ib.* p. 204; bribed by enemies of Wilfrid, II. 215; tries to get him killed, II. 325; puts Annemundus to death, II. 322.
- Eboraca ciuitas**, York, relation of bishop of, to bishop of London defined, i. 29, p. 64 and notes; bishops consecrated by bishop of, to be subject to Augustine, *ib.* (cf. II. 52); Wilfrid styled bishop of, v. 19, pp. 326, 327.
- Eboraca prouincia, = Deira, II. 120.
- Eburacensis antistes**, Ee. § 9, p. 413 and note; relation of, to Canterbury defined, ii. 18, pp. 120, 121 and note. Eburacensis ecclesia, Ee. § 10; Ceadda bishop of, iii. 28, p. 194; Wilfrid II bishop of, iv. 23, p. 254; v. 6, p. 292 and note; Wilfrid II bishop in, in 731, v. 23, p. 350; scholars of, write poems on Nynias, II. 129. Eburacensis episcopus, Paulinus, iii. 14, p. 154; Bosa, v. 20, p. 332.
- Eburacum**, Eboracum, York, Severus dies at, i. 5 and note; bishop to be sent to, by Augustine, i. 29, p. 63; bishop of, to consecrate other bishops and be metropolitan, *ib.* pp. 63, 64 and note; Goodmanham to the east of, ii. 13, p. 113 and note; Edwin baptized at, ii. 14, p. 114 and notes; church of St. Peter at, *ib.* and note; Ethelhun and Ethelthryth buried at, *ib.*; Edwin's head brought to and buried at, ii. 20, p. 125 and note; James the deacon left by Paulinus at, *ib.* p. 126 and note; Bosa's see fixed at, iv. 12, p. 229; Bosa, Eata, and Eadhed consecrated at, *ib.* and note; Bosa consecrated at, iv. 23, p. 254; John of Hexham transferred to, v. 3, p. 285 and note; Ceadda consecrated to the bishopric of, v. 19, p. 326; Paulinus bishop of the city of, v. 24, p. 354; Egbert bishop of, C. 732; II. 379; Bede visits Egbert at, p. xvi; II. 379; schools founded by Egbert at, pp. xvii note, xxiv; II. 379; due to Bede, pp. xviii note, xxiv; Alcuin a product of, *ib.* *ib.*; II. 379; his affection for monks of, p. xxxiii



- note; library of, II. 329; tract on subjection of bishops of Candida Casa to, p. cvii; list of archbishops of, p. cxxi; dean of, not to be elected archbishop, *ib.*; archbishops of, go to Rome for their pallium, II. 51; archbishops of, Egbert the first *de iure et de facto*, II. 378; Ethelbert, p. cxlviii note; II. 102, 379; Eanbald I, II. 102; Eanbald II, II. 51; Oswald, p. xxvi note; II. 165; Wulfstan, *q. v.*; Thomas I, II. 102; Thomas II, II. 274; *see also* Henry of Newark, William of Melton; Henry of Newark dean of, p. cxxi; Altsig abbot of, p. clv note; Roman York, II. 17; Constantius dies at, II. 20; said by Asser to be on the Humber, II. 30; documents forged to support claims of Canterbury over, *v.* Canterbury; description of, II. 101; history of cathedral of, II. 102, 188; captured by Cadwallon, II. 121; rights of, in Scotland, II. 140, 224; Ælfwine's body brought to, II. 242; Wilfrid II 'uicedomnus' and abbot of, II. 278; St. Bee's a cell of St. Mary's at, I. 431.
- Ecclesiastes**, Bede's chapters of readings on the book of, *v.* 24, p. 358.
- ECCELESTASTICUS**, only one Latin version of, II. 392.
- Egbert**, **Egbert**, **Egbert**, king of Kent, succeeds his father Eareconbert, *iv.* 1, p. 201; king of the Cantuarii, *iii.* 29, p. 196; confers with Oswy on the state of the English Church, *ib.* and notes; sends Wighard to Rome, *ib.* and note; *Hab.* § 3; *iv.* 1, p. 201; sends his prefect Raedfrid to escort Theodore to Britain, *ib.* p. 203 and note; dies, and is succeeded by his brother Hlothhere, *iv.* 5, p. 217 and notes; *v.* 24, p. 354; Edric son of, *iv.* 26, p. 268 and note; Witred son of, *ib.*; *v.* 23, p. 348; grants Reculver to Bass the priest, II. 283.
- Egbert**, 'Sanctus,' *v.* 24, p. 356; natione Anglus, *iii.* 4, p. 134; an exile in Ireland, *ib.* (*cf.* *iii.* 27, p. 193 and note); *iv.* 3, p. 211; *v.* 9, p. 296; II. 170; story of his friendship with Ethelhun, illness, and recovery, *iii.* 27, pp. 192-194 and notes (*cf.* p. xxxiii); this story Bede had from one who had it from Egbert, *ib.* p. 192; (*cf.* p. xlv note); vows never to return to Britain, *ib.* p. 193 and notes (*cf.* II. 186); Ceadda a companion of, *iv.* 3, p. 211; Hygbald visits, in Ireland, *ib.* and note; narrates to Hygbald a vision of the death of Ceadda, *ib.*; uncertain whether he spoke of himself, *ib.* p. 212 and note; tries to dissuade Egfrid from attacking Ireland, *iv.* 26, p. 267; II. 11; wishes to evangelise Germany, *v.* 9, p. 296 and notes; prevented by a vision, and bidden to reform the monasteries of Columba instead, *ib.* pp. 296-298 and notes; one of his comrades, Witbert, goes to Frisia, *ib.* p. 298 and note; sends Willbrod to Frisia, *v.* 10, pp. 298, 299 and notes; goes to Iona, *v.* 22, p. 346 and note; reforms the Paschal practice of Iona, *ib.* pp. 346, 347 and note; *iii.* 4, pp. 133, 134; *v.* 24, p. 356; p. xli; his death and character, *iii.* 27, pp. 193, 194; *v.* 22, pp. 347, 348 and notes (*cf.* II. 352); *v.* 23, p. 349; *v.* 24, p. 356; p. xxxvi; asceticism of, p. xxx note; his devotion to the Psalter, II. 137; was a bishop, II. 197, 285, 336, 337; called bishop of the Northumbrians, II. 285; consecrates an altar for Ethelwulf's monastery, *ib.*; attends a synod at Birra, *ib.*
- Egbert**, archbishop of York, succeeds Wilfrid II, *C.* 732; II. 378; receives the pallium, *C.* 735;

II. 378, 384; the first archbishop since Paulinus, C. 735; II. 53, 117, 378; consecrates Frithbert and Frithwald, C. 735; his royal descent, learning, and death, C. 766; II. 378; Bede stays with, p. xvi; Ee. § 1 and note; letter of Bede to, printed, I. 405-423 and notes; v. Baeda; his visit to Rome alluded to, Ee. § 15, v. *infra*; founds schools at York, pp. xvii note, xxiv; II. 379; said to have founded the York Library, *ib.*; his Dialogue, *ib.*; cited, p. xxix note; II. 56, 60, 67, 213, 214, 386; his Penitential, p. clvii; II. 379; cited, II. 47, 54, 60; his Pontifical, II. 379; St. Boniface asks for Bede's Commentaries from, p. clii note; II. 379; sends documents to, II. 45; letters of St. Boniface to, II. 342, 379; Bede urges the study of Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis* on, II. 70; brother of Eadbert and Egred, and son of Eata, II. 378; placed in a monastery as an infant, *ib.*; ordained deacon at Rome, *ib.*; made bishop of York by Ceolwulf, II. 379; character of rule of, *ib.*; coins of, *ib.*; a disciple of Bede, *ib.*; p. clvii; his relationship to Ceolwulf, II. 384.

Ecgfrid, king of the Northumbrians, son of Oswy, a hostage in the hands of Cynwise, wife of Penda, iii. 24, p. 178 and notes; succeeds his father Oswy, iv. 5, p. 214 and note; Council of Hertford in reign of, *ib.*; present at it, v. 24, p. 354; comet appears in reign of, iv. 12, p. 228 and note; dissension with Wilfrid, *ib.* p. 229; defeats Wulfhere, and gains Lindsey, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 215); Wilfrid remains in Sussex till after death of, iv. 13, p. 232; II. 318, 319; Council of Hatfield in reign of, iv. 17, p. 239 and note; consents to the papal grant of privileges to Wear-

mouth, iv. 18, p. 241; Hab. § 6, p. 369 and note; Hab. § 15 *ad fin.*; marries Ethelthryth, daughter of Anna of East Anglia, iv. 19, p. 243 and notes; offers large grants to Wilfrid, *ib.* and note; Ebba, abbess of Coldingham, aunt of, *ib.* and note; Wilfrid expelled by, v. 24, p. 355 (cf. v. 19, p. 326 and note); battle of the Trent between Ethelred of Mercia and, iv. 21 and notes (cf. II. 215); Theodore makes peace between Ethelred and, *ib.* and note; his brother Ælfwine slain, *ib.* and note; sends an expedition against Ireland under Bert, iv. 26, p. 266 and notes (cf. II. 301); Cuthbert tries to dissuade, from attacking the Picts, *ib.* and notes; defeated and slain by the Picts, *ib.* p. 267 and notes; v. 24, p. 355; pp. xxxiii, xxxiv; II. 235, 301; refused to listen to Egbert, who urged him not to attack Ireland, iv. 26, p. 267 (cf. II. 11); decline of the 'Regnum Anglorum' dates from death of, *ib.* (cf. p. xxxiii); succeeded by his half-brother Aldfrid, *ib.* p. 268 and notes; p. xxxiii; v. 1, p. 282 and note; v. 19, p. 327; causes Cuthbert to be consecrated bishop, iv. 27, p. 268; II. 268; present at the Synod of Twyford, iv. 28, p. 272 and note; goes to Farnes to persuade Cuthbert to accept the bishopric, *ib.*; present at the consecration of Cuthbert at York, *ib.* p. 273; assists and endows the foundation of Wearmouth, Hab. § 1 and note, § 4; Haa. § 7; Wearmouth founded in his fourth year, Hab. §§ 1, 4 and note; Haa. § 7; king of the Transhumbrane region, Hab. § 4 and note; grants land for, and orders the building of St. Paul's monastery at Jarrow, Hab. § 7, p. 370 and note; Haa. § 11; marks out the place of the altar

II. 126; governs Deira th  
 his brother Ælfwine as a  
 king, II. 126, 243; rector  
 Lindsey, II. 155; Oswy's fi  
 ite son, II. 182; extensi  
 his power, II. 208; date o  
 accession, II. 211, 231, 235  
 358, 361, 374; Wynfrid sh  
 have been a partisan of, II.  
 his successes due to Wilfri  
 223; marries Eormenburg  
 the death of Ethelthryth  
 236; his failures due to  
 quarrel with Wilfrid, II.  
 buried in Iona, II. 261; wi  
 to make Aldfrid a bishop  
 263; spurious grant of, to C  
 bert, II. 268; Bede's adm  
 tion for, II. 316, 355; Wi  
 imprisoned by, II. 318; Ja  
 church dedicated in fift  
 year of, II. 361.

**Ecgric**, king of the East Ang  
 Sigbert resigns the kingd  
 to, iii. 18 and notes; slain  
 battle against the Mercians  
 and notes.

*See also Eg-.*

'ECHOICI VERSUS,' II. 241.

**ECLANUM**, Julianus bishop of,  
 21, 22.

**ECLIPSE**, solar, II. 194.

**EDA**, shortened form of Edwi  
 II. 88.

**EDMUND** = A.D. 940

- Oswald to St. Winnoc's, II. 158.
- EDWARD THE ELDER, children of, II. 332.
- EDWARD I, arguments on Scotch claims of, II. 132.
- EDWARD III, homage of Edward Balliol to, p. cvii.
- EDWARD VI, Prayer-books of, II. 250.
- EDWARD BALLIOL, v. Balliol.
- EDWINE, name shortened to Eda, II. 88.
- EFESUS, Council of, against Nestorius, iv. 17, p. 240 and note; robber synod of, acquits Eutyches, II. 233.
- EGBERT, king, p. cii; unites the English, II. 115.
- EGBERT, bishop of Lindisfarne, Ethelwulf De Abbatibus dedicated to, p. cxi.
- EGINHARD, Philo cited in letters of, II. 27.
- EGMOND, North Holland, Adalbert settles at, II. 288.
- EGRED, bishop of Lindisfarne, translates Ceolwulf's body to Norham, II. 340.
- EGRED, brother of Eadbert and Egbert, dies at Rome, II. 378.
- EGWIN, succeeds Otfar as bishop of the Hwiccas, II. 246; not mentioned by Bede, *ib.*; said to have accompanied Offa and Cenred to Rome, II. 315; dies, II. 341.
- See also* Ecg-.
- EIELWINE, said to be brother of Cenwalh of Wessex, II. 143, 144.
- ENGOL = Angli, II. 285.
- ELAFIUS, son of, miraculously healed by Germanus, i. 21, p. 40.
- ELBA, II. 184.
- ELBODUS, episcopus, II. 101.
- ELEAZAR, son of Aaron, p. xv; II. 367.
- ELEGIAC METRE, derivation of the name, II. 241.
- Eleusippus, v. Gemini Martyres.
- Eleuther, pontiff of the Roman Church, converts Lucius, king of Britain, i. 4 and notes; v. 24, p. 352; rules for fifteen years, *ib.* and note; said to have founded church at Glastonbury, II. 14.
- ELFORD, near Tamworth, possible site of battle of the Trent, II. 242.
- Elge, regio, Ely, Ethelthryth builds monastery in, iv. 19, p. 244 and notes (cf. II. 235); Sexburgh, abbess of, *ib.* and note; surrounded by marsh and water, *ib.* (cf. II. 174, 269); name derived from the eels of the marshes, *ib.* p. 246 and notes; situated in East Anglia, *ib.*; dimensions of, *ib.* and notes; bishops of, John Moore, p. lxxxix; William Gray, p. cxii; Augustine said to have founded a church in, II. 43; Ethelthryth, Sexburgh, Ermingild, abbesses of, II. 144; daughter of Anna of East Anglia a nun in, *ib.*; a double monastery, II. 150, 239; relics of Oswald at, II. 158; Wilfrid goes to, II. 324.
- ELIZABETH, queen, Thomas Stapleton tries to influence, against the Reformation, p. cxxxii.
- ELLMYN = Alemanni, II. 285, 286.
- Elmete, silua, near Leeds, monastery of Thrydwulf in, ii. 14, p. 115 and note.
- ELMHAM, Thomas of, v. Thomas.
- ELMHAM, Norfolk, seat of East Anglian bishopric, II. 108; Badwine bishop of, II. 214; Hadulac bishop of, II. 341.
- ELY, v. Elge; Thomas of, v. Thomas.
- EMMA, daughter of king of the Franks, marries Eadbald of Kent, II. 88, 148.
- Emme, bishop of Sens, Hadrian stays with, on his way to Britain, iv. 1, p. 203 and note.
- ENGADDI, balsam-vines of, II. 151.
- ENGLISH LANGUAGE, neglect of foreign missionaries to learn, II. 190, 357.

of the  
note.  
Dactyl.

dwulf.

Alani.

on mar

Saxon

V. 12.

death.

6. and

chanters.

of Eg-

II. 296.

to ob-

Carl-

death, II.

and abbe-

to Ger-

150.

to 104;

Alm-

of We-

Bishop Hat-

and note

and note

II. 18; p. 2.

Han. 58 22

311 and note

of Kyfrid, II.

II. 90; his

371, 372 and

his death.

373 and note

Hab. 5 20

p. 11; II.

Kyfrid, Hab.

5 13 and

his reli-

and note;

of life of

II. 90.

Mur-

to have

104.

Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

Epistola. Epistola. Epistola.

- Estrangli**, Aldwulf king of, iv. 17, p. 239 and note; Redwald king of, II. 390; Estangle, II. 86; v. Angli Orientales.
- ESTREFELD** (on), Council of, II. 56.
- ÉTAPLES**, r. Quentauc.
- ETHELBALD**, son of Ethelwulf, marries his father's widow, Judith, II. 249.
- ETHELBALD**, abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, letter of Alcuin to, p. xxvii note.
- ETHELBERG**, r. Bercta.
- ETHELBERT**, archbishop of York, rebuilds York Cathedral, II. 102; founds the York library, II. 379; asked by Lullus for copy of Bede's Lives of St. Cuthbert, p. cxlviii note.
- ETHELFLÆD**, lady of the Mercians, translates the body of Oswald to her monastery at Gloucester, II. 158.
- ETHELHARD**, archbishop of Canterbury, letters of Alcuin to, II. 33, 36, 89, 266, 380.
- ETHELRED I**, notice of, p. cxviii; charter of, cited, II. 20.
- ETHELRED**, king of the Northumbrians, letter of Alcuin to, II. 126.
- ETHELRED**, alderman of the Mercians, co-founder of St. Oswald's, Gloucester, II. 158.
- ETHELRIC**, king of the Bernicians, father of Ethelfrid, II. 93; annexes Deira, *ib.*; said to have slain Elle, *ib.* (cf. II. 120).
- ETHELWERD**, his doctrine of the six ages of the world, p. xlii note; his style, II. 312; his admiration for Aldhelm, *ib.*
- ETHELWOLD**, bishop of Winchester, said to have translated body of Benedict Biscop to Thorney, II. 365; translates the body of St. Botulf, II. 372.
- ETHELWULF**, his poem *De Abbatibus*, pp. cxi, cxviii; II. 285; his monastery possibly Crayke, II. 285; describes a vision of the other world, II. 294; his character of Osred, II. 306.
- ETHELWULF**, spurious charter of, II. 142; marries Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, II. 249; the philosopher-king of Plato, II. 332.
- See also* Adal-, Aedil-, Ægel-, Ael-, Agil-, Athel-, Edil-, Eiel-, Oidil-.
- Etherius**, r. Aetherius.
- 'etiam'** = yes, II. 192, 274, 386.
- ETYMOLOGIES**, mediaeval, II. 10, 29, 41, 162.
- Eua**, example of, cited, i. 27, p. 61; iv. 20, p. 248 (cf. Ee. § 17, p. 422).
- EUCCHARISTUS**, name of a mythical pope in Nennius, II. 14.
- EUCHERIUS**, bishop of Lyons, his works probably used by Bede in the *De Locis Sanctis*, II. 304.
- EUDOXIUS**, heretic, Council of Constantinople directed against, iv. 17, p. 240 and note.
- Eufemia**, iv. 20, p. 247 and note.
- EUGENIUS I**, pope, irregularly consecrated during life of Martin I, II. 321; Wilfrid presented to, II. 322.
- Eulalia**, iv. 20, p. 247 and note.
- EULOGIUS**, bishop of Alexandria, II. 44.
- Eumer**, a West Saxon emissary, tries to murder Edwin, ii. 9, pp. 98, 99 and notes; slays Fordhere, *ib.* p. 99; slain himself, *ib.*
- Europa**, principal divisions of, i. 1, p. 9; overrun by Attila, i. 13; parts of, overrun by the Saracens, II. 339.
- Eusebius Pamphyli**, arranges a nineteen-year Easter cycle, v. 21, p. 341; use made by Bede of, p. 1; Rufinus' translation of, p. li note; MSS. of, pp. lxxxvi note, cvii, cviii; editions of, p. cxxx.
- EUSEBIUS 'Scotigena'**, an Irish inclusus at St. Gallen, p. xxxi note.
- EUSEBIUS**, r. Huætberct.
- EUSTATIUS AFER**, his translation of St. Basil's *Hexameron* used by Bede, II. 6.
- Eutropius**, cited, i. 8 (cf. p. xxiv note).
- Eutyches**, heresy of, at Con-

- stantinople, iv. 17, p. 238 and note; Theodore desires to exclude from the English Churches, *ib.*; Council of Chalcedon against, *ib.* p. 240 and note.
- Eutycius, bishop of Constantinople, his heresy on the resurrection-body, ii. 1, p. 75; refuted by Gregory I, *ib.* p. 76 and note.
- 'EXALBARI,' II. 280.
- excepto = besides, not counting, II. 234.
- EXCOMMUNICATION, use of, II. 179, 213, 214.
- EXNING, Suffolk, St. Ethelthryth born at, II. 235.
- Exodus, book of, cited, v. 21, pp. 334, 335.
- EXORCISM, EXORCISTS, II. 156, 157.
- 'EXUFFLATIO,' II. 226, 277.
- Ezechiel, commentary of Gregory I on, ii. 1, p. 76.
- Esra, Bede's commentary on, v. 24, p. 358; chapters of readings on, *ib.*; practised what he preached, p. xxxvi note; v. Baeda.

## F.

- FAELCHU, abbot of Iona, II. 337.
- FAILBE, abbot of Iona, hears Oswald tell the story of St. Columba's appearance to him before the battle of Denisesburn, II. 121, 122.
- FAIRFAX, Colonel Charles, former owner of MS. O<sub>5</sub>, p. cxxi; joins Monk in restoring Charles II, p. cxxii.
- FAIRFAX, Thomas, third lord, bequeaths MS. O<sub>5</sub> to the Bodleian, p. cxxii; joins Monk in restoring Charles II, *ib.*
- FAIRFAX MSS., pp. cxxi, cxxxvii, II. 272.
- 'FAMILIA,' = hide, *q. v.*; = a monastic household, II. 267.
- Fara, abbatiassa, founder of the monastery of Faremoutier-en-Brie, iii. 8, p. 142 and notes.
- FAREMOUTIER-EN-BRIE, v. In Brige.
- FARICUS, abbot of Abingdon, his Life of Aldhelm, II. 308; used by W. M., *ib.*; cited, II. 309.
- FARNE insula, Aidan accustomed to seek retirement in, iii. 16 and note; Cuthbert lives as an anchorite on, iv. 27, p. 268 and note; iv. 28, pp. 271, 272 and notes; iv. 30, p. 277 (*cf.* II. 69); Cuthbert returns to, iv. 29, p. 274 and note; dies on, *ib.* p. 275 and note; wishes to be buried in, *ib.* and note; Ethelwald succeeds Cuthbert as anchorite in, v. 1, p. 281 and notes; visited by Lindisfarne monks, *ib.*; miracle wrought by Ethelwald in, *ib.* p. 282; Ethelwald dies in, *ib.* and note; Felgeld anchorite of, p. xvi note; II. 273; Bartholomew anchorite of, p. xxvi note (*cf.* pp. xxxi note, cxxxvii; II. 273); succession of anchorites in, II. 166; grants to monks of, II. 273.
- Faro, bishop of Meaux, iv. 1, p. 203 and note; Life of, by Hildegard, II. 203.
- 'farus,' meaning of, II. 23.
- FAST, v. Ieiunium.
- 'fastigium,' used as a title, II. 92.
- FELGELD, succeeds Ethelwald as anchorite of Farne, II. 273; Bede converses with, p. xvi note.
- FELICIANUS, v. Primus.
- Felix, bishop of the East Angles, a bishop from Burgundy, ii. 15, p. 116 and notes (*cf.* II. 106); sent by Archbishop Honorius to evangelise the East Angles, *ib.*; his success, *ib.* (*cf.* II. 93); significance of his name, *ib.* and note (*cf.* p. lvii note; II. 354); receives his see at Dunwich, *ib.* p. 117 and note; dies there after seventeen years, *ib.*; aids Sigbert to establish a school, iii. 18 and notes; dies, iii. 20 and notes; succeeded by his deacon Thomas, *ib.* and notes; his respect for Aidan, iii. 25, p. 182; mistakes of later

- writers about, II. 107; possibly connected with St. Columban, II. 108; said to have baptized Cenwalh of Wessex, II. 143; translations of, II. 174.
- Felix III (II)**, bishop of Rome, ancestor of Gregory I, ii. 1, p. 73 and note.
- FELIX**, bishop of Messana, letters to and from Gregory I, II. 47.
- FELIX**, dedicates his *Life of Guthlac* to Ethelbald, II. 342; cf. II. xxxvi.
- Felix**, confessor, Bede turns Paulinus' metrical *Life of*, into prose, v. 24, p. 359; p. cliv; v. Baeda.
- FELGELD**, v. Felgeld.
- FEMALES**, traces of succession through, in East Anglia, II. 107, 168.
- Fepplingum**, v. In Fep.
- FEROUS**, father of Oengus king of the Picts, II. 346.
- FERRARA**, Lupus abbot of, p. clv.
- FERRARENSIS**, v. Ricobaldus.
- '**FER-THIGIS**,' p. xxviii note.
- FESTIVALS**, kept from evening to evening, II. 191.
- FFORLONGE**, George, of Wexford, former owner of MS. R., p. ci.
- FIACC**, of Sletty, his hymn to St. Patrick, II. 137.
- '**fidelis**' = believing, orthodox, II. 202; v. 'perfidus.'
- FINA**, name of Aldfrid's Irish mother, II. 263.
- Finan**, bishop of Lindisfarne, succeeds Aidan, iii. 25, p. 181 and note; iii. 17, p. 160; sent from Iona, *ib.* (cf. II. 127); consecrated by the Scotti, iii. 25, p. 182 and note; baptizes Peada and Sigbert at place called Ad Murum, iii. 21, p. 170 and note; iii. 22, p. 172 and note; consecrates Diuma as bishop of the Middle Angles, iii. 21, p. 171; and Codd as bishop of the East Saxons, iii. 22, pp. 172, 173 and note; builds a wooden church at Lindisfarne, iii. 25, p. 181 and notes (cf. II. 102); disputes with Ronan on the Easter question, *ib.* and notes; dies, and is succeeded by Colman, *ib.* p. 182 and note; length of his episcopate, iii. 26, p. 189; English students in Ireland in time of, iii. 27, p. 192 and note; never received the pallium, II. 126, 189; called son of Rimid, *ib.*
- FINCHALE**, near Durham, possibly identical with Pægnalæch, II. 196; Utrid de Boldon, prior of, p. cviii.
- FINDCHAN**, hand of, rots off, II. 140, 141.
- Finees** (Phinehas), Haa. § 39 and note.
- '**FINIT**,' versus 'explicit,' not a specially Celtic use, p. cxxiii.
- FINN MAC CUMAIL**, father of Oisín, II. 163.
- FINTAN**, St., called 'psalm-mouth,' II. 137; visited by an angel, II. 258.
- FIRES**, frequency of, II. 91, 102, 154, 258.
- FISKERTON**, Notts., equated by some with Tiowulfingacæstir, II. 109.
- FLACIUS ILLYRICUS**, the first to publish the Latin preface to the *Heliand*, II. 256.
- '**flagrantia**,' for 'fragrantia,' &c., II. 151.
- FLANDERS**, pedigree of counts of, p. cxix.
- FLAND FINA**, Irish name of Aldfrid, II. 263.
- FLEURY**, MS. of Bede's H. E. formerly belonging to monastery of, p. xcix note; v. Abbo.
- FLESAUR**, v. Aedilfrid.
- FLORUS LUGDUNENSIS**, his excerpts from St. Augustine on St. Paul wrongly ascribed to Bede, p. clv.
- Focas** (Phocas), emperor, i. 34 and note; ii. 1, p. 79; ii. 4, p. 88 (cf. II. 36); grants the Pantheon to Boniface IV, *ib.* and note.
- FOLCARD**, his dictum concerning Bede, p. xxii note; *Life of St. John of Beverley* by, p. cxx; II. 275, 277; *Life of St. Botulf* by, II. 372.



- and, II. 15; called  
Sea of Giude, II. 24; nor  
boundary of Bernicia, II.  
boundary of Picts and Ar  
II. 224, 262; Egfrid slai  
the north of, II. 261.
- Fortheri**, bishop of Sherbe  
succeeds Aldhelm, v. 18, p.  
and notes; alive in 731,  
and note; one of the bish  
of the West Saxons in  
v. 23, p. 350; letter of A  
bishop Bertwald to, II. 2  
313; goes to Rome and retur  
*ib.*; signs charter of Etl  
hard, *ib.*
- FORTREX**, Angus king of, II. 3
- Fortunatus**, presbyter, cited,  
43; his *Laus uirginum* cit  
i. 7, p. 18 and note; II. 2.  
242.
- 'FÓSAIC'**, II. 238.
- FOSITE**, son of Balder, sanctua  
of, destroyed by Wilbrord, I  
290.
- FOSSE**, Foillan and Ultan found  
a monastery at, II. 172; Ulla  
abbot of, *ib.*
- FOSTERAGE**, importance of, in earl  
times, II. 117.
- FOUR MASTERS**, the, deliberat  
omissions of, II. 302, 303.
- Franci**, ravage the coasts of the  
empire, i. 6; Carausius sent to  
repress, *ib.*; overrun by the A.S.

**Frithubert**, v. **Fruidbert**.

**FROTHAR**, bishop of Toul, letters of, cited, II. 138.

**Fruidbert**, **Frithubert**, bishop of Hexham, consecrated by Egbert, C. 735; dies, C. 766; II. 330.

**Fruiduuald**, bishop of Whithorn, consecrated by Egbert, C. 735 and note.

**Fulco**, precentor of St. Hubert in the Ardennes, p. xxviii note.

**FULLALOVE**, v. **Plenus Amoris**.

**Fullanus** (Foillan), brother of Fursa, who resigns his monastery to him, iii. 19, p. 167 and note; of royal descent, II. 171; a bishop, II. 171, 172; comes with Fursa to Britain, *ib.*; goes to Gaul, *ib.* (cf. II. 173); founds the monasteries of Fosse and Rooulx, *ib.*; martyrdom and burial, *ib.*

**Furseus**, comes from Ireland to East Anglia, iii. 19, pp. 163, 167 and notes; received by Sigbert, who grants him a site for a monastery at Cnobheresburg, *ib.* pp. 163, 164 and notes; his noble descent, *ib.* p. 164 and note (cf. II. 90); his visions, *ib.* pp. 164-167 and notes; book of his life cited, *ib.* pp. 165, 168 (cf. p. xxiv note; II. 169); an aged monk of Bede's monastery had seen a man who had seen, *ib.* p. 167 and notes; had preached many years in Scottia (Ireland), *ib.* and notes; resigns his monastery to his brother Foillan and joins his brother Ultan as an eremite, *ib.* pp. 167, 168 and notes; retires to Gaul, *ib.* p. 168 and notes; received by Clovis II and Ercinwald, *ib.* and notes; builds a monastery at Lagny, *ib.* and note; buried at Péronne, *ib.* and note; his body twice translated and twice found uncorrupted, *ib.*; Lives of, II. 169; Ælfric's homily on, *ib.*; said to have been a bishop, II. 171; dies at Mazeroles, II. 173; chronology of his life, *ib.*; fate of relics of, II. 173, 174.

'**fylacteria**' = amulets, II. 266.

'**FYRD**,' opposed to 'here,' II. 30.

## G.

**g** between vowels tends to disappear, II. 145, 373.

**GABRAN**, father of Aedan king of the Scots in Britain, II. 13, 64; defeated by the Picts, *ib.*

**GÆLIC**, spread of, in Scotland, II. 10.

**GAI CAMPUS**, Welsh name of the battle of the Winwæd, II. 183.

**GALE**, Thomas, his notes on Bede, p. lxxx note.

**GALL**, St., Life of, cited, II. 170.

**Galli**, Caesar fights against, i. 2, p. 13; separated from the Germans by the Rhine, *ib.*; Columbanus among, ii. 4, p. 88 and note.

**Gallia**, fronts Britain, i. 1, p. 9; Caesar returns to, after his invasions of Britain, i. 2, p. 14 and note; governed by Constantius, i. 8; Maximus crosses to, i. 9; v. 24, p. 352; Gratian slain there, *ib.* *ib.*; Constantius sent to, i. 11; Abbot Peter sent to, i. 33 and notes; Mellitus and Justus retire to, ii. 5, p. 92; recalled from, ii. 6, p. 93; Sigbert of East Anglia converted while an exile in, ii. 15, p. 116 and notes (cf. iii. 18); Wusefrea and Yffi sent for safety to, ii. 20, p. 126 and note; Wine consecrated in, iii. 7, p. 140; Agilbert retires to, *ib.* p. 141 and note; Cenwalh sends envoys to, *ib.*; Fursa retires to, iii. 19, p. 168 and notes; Ronan learns the catholic Easter in, iii. 25, p. 181; Wilfrid sees the catholic Easter practised in, *ib.* p. 184; Hild intends to go to, iv. 23, p. 253 and note; Wilfrid returns to, from Rome, v. 19, p. 324 (cf. II. 317); Wilfrid sent to, for consecration, *ib.* p. 325; Meaux a city of, *ib.* p. 328; Benedict Biscop sends

- to, for glass-makers, *Hab.* § 5 and note; cannot obtain all his needs in, *Hab.* § 6, p. 368; visits of Benedict Biscop to, *Haa.* § 5 and note; he obtains architects from, *Haa.* § 7 (cf. *II.* 101); Ceolfrid reaches, *Haa.* § 32; daily communion the rule in, *Ee.* § 15; command in, conferred on Julius Caesar, *II.* 12; Gerontius invites the Germans to invade, *II.* 23; ravages of the Saxons in, *II.* 28; ravaged by Attila, *II.* 33; Irish and British come to, *II.* 72; institution of double monasteries copied from, *II.* 150; still the only term used by Bede, *II.* 149; exile in, *II.* 197.
- Gallia Belgica**, to the south of Britain, *i.* 1, p. 9.
- Galliae**, *i.* 27, p. 53; Constantine emperor of, *i.* 8; overrun by the Alani, &c., *i.* 11; Constantinus crosses to, *ib.* and note; monasteries of, frequented by the English, *iii.* 8, p. 142 and notes (cf. *II.* 373); schools of, copied by Sigbert of East Anglia, *iii.* 18 and note; persons coming from, raise the Easter question in Northumbria, *iii.* 25, p. 181; Hadrian had twice visited, *iv.* 1, p. 202; Godwin metropolitan of, *v.* 8, p. 295 and note; Dalfinus offers a part of, to Wilfrid, *v.* 19, p. 324 and note; Wilfrid returns to, after his second appeal, *ib.* p. 328; ravaged by the Saracens, *v.* 23, p. 349 and note; Benedict Biscop visits and procures masons from, *Hab.* § 5 and note. Galliarum archiepiscopus, Dalfinus of Lyons (really Annemundus, *v.* *II.* 321), *iii.* 25, p. 182. Gall. ecclesia, ritual of, different from Roman, *i.* 27, p. 49 and note. Gall. episcopi, cannot easily be present at consecration of bishops in Britain, *ib.* p. 52 and notes; relations of, to Augustine defined, *ib.* pp. 52, 53. Gall. episcopus, Arculfus, *v.* 15, p. 316 and note. Gall. rex (Clothaire III), Wilfrid sent to, *iii.* 28, p. 194 and note.
- Gallica lingua**, *v.* 11, p. 303.
- Gallicum litus**, Ceolfrid arrives at, *Haa.* § 31. Gallicus oceanus, Arianism reaches, *II.* 20. Gallicus sinus, *i.* 17, p. 34.
- Gallicani antistites**, send help to the Britons against the Pelagians, *i.* 17, p. 34 and note. Gallican Psalter, *v.* Psalter.
- GALLOWAY**, *v.* Niduari.
- Gallus**, Agilbert a Gaul, *iii.* 7, p. 140 and note.
- Ganguulf**, lord of Langres, receives Ceolfrid, *Haa.* § 35 (cf. *II.* 369); founder of the monastery of the Gemini Martyres, *Haa.* § 36 (cf. *II.* 370); his kindness to Ceolfrid's companions, *Haa.* § 38 (cf. *II.* 370).
- GARISTON**, Yorkshire, probably to be identified with Wilfaresdun, *II.* 163.
- Garmani**, name given by the Britons to the Saxons and Angles *v.* 9, p. 296 and note.
- GATESHEAD**, *v.* Ad Caprae Caput.
- GERHARDT**, archbishop of Salzburg, cited, p. xlviii.
- Gebmund**, bishop of Rochester, appointed by Theodore, *iv.* 12, p. 228 and note; dies, and is succeeded by Tobias, *v.* 8, p. 295 and note; present at witnagemót of Bersted, *II.* 284.
- Gefrin**, *v.* Ad Gefrin.
- GEGWIS**, *v.* Geuissi, Gewis.
- GEHAZI**, *v.* Giezi.
- GELESIUS I**, pope, on the disposal of oblations, *II.* 46; his sacramentary, *II.* 71; on baptism, *II.* 96; letter of to the diocese of Tarentum, *II.* 212.
- GEMBLACKENSIS**, *v.* Siebertus.
- GEMBLoux**, Sigbert of, *v.* Siebertus Gemblacensis.
- Gemini Martyres** (Speusippus, Eleusippus, Meleusippus), church and monastery of, at Langres, *Hab.* §§ 21, 23 and note; their martyrdom, *Hab.* § 23; *Haa.* § 36; their grand-

- mother Leonilla, *ib. ib.*; their relics carried to Germany, II. 370.
- Genesis, book of, cited, v. 21, p. 339; Bede's Commentary on, v. 24, p. 357; v. Baeda.
- GENITIVE, weak Anglo-Saxon, in -n. pp. clvi, clvii.
- Genladae flumen, the Yenlade or Inlade, Kent, Reculver at the mouth of, v. 8, p. 295 and note.
- GENOA, Asterius resides at, II. 142.
- Genuensis episcopus, Asterius wrongly called, iii. 7, p. 139 and note.
- GEOFFREY OF DURHAM, his Life of St. Godric, p. cxxxviii.
- GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH, numerous MSS. of, p. lxxxvi (cf. p. cvii); the father of mediaeval romance, *ib.*; St. Amphibalus first occurs in, II. 17.
- GEORGE, St., of Cappadocia, notice of, p. ci.
- GEORGE I. gives MSS. to Cambridge University, p. lxxxix.
- GERAINT, Welsh form of Geron-tius, II. 23.
- GERARD, bishop of Cambrai, II. 48.
- Germani, Caesar fights against, i. 2, p. 13; separated from the Gauls by the Rhine, *ib.*; invited by Gerontius to invade Gaul and Britain, II. 23; v. Garmani.
- Germania, fronts Britain, i. 1, p. 9; Saxons, Angles, and Jutes come from, i. 15, p. 31 (cf. v. 9, p. 296 and note); fame of Oswald in, iii. 13, p. 152 and note; various tribes of, v. 9, p. 296 and note; derivation of name, II. 29, 41; Saxons retire to, II. 30; Franci and Angli come from, II. 41.
- Germania prima, Severus preaches to the peoples of, i. 21, p. 40 and note.
- GERMANIAE, Augustine consecrated by bishops of, II. 45.
- Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, sent with Lupus by a Gallican synod to help the Britons against the Pelagians, i. 17, p. 34 and notes; calms a storm, *ib.* and note; their coming announced by evil spirits, *ib.* pp. 34, 35 (cf. i. 21, p. 40); they refute the heretics, *ib.* pp. 35, 36; heals a blind girl, i. 18; visits the tomb of St. Alban, *ib.*; places relics there, and brings away earth from it, *ib.* and note; injury to his foot, i. 19; miraculously healed, *ib.*; quells a fire, *ib.*; other miracles of, *ib.*; with Lupus leads the Britons against the Picts and Saxons, i. 20 and notes (cf. II. 71); their return, *ib.* p. 39; visits Britain again with Severus, i. 21, p. 40 and note; heals the son of Elafius, *ib.*; refutes the heretics, *ib.* p. 41; goes to Ravenna to intercede for the Armoricans, *ib.* and note; dies there, *ib.* and note; buried at Auxerre, *ib.* and note; Life of, by Constantius, used by Bede, p. xxiv note; II. 31, 32; churches dedicated to, p. cxxi; II. 33; builds a church to St. Alban at Auxerre, *ib.*; translation of his remains, II. 35; office for his day, p. cxv; confused with St. Germinius, II. 144.
- GERMINUS, St., mythical son of Anna of East Anglia, II. 144.
- Gerontius, comes, slays Constans at Vienne, i. 11 and note.
- GERONTIUS, king of the Cornish Britons, letter of Aldhelm to, on the Paschal question, II. 192, 301, 311; Britons accused of destroying this letter, II. 312.
- GERTRUDE, St., grants land at Fosse to Foillan and Ultan, II. 172; death of, foretold by Ultan, *ib.*
- Gessoriacum, Boulogne, a city of the Morini, port of embarkation for Britain, i. 1, p. 9 and note.
- Geta, son of Severus, proclaimed a public enemy, and dies, i. 5 and note.
- 'GETIMBRIAN,' to build, II. 101.
- Getlingum, v. In Get.
- Geuissal, Geuissae, derivation of

and, iv. 16, p. 238; Jutes i  
territory of, *ib.* Geuissa  
episcopatus, held by Hloth  
iii. 7, p. 141 and notes. G  
sorum episcopus, South Sa  
subject to, iv. 15; Agilber  
19, p. 325. Geuissorum g  
utterly pagan before Biri  
coming, iii. 7, p. 139. Ge  
sorum regnum, Cadwalla ga  
iv. 16, pp. 236, 237 and n  
Geuissorum rex, Cadwa  
iv. 15 and note; v. Saxo  
Occidentales.

GEWIS, an eponymous hero of  
Gewissas, II. 89.

GIDDING, LITTLE, *v.* Little Giddi

GIDLEY, Rev. L., his translati  
of Bede's H. E., p. cxxxii; 1  
199.

Giezi (Gehazi), example of, cite  
Ee. § 17, p. 422.

Gildas (Gildas), cited, i. 22 (c  
p. xxiv note); II. 23, 24, 27  
knows nothing of the story  
King Lucius, II. 14; Phil  
cited by, II. 27; date of birt  
of, II. 31, 35; date of writin  
the De Excidio, *ib. ib.*; cite  
by Wulfstan, II. 35, 36; W. M.  
opinion of, II. 35; cited by  
Alcuin, II. 36; canons ascrib

- trusts his monastery to, iii. 19, p. 168 and notes.
- GOCCELIN**, monk of Canterbury, Life of Augustine by, II. 44 (cf. II. 81); Lives of other archbishops by, *ib.*; II. 90; W. M.'s judgement on, *ib.*
- Godmunddingaham**, Goodmanham, to the east of York beyond the Derwent, ii. 13, p. 113; heathen fane there destroyed by Coifi, *ib.* and note.
- GODRIC**, St., Life of, by Geoffrey of Durham, p. cxxxviii.
- Godwine**, archbishop of Lyons, metropolitan of Gaul, v. 8, p. 295 and note; consecrates Bertwald, *ib.*
- GOLD** in Britain, II. 7.
- Gold coinage**, iii. 8, p. 143 and note.
- GOLDEN CHAIR**, v. Sella aurea.
- Golgothana ecclesia**, church built on the site of the Crucifixion, v. 16, p. 317.
- GOODMANHAM**, v. Godmunddingaham.
- Gordianus**, father of Gregory I, ii. 1, p. 73; II. 389.
- GORZE**, near Metz, abbey of, II. 290.
- GOSFORD MS.**, identified with MS. A., pp. lxxxi, cvii.
- Gothi**, Alaric king of, i. 11; capture of Rome by, *ib.* and note; v. 24, p. 352; kings of, Sisebut, II. 86; Ermanric, II. 87; Leuvichild, II. 106.
- GOTTSCHALK**, king of the Wends, interprets Christianity to his people, II. 126.
- GOUGH MISSAL**, MS. 47, p. cxix note.
- GRAECI**, &c., v. Greci.
- Grantacaestir**, Grantchester, near Cambridge, stone sarcophagus found at, iv. 19, p. 245 and note.
- Gratianus**, sole emperor, i. 9; joint emperor with Valens and Valentinianus, *ib.*; appoints Theodosius emperor of the East, *ib.*; attempts to reach Italy from Gaul, but is treacherously slain by Maximus, *ib.*; v. 24, p. 352.
- Gratianus**, tyrant in Britain, slain, i. 11.
- GRAY**, William, bishop of Ely, former owner of MS. O<sub>19</sub>, p. cxii.
- Grecia lingua**, Hadrian and Theodore skilled in, iv. 1, p. 202; Hab. § 3; their disciples know, as well as English, iv. 2, p. 205; p. xviii; Tobias learned in, v. 8, p. 296; v. 23, p. 348; Albinus learned in, v. 20, p. 331.
- Greci**, iv. 13, p. 232; heresies of, iv. 1, p. 203 and note; allow marriage within the third degree, II. 48.
- Grecia**, observes the catholic Easter, iii. 25, p. 184; daily communion the rule in, Ee. § 15.
- Grecum**, the Greek language, Life of St. Anastasius badly translated from, v. 24, p. 359; Jerome's translation from, Haa. § 37.
- GREENSTEAD**, Essex, wooden church at, II. 101.
- Gregorius I**, pope, ii. 4, p. 88; disciples of, in the church of the Cantuarii, Pref. p. 6 (*bis*); Putta had learned chanting from disciples of, iv. 2, p. 206; letters of, brought by Nothelm from Rome, Pref. p. 6 and note; sends Augustine and others to Britain to convert the English, v. 24, p. 353; i. 23, p. 42 and notes (cf. II. 390); encourages them to proceed, *ib.* p. 43 and notes; i. 25, p. 44; recommends Augustine and Candidus to Etherius, i. 24 and notes; receives news of Augustine's consecration, and conversion of English, i. 27, p. 48 and notes; answers various questions of Augustine, *ib.* pp. 48-62 and notes (cf. ii. 1, p. 76; iv. 27, p. 270; II. 45, 75, 134, 137); commends Augustine to Vergilius of Arles, i. 28 and notes; sends Augustine fresh missionaries, letter, pallium, relics, and other gifts, i. 29,

70 and notes (cf. II. 58 : c  
of, v. 24, p. 353 : ii. 1, p. 7  
II. 36 : conversion of En  
by, *ib.* pp. 73, 78-81 and n  
the apostle of the English  
p. 73 and note : a Roman  
birth, son of Gordianus, *ib.*  
note (cf. II. 389) : descent  
of Felix, bishop of Rome, *ib.*  
note : his monastic life,  
p. 74 : his *Dialogues* *cf.*  
*ib.* and note : Hab. § 1 :  
note, § 7 and note : his past  
and pontifical life, ii. 1,  
74, 75 and notes : sent as a  
*crisiarius* to Constantinople,  
p. 75 and note : organises  
household on the monastic p  
tern, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 46)  
begins his commentary on J  
there, *ib.* and notes : refutes t  
heresy of Eutycius, *ib.* pp. 75,  
and note : date of his return  
Rome, II. 72 : his literary work  
ii. 1, pp. 75-77 and notes : h  
frequent illnesses, *ib.* p. 77 an  
note (cf. II. 45) : his charity  
*ib.* pp. 77, 78 and note : hi  
commentary on Job cited, *ib.*  
p. 78 and note : pp. liii note, I  
note : his liturgical reforms, *ib.*  
and note (cf. II. 47) : buried in  
St. Peter's, *ib.* p. 79 (cf. II. 391)  
his epitaph, *ib.* and note : tra  
dition as to the

- II. 69; of the Dialogue, II. 70; importance of his *Cura Pastoralis*, *ib.*; Alfred's praise of, *ib.*; popularity of his Dialogue, *ib.*; his activity as a scribe, II. 70; alludes to Augustine's success in his *Moralia*, II. 71; wrongly asserted to have fixed the primacy at Canterbury, II. 92; church at Kirknewton dedicated to, II. 105; church of, in London, p. cxxv; his reform of church music, II. 118; founds schools of chanters at Rome, *ib.*; the first to date the days of the month in the modern way, II. 153; his plan of two provinces ignored by Theodore, II. 205; asked to confirm St. Kentigern as bishop, II. 207; cited by Bede and Aldhelm, II. 259; grants privileges to the see of Tours, II. 323, 324; his homily on the Ascension cited, II. 334; letter of, to Serenus of Marseilles, II. 360; on baptism and confirmation, II. 382; his severity against any breach of monastic communism, II. 387; earliest Life of, by a monk of Whitby, II. 389-391; used by John and Paul, the deacons, and by Bede, II. 389; possibly known to Cuthbert of Wearmouth, *ib.*; sets out himself for Britain, but is recalled, II. 390; said to have consecrated Augustine, *ib.*; invoked as a saint, II. 391; altar dedicated to, at Whitby, *ib.*; decree of, against molestation of monasteries by bishops, p. cvi; lections on, I. 426; *v.* Chanting.
- Gregorius II**, pope, allows Nothelm to search the Roman archives, Pref. p. 6 and note; Ini comes to Rome in his reign, v. 7, p. 294 and note; letter of Hwætbert commending Ceolfrid to, Hab. §§ 18, 19, pp. 383, 384; Haa. § 30, pp. 399, 400 and note; letter of, to Hwætbert, Haa. § 39 and notes; death of, II. 2; formerly librarian of the Church of Rome, II. 3; answers questions of St. Boniface, II. 45, 48; decree of, pp. xc, xcix, cix; letter of, to Leo the Iconoclast, II. 281.
- GREGORIUS III**, pope, accession of, II. 3; answers questions of St. Boniface, II. 45.
- GREGORY VII**, pope, refuses pallium to Lanfranc, &c., in absence, II. 51.
- GREGORY OF TOURS**, MS. of, p. lxxxvii.
- GRIMWALD**, duke of Beneventum, dies, II. 279.
- Gudfrid**, presbyter, monk and afterwards abbot of Lindisfarne, v. 1, p. 281 and note; experiences a miracle wrought by Ethelwald, *ib.* pp. 281, 282.
- GUENEDOTA**, Gwynedd, *q. v.*
- GUTHLAG**, St., foretells Ethelbald's accession, II. 342; Life of, by Felix, *ib.* (cf. II. xxxvi).
- GUTHRUM**, 'chrism-loosing' of, at Wedmore, II. 280.
- GWRG**, mythical Welsh hero, II. 66.
- GWRETHYRN GWRETHENEU**, *v.* Uurtigern.
- GWYNEDD**, Cadvan king of, II. 93; Catgabail king of, II. 183.
- Gyruii**, Medeshamstead in the region of, iv. 6, p. 218. Gyruiorum prouincia, Thomas, bishop of the East Angles, belongs to, iii. 20 and note.
- Gyruii Australes**, Tondbert, prince of, iv. 19, p. 243 and note.
- Gyruum**, *v.* In Gyr.
- H.**
- Habacum**, Bede's commentary on the Canticle of, v. 24, p. 358; *v.* Baeda.
- Hacanot**, Hackness, near Whitby, monastery of, founded by Hild, iv. 23, p. 257 and note; vision seen there at time of Hild's death, *ib.* pp. 257, 258 and notes.
- Hadrianus**, an African, abbot of Niridanum, iv. 1, p. 202 and notes; twice offered the archbishopric of Canterbury by Vita-



with the bishops of Sen  
Meaux, *ib.* and notes; de  
by Ebroin, *ib.* and notes (p.  
329, 357); released, *ib.* p.  
receives the monastery of  
Peter's at Canterbury  
Theodore, *ib.* and note;  
§ 3 and note; co-operates  
Theodore, v. 20, p. 331;  
p. 204; learning and disc  
of, *ib.* pp. 204, 205; p. xviii  
168, 372; Albinus a discip.  
Pref. p. 6 and note; v. 20  
331; dies in the fifth yea  
Ossred, *ib.* pp. 330, 331 and n  
buried in the church of  
Virgin in his monastery, *ib.*  
331; Tobias a disciple of, v.  
p. 348; receives a grant fr  
Pope Adeodatus, II. 204; A  
helm a pupil of, II. 205, 3  
letter of Aldhelm to, *ib. ib.*;  
fluence of, at the Council of H  
field, II. 233.

**HADRIANUS**, emperor, wall of,  
Britain, II. 15-17.

**HADULAC**, bishop of part of  
East Angles (Elmham) in 7  
v. 23, p. 350 and note.

**HAEDDE**, **HAEDDI**, bishop of  
West Saxons, II. 144, 145; c  
secrated at London by Theod  
in succession to Hlothhe  
iv. 12, p. 227 and note (cf.  
143); during his time c

- of, p. cxlvi; masses and psalms recited in, II. 138; letter of Alcuin to monks of, II. 259; canons of, dispersed, II. 262; Wilfrid administers the see of, for a year, II. 274; church of, built by Wilfrid, II. 318; adorned by him, II. 360; site of, given by Ethelthryth, II. 318; monastery of, recovered by Wilfrid (686), II. 326; buildings of Acca at, II. 330; see of, located in the monastery, II. 384.
- HAINAULT**, Rainer II count of, II. 48.
- Halani**, cross the Rhine and ravage Gaul, i. 11; Eocharich chief of, II. 34; settled at Orleans, *ib.*
- Halaricus**, king of the Goths, attacks Rome, i. 11 and notes.
- HALI-ELAND**, *v.* Lindisfarnensis insula.
- HALLEBÖRN**, the shepherd-bard of Thingvöllr, II. 255.
- Hallelujah Victory**, i. 20, p. 39 and notes; not alluded to in Gregory's *Moralia*, II. 71.
- HALLIFORD**, Caesar fords the Thames at, II. 13.
- HALLINGTON** or **HALYDON**, North-umberland, scene of part of the battle between Oswald and Cædwalla, II. 123.
- HAMBLE**, the, *v.* Homelea.
- HANNO II**, archbishop of Cologne, translates the two Hewalds, II. 290.
- HARDASCE**, Maris bishop of, II. 232.
- HARDING**, Stephen, abbot of Cîteaux, II. 194.
- HARLEY MSS.**, pp. xcviii, cvi, cxxvi, cxxxiii, cxxxvii, cxl, cxli.
- HAROLD HAREFOOT**, called king of the Gewissas, II. 89; said to have given Oswald's body to St. Winnoc's, II. 158.
- HARP**, the national instrument of the English, II. 248, 249.
- HARTLEPOOL**, *v.* Heruteu.
- HATFIELD**, *v.* Haethfelth.
- HEALAUUGH**, near Tadcaster, connexion of, with Heiu, II. 244.
- HEATHENISM**, magic, &c., II. 266; mode of treating, by Christian teachers, II. 57, 58; enters into composition with popular Christianity, II. 58, 60, 105, 106; measures against, II. 148; of English tribes, II. 42, 43, 148.
- Hebrei**, Irish accused of imitating the Passover of, ii. 19, p. 123 and note; Epistle to, cited, Haa. § 1.
- Hebreus fons**, Jerome's translation from, Haa. § 37. **Hebrea plebs**, Haa. § 25.
- HEBRON**, *v.* Chebron.
- HEDDA**, bishop of Lichfield before Aldwin, II. 341.
- HEDFLED**, II. 391; *v.* Haethfelth.
- Hefenfelth**, St. Oswald's, North-umberland, cross erected by Oswald at, before the battle of Denisesburn, iii. 2, pp. 128-131 and notes; miracles wrought there, *ib.* and notes; eve of obit of Oswald celebrated at, *ib.* p. 129 and notes; church erected at, *ib.* p. 130 and note.
- Heiu**, the first woman in North-umbria to take the veil, iv. 23, p. 253 and note; receives it from Aidan, *ib.*; founds Hartlepool monastery, *ib.*; retires to Kælcacestir, *ib.* and note; succeeded by Hild at Hartlepool, *ib.*; name preserved in Healaugh, II. 244; her gravestone discovered, II. 245.
- HELBERTUS**, monk of St. Hubert in the Ardennes, p. xxviii note.
- Helena**, mother of Constantine, i. 8; Invention of the Cross by, v. 16, p. 317 and note.
- Helena**, iv. 20, p. 247.
- HELGI**, an instance of religious syncretism, II. 106.
- HELLAND**, Old-Saxon poem, relation of, to Cædmon, II. 253, 254; preface to, II. 255-257.
- Helias**, Haa. § 39 and note; Syrian sun-god, Helius, christianised into, II. 60.
- HELIGOLAND**, sanctuary of Fosite in, II. 290.

- Hengist**, son of Victgils, the leaders of the in Saxons, i. 15, p. 31; father of Oise or Oeric whom he first enters I invited by Vortigern, i. 90 and note; called Ans the Ravenna geograph 28.  
**HENGWRT MS.**, p. cxv.  
**HENRICUS**, 'Scholasticus B. sis,' II. 194.  
**HENRY I**, Faricius physic. II. 308.  
**HENRY II**, p. ci note; invi invade Ireland, II. 11.  
**HENRY III**, 'the young kin of Henry II, p. ci note.  
**HENRY III**, pp. ci, cii;  
 Henry IV, p. ci note; fo peace between Louis of F and, p. cxv.  
**HENRY VI**, stays at Bur. Edmund's, II. 5.  
**HENRY OF HUNTINGDON**, pro preserved by, II. 99, 122, 183, 184; draws on his imagination, II. 99.  
**HENRY OF NEWARK**, dean archbishop of York, p. cxx  
**Heraclius**, emperor, ii. 18, p and note.

**HERMELINDA**, wife of Cunibert king of the Lombards, of English race, II. 279.

**HERMITS**, v. Anchorites.

**HERNESHAW**, now St. John's Lee, near Hexham, II. 274.

'**HEROICI VERSUS**,' II. 282.

**HERTFORD**, v. Herutford.

**Heruteu**, id est insula cerui, Hartlepool, Co. Durham, Elfred enters the monastery of, iii. 24, p. 179 and note; Hild abess of, *ib.*; iv. 23, p. 253; founded by Heiu, *ib.* and note; date of, II. 149; a double monastery, II. 246.

**Herutford**, Hertford, Council of, iv. 5, pp. 214-217 and notes; v. 24, p. 354; II. 318; Wine not present at, II. 147; importance of, II. 211; Wynfrid not deposed by, II. 215.

**HESIOD**, story of his poetical inspiration, II. 254, 255.

**Hesperium regnum**, fall of, i. 21, p. 41 and note.

**HERTO**, bishop of Basle, writes the vision of Wetinus, II. 294, 295.

**Heuuald Albus**, Heuuald Niger, Nigellus, 'presbyteri de natione Anglorum,' v. 10, pp. 299, 300 and note; their long exile in Ireland, *ib.* (cf. II. 196); endeavour to evangelise the Old Saxons, *ib.* and notes (cf. II. 137); martyred and thrown into the Rhine, *ib.* p. 300 and note; miracles connected with, *ib.* pp. 300, 301; buried by Pipin at Cologne, *ib.* p. 301 and note; fate of their relics, II. 290.

**HEXHAM**, v. Hagustaldensis ecclesia.

**HIBERNENSIS episcopus**, story of, at the Lateran Council, II. 194.

**Hiberni** (grassatores), i.e. Scotti, *q.v.*, return home, i. 14, p. 29 (cf. II. 23); love of pilgrimage, II. 170.

**Hibernia**, Ireland, the Picts attempt to settle in north of, i. 1, p. 11 and notes; the largest island next to Britain, *ib.*; its position and size, *ib.* pp. 11-13

and notes; its climate and products, *ib.* pp. 12, 13 and notes; no reptiles in, *ib.* and note; Scotti from, under Reuda, settle in Britain, *ib.* and notes; the proper country of the Scotti, *ib.* p. 13 and note; ii. 4, p. 87; scrapings of MSS. from, antidote for poison, i. 1, p. 13 and note; next to Britain, ii. 4, p. 87; the Mevaniae insulae between Britain and, ii. 5, p. 89; southern part of, converted to the Roman Easter, iii. 3, p. 131 and note; distinguished from the northern half, II. 124, 125; Columba comes from, iii. 4, p. 133; monasteries in, founded by Columba and his disciples, *ib.* p. 134 and note; Agilbert comes from, to Wessex, iii. 7, p. 140 and note; fame of Oswald in, iii. 13, p. 152 and note; ravages of plague in, *ib.*; iii. 27, p. 192 and note; Haa. § 3; Fursa comes from, iii. 19, p. 163 and note; Hygbald visits, iv. 3, p. 211 (cf. II. 196); Inisboffin on the west coast of, iv. 4, p. 213 and note; Mayo in, *ib.* and note; Adamnan's confessor retires to, iv. 25, pp. 263, 264; Egfrid sends an expedition against, iv. 26, p. 266 and note; Witbert returns to, v. 9, p. 298; Adamnan goes to, v. 15, pp. 315, 316 and notes; celebrates the orthodox Easter there, *ib.* p. 316 and note; Egbert comes from, to Iona, v. 22, p. 346; students of other nations in, numerous English, iii. 27, p. 192 and note (cf. Haa. § 3); Egbert, Ethelhun, and Ethelwine, *ib.* and note; Agilbert, a Gaul, iii. 7, p. 140 and note; II. 196; Ceadda, iv. 3, p. 211; II. 196; voluntary exiles in, Egbert, iii. 4, p. 133; iv. 3, p. 211; v. 9, p. 296; II. 196; Willbrord, iii. 13, p. 152 and note; II. 196; Witbert, v. 9, p. 298; II. 196; the two Hewalds, v. 10, p. 299; II. 196; Haemgils, v. 12, p. 309; II. 196; Cynfrid, Haa.

trade of, with Chester,  
called by the Irish the  
of the world,' II. 112  
wallon forced to fly to,  
attempts made to chri  
North Britain from, I  
Fursa and his brother  
from, II. 171, 172; Aldi  
exile in, II. 263; disse  
caused by Paschal quest  
II. 302; v. Seottia.

**Hiddila**, presbyter, assists V  
in the conversion of Wig  
16, p. 237.

**Hmæ**, nature of the, II.  
(cf. II. 244).

**Hienses**, the monks of Ion  
Irish who are not subje  
adopt the orthodox East  
15, p. 316 and note; them  
adopt the orthodox Easter  
Abbot Dunchad, v. 24, p.  
v. 22, p. 347 and note; had  
Aidan to preach to the Eng  
ib. and note.

**Hieremias**, II. 164; Bede's  
cerpts from St. Jerome on  
24, p. 358.

**Hieronimus**, Bede's excerpts f  
v. 24, p. 358; v. Baeda:  
translation of the Bible, I  
§ 37; pp. lv, lvi; II. 366;  
made by Bede of, p. 1; ci  
II. 19, 54, 147, 191, 237; aut  
of Liber...

- II. 12, 82, 83, 126, 186, 192, 197; Cuimene Ailbe abbot of, II. 130; Failbe abbot of, II. 121; a stepping-stone between Ireland and Britain, II. 126; transformation of the name into Iona, II. 127; question of earlier Christianity in, II. 132; decline of, especially after Scandinavian invasions, II. 135; restored by St. Margaret, *ib.*; head of the Irish Church in Britain, II. 178; Lindisfarne in the province of, II. 188; Egfrid buried in, II. 261; Aldfrid an exile in, II. 260, 262, 337; Adamnan said to have been expelled from, II. 302; family of (*i.e.* the Columbite clergy), expelled from the Pictish kingdom, II. 331; men of Saxon race at, II. 337; Faelchu abbot of, *ib.*; Paschal cycles of, II. 350, 351 (*cf.* iii. 4, p. 134).
- HILARIUS**, pope, synod of, forbids bishops to nominate their successors, II. 82.
- Hilarus**, archpresbyter and vicegerent of the Roman see, joins in writing to the Irish clergy, ii. 19, p. 123.
- HILARY**, St., p. lxiii.
- Hild**, daughter of Hereric nephew of Edwin, iv. 23, p. 252 and notes; her noble birth, *ib.* (*cf.* II. 90); converted with Edwin by Paulinus, *ib.*; goes to East Anglia intending to follow her sister Hereswith to Chelles, *ib.* and notes; recalled by Aidan, *ib.*; receives a small monastery to the north of the Wear, *ib.*; abbess of Hartlepool, *ib.* and note; iii. 24, p. 179 and note; often visited by Aidan and other religious men, iv. 23, p. 253; builds the monastery of Whitby and becomes abbess of it, *ib.* pp. 252, 254; iii. 24, p. 179 and note; iii. 25, p. 183 and note; attends the Synod of Whitby on the Celtic side, *ib.* and note; consulted by kings and princes, iv. 23, p. 254 and note; numerous bishops educated under, *ib.* pp. 254, 255 and notes; her father Hereric poisoned, *ib.* p. 255 and note; her mother's dream at the time of her birth, *ib.* pp. 255, 256 and note; her long illness and death, *ib.* pp. 252, 256 and note; v. 24, p. 355; p. lxviii; visions connected with her death, iv. 23, pp. 257, 258 and notes; II. 138; Cædmon belonged to her monastery, iv. 24, p. 258 and notes; alleged translation of, to Glastonbury, II. 167, 247, 248; to Gloucester, *ib.*; her opposition to Wilfrid, II. 189, 190.
- HILDEGAR**, bishop of Meaux, writes the *Life of Faro*, II. 203.
- HILDEGARD**, St., her education in the Psalter, II. 138.
- Hildilid**, abbess of Barking, succeeds Ethelberg, iv. 10, p. 224 and note; Aldhelm's *De Virginitate* dedicated to, II. 219, 311.
- HILDRIC**, *v.* Liderik.
- Hilperic** (Chilperic II), king of the Neustrian Franks, receives Ceolfred, and gives him commendatory letters, Haa. § 32 and note.
- HINCMAR**, archbishop of Rheims, letter of Lupus of Ferrara to, p. clvi note; rebuked for too frequent use of his pallium, II. 52; asks for a copy of Bede's *In Prouerbia*, p. clii note.
- HINIELDUS**, II. 249.
- HIPPO**, Council of, II. 212; *v.* Augustinus.
- HIPPOLYTUS**, doctrine of the six ages of the world, p. xli note; myth of, p. lxiv note; his Hexameron, II. 7; two bodies of, shown at Rome, II. 158.
- HIRIDANUM**, wrong reading for Niridanum in iv. 1, p. 202, *v.* note *a. l.*
- Hispania**, fronts Britain, i. 1, p. 9 and note; and Ireland, *ib.* p. 11 and note; governed by Constantius, i. 8; Scots said to have come from, II. 8, 9; conquered by the Saracens as a divine judgement, II. 338, 339.

**Hispanus**, Theodosius a Spaniard, i. 9.

**Historia Ecclesiastica**, Bede's, I. 5-360; v. Baeda.

**Hloduius** (Clovis II, *q. v.*), king of the Franks, receives Fursa, iii. 19, p. 168 and note.

**Hlotharius**, king of the Cantuarii, iv. 17; v. Hlothere.

**Hlothere**, Hlotheri, Hlotharius, king of Kent, succeeds his brother Egbert, iv. 5, p. 217 and note; iv. 26, p. 268; Council of Hatfield held in reign of, iv. 17, p. 239 and note; Imma obtains his ransom-money from, iv. 22, p. 251; wounded in battle against the South Saxons led by his nephew Edric, iv. 26, p. 268 and note; dies, and is succeeded by Edric, *ib.* and note; v. 24, p. 355; Edric reigns in conjunction with, II. 264; laws of, *ib.*

**Hlothere**, v. Leutherius.

**HOLDER**, Alfred, editions of H. E., p. lxxxii.

**HOLY ISLAND**, v. Lindisfarnensis insula.

**HOLY SPIRIT**, double procession of, II. 233.

**HOLY WATER**, use of, II. 276.

**HOLYWOOD**, or Ard mic Nasca, Belfast Lough, Ireland, Laisren mac Nasca abbot of, II. 113.

**Homeles flumen**, the Hamble, Hants., flows through the lands of the Jutes, iv. 16, p. 238 and note.

**Honorius**, joint emperor, i. 10; emperor, i. 11 and note; orders Constantinus to be slain, *ib.*; succeeded by Theodosius the younger, i. 13 and note; legislation of, II. 47.

**Honorius I**, pope, succeeds Boniface V in the apostolic see, ii. 17, p. 118 and note; sends a pallium to Paulinus, *ib.* pp. 118, 119 (cf. II. 50); and a letter to Edwin, *ib.* pp. 118-120 and notes; sends a letter and a pallium to Honorius, ii. 18, pp. 120-122 and notes; sends a letter to the Irish on the Easter question, ii.

19, p. 122 and notes (cf. II. 114, 125); succeeded by Severinus, *ib.* and note; Romanus of Rochester sent as an envoy to, by Justus, ii. 20, p. 126 and note; sends Birinus to Britain, iii. 7, p. 139; orders Asterius to consecrate him, *ib.* and note; his decree on the use of the pallium, II. 52; rebuilds the church of the Quattuor Coronati, II. 91; letters in ii. 10, 11 assigned to, by Bright, II. 97; dies Oct. 638, II. 110, 112; infected with Monothelitism, *ib.*

**HONORIUS II**, pope, conflict of, with Anselm V archbishop of Milan, II. 51.

**Honorius**, archbishop of Canterbury, succeeds Justus, ii. 18, p. 120 and note; sends Felix to evangelise the East Angles, ii. 15, p. 116 and note (cf. II. 110); consecrated by Paulinus at Lincoln, ii. 16, p. 117; ii. 18, p. 120 and notes (cf. II. 49, 52); pallium sent to, by Pope Honorius, ii. 17, p. 119; ii. 18, p. 120 (cf. II. 50); letter of Pope Honorius to, *ib.* pp. 120-122 and notes; II. 131; receives Paulinus and Ethelberg after Hatfield, ii. 20, p. 125; invites Paulinus to accept the see of Rochester, *ib.* p. 126 (cf. II. 110); consecrates Ithamar as bishop of Rochester, iii. 14, p. 154 and note (cf. II. 110); consecrates Thomas as bishop of the East Angles, iii. 20 and note (cf. II. 106); dies, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 316); succeeded after an interval by Deusdedit, *ib.* and note; his respect for Aidan, iii. 25, p. 128; a disciple of Pope Gregory, v. 19, p. 323 (cf. II. 110); archbishop at the time of Wilfrid's arrival in Kent, *ib.* (cf. II. 111, 316); spurious letter of Honorius to, II. 111.

**HORACE**, cited by Bede, pp. li note, liii.

**Horsa**, son of Victgila, one of the leaders of the invading

- Saxons, i. 15, p. 31; slain by the Britons, *ib.*; his monument existing in Bede's time in the east of Kent, *ib.*; II. 28.
- Host**, joint responsibility of the, II. 243.
- HOWARD**, Henry, former owner of MS. Ar., p. cxxvi.
- HOWARD**, William, former owner of MS. Ar., p. cxxvi.
- Hrenus**, **Rhenus**, the Rhine, boundary between Gauls and Germans, i. 2, p. 13; crossed by the Alani, &c., i. 11; bodies of the two Hewalds thrown into, v. 10, p. 300 and note; Cologne upon, *ib.* p. 301; In Litore (Kaiserswerth) an island in, v. 11, p. 302 and note; Saxons ravage from, to Denmark, II. 28; Wilbrord lands at the mouth of, II. 288.
- HRETHGAR**, v. Redger.
- Hreutford**, id est uadum harundinis, Redbridge, Hants, Cynibert abbot of, iv. 16, p. 237 and note.
- Hrof**, eponymous of Rochester, ii. 3, p. 85.
- Hrofescæstræ**, **Hrofescæstir**, Rochester, English name of Dorubreuis, q. v., ii. 3, p. 85 and note; Putta bishop of, iv. 5, p. 215; a castle of the Cantuarii, *ib.*; v. Dorubreuis.
- Hrofensis antistes**, Aldwulf, v. 23, p. 350 (cf. II. 338). **Hrofensis ciuitas**, Rochester, Paulinus bishop of, v. 24, p. 354. **Hrofensis ecclesia**, Justus rules, ii. 7, p. 94; bishop of, ii. 8, p. 95; Romanus praesul of, ii. 20, p. 126 and note; Ithamar antistes of, iii. 20 and note; Gebmund succeeded by Tobias as praesul of, v. 8, p. 295 and note; Tobias praesul of, v. 23, p. 348; MS. H, belonged to, p. cxxvi; Hubert precentor of, *ib.* **Hrofensis episcopus**, Paulinus, iii. 14, p. 154.
- HROFESBRETÆ**, near the Medway, II. 80.
- Hrofi ciuitas**, Rochester, Justus returns to, ii. 6, p. 93; 'secretarium' of St. Andrew in, iii. 14, p. 154 and note; Putta consecrated in, iv. 2, p. 206; ravaged by Ethelred of Mercia, iv. 12, p. 228 and note; Cwichelm consecrated in, *ib.* and note.
- Hrypensis ecclesia**, Ripon, Eadhed praesul of, iii. 28, p. 195 and note; iv. 12, p. 229 and note.
- Hrypense monasterium**, Tunbert and Ceolfrid invited to, Haa. § 3 and note (cf. II. 193); Ceolfrid ordained priest at, *ib.*; Ceolfrid returns to, Haa. § 4 and note; Ceolfrid retires to, Haa. § 8 and note; Eata called founder of, II. 193; Wilfrid complains of attempt to convert, into a bishop's see, II. 224, 327, 385; v. In Hrypum.
- Hrypum**, v. In Hrypum.
- See also Rh-*
- Huaetberct**, abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, Bede's Life of, v. 24, p. 359; v. Baeda, Hist. Abb.; brought up in the monastery of Wearmouth, p. xiv; Hab. § 18; visits Rome under Pope Sergius, p. xvii; Hab. § 18; II. 365; elected abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, and confirmed by Ceolfrid, pp. xiv, cxlviii; Hab. § 18 and notes; Haa. §§ 29, 30; II. 367; letter of, commending Ceolfrid to Gregory II, Hab. §§ 18, 19 and note; Haa. § 30 and note; confirmed as abbot by Acca, pp. xv, xvi; Hab. § 20 and note; II. 330, 367; letter of Gregory II to, Haa. § 39 and notes; survives Bede, pp. xiv, cxlviii; II. 365; Bede's In Apocalypsin and De Temp. Rat. dedicated to, pp. xiv note, xxxix, cxlvii; called Eusebius on account of his piety, pp. xiv, xv, cxlvii; II. 367; letter of St. Boniface to, pp. xiv, xxiv; II. 368; affection of Bede for, p. xxxiii; confused with Witmer, II. 366; date of his priesthood, II. 368; his youth, II. 369; the Hist. Abb. Anon. ascribed to, by Pita, II.



- 371; corruptions of his name, *ib.*; confused with Winbert, abbot of Nursling, *ib.*
- HUBERT**, precentor of Rochester, p. cxxvi.
- HUGO DE S. VICTORE**, ? De uirginitate Sancte Marie, p. cxx; treatises of, p. cxlii.
- Huicci**, Augustine's Oak on the borders of, ii. 2, p. 81 and notes.
- Huicciurum provincia**, Eaba, queen of the South Saxons, comes from, iv. 13, p. 230 and note; baptized there. *ib.*; people of, Christian, *ib.*; Offfor goes to, iv. 23, p. 255 and note; Osric king of, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 225); Tatfrid elected bishop of, *ib.* and note; Bosel bishop of, *ib.* and note; resigns through ill-health, and is succeeded by Offfor, *ib.* and note; Wilfrid bishop of, in 731, v. 23, p. 350 and note; Egwin bishop of, after Offfor, II. 246, 315, 341; Oshere king of, II. 247.
- HULLE**, George, former owner of MS. O, p. cviii.
- Humber**, i. 15, p. 31 and note; Ceolfrid embarks at mouth of, Haa. § 31; Wilgils an anchorite at the mouth of, II. 288.
- Humbra**, Hymbra, the Humber, boundary between the northern and southern Angli, i. 25, p. 45; ii. 5, p. 89; ii. 9, p. 97; II. 29, 30; Ethelbert's power extends to, i. 25, p. 45; ii. 3, p. 85; all to the south of, subject to Ethelwald of Mercia in 731, v. 23, p. 350 and note; Lindsey to the south of, ii. 16, p. 117 and note; the southern boundary of Deira, II. 120.
- HUMBRENSIS**, *i.e.* Northumbrians, II. 390; *v.* Hymbronenses, Nordanhymbri, Umbrensis.
- HUNEBERT**, corruptly for Hwætburt, II. 371.
- Huni**, Hunni, Blaedla and Attila kings of, i. 13 and note; one of the tribes of Germany, v. 9, p. 296 and note; name of Humber derived from (1), II. 30; story of a king of, II. 150; the Avars perhaps included by Bede in, II. 286.
- HURTINGDON**, Henry of, *v.* Henry.
- Hunwald**, a gesith of Oswin, iii. 14, p. 155; betrays him to Oswy, *ib.* and note.
- HURST**, W., his translation of Bede's H. E., p. cxxxii.
- HUSSEY**, Robert, his edition of H. E., pp. lxxxi, lxxxii; of Bede's Hist. Abb., p. cxxxix.
- HYDE ABBEY**, Winchester, p. cx; II. 143.
- Hygbald**, abbot in Lindsey (probably of Bardney), visits Egbert in Ireland, iv. 3, p. 211 and note; hears from him the vision seen in Ireland at the time of Ceadda's death, *ib.* (cf. II. 196).
- HYGBALD**, bishop of Lindisfarne, letter of Alcuin to, II. 70, 249.
- Hymbra flumen**, the Humber, v. 23, p. 350; *v.* Humber, Humbra.
- Hymbronenses**, *i.e.* the Northumbrians, Egfrid king of, iv. 17, p. 239 and note (cf. II. 29, 30, 261); *v.* Humbrenses, Nordanhymbri.
- Hymnorum Liber**, Bede's, v. 24, p. 359; *v.* Baeda.
- HYPOSTASIS**, theological meaning of the term, II. 232.

## I, J.

- Iacob**, tribes of, iii. 29, p. 197.
- Iacobus**, Iustus, speech of, to St. Paul, cited, iii. 25, p. 185; asceticism of, II. 237.
- Iacobus**, Iacob, deacon of Paulinus, iii. 25, p. 181; ii. 16, p. 117 and note; survived to Bede's time, *ib.* p. 118; left by Paulinus at York on his retirement to Kent, ii. 20, p. 126 and note; his missionary success, *ib.*; his skill as a chanter and teacher of ecclesiastical chanting, *ib.* and note (cf. iv. 2, p. 205); dies at a great age, *ib.*; a village near Catterick still preserved his name in Bede's time, *ib.* and note; observes

- the catholic Easter, iii. 25, p. 181 (cf. II. 118); attends the Synod of Whitby, *ib.* p. 183.
- LÆNBERG**, archbishop of Canterbury, p. cxx.
- JAMES II**, lands at Ambleteuse in 1689, II. 64.
- JARROW**, *v.* In Gyruum.
- Jaruman**, second bishop of the Mercians under Wulfhere, iii. 24, p. 180 and note; successor of Trumhere, iii. 30; sent by Wulfhere to reconvert the East Saxons, *ib.* and note; his success and return, *ib.* and note; story of this told to Bede by a priest who accompanied him, *ib.* (cf. p. xlv); dies, and is succeeded by Ceadda, iv. 3, p. 206 and note.
- Ibas**, bishop of Edessa, Council of Constantinople against, iv. 17, p. 240 and note.
- ICANHOE**, Ceolfred trained under Botulf at, p. xxv; founded by Botulf, II. 358, 372.
- ICONOCLASTIC CONTROVERSY**, II. 230, 360.
- Ida**, accession of, v. 24, p. 353 and note; the progenitor of the Northumbrian royal race, *ib.* (cf. II. 119, 120); founder of Bamborough, II. 141; husband of Bebbha according to some, *ib.*; Eata a descendant of, II. 378.
- Idlæ amnis**, the Idle, a tributary of the Trent, Ethelfrid defeated by Redwald on the banks of, ii. 12, p. 110 and note.
- Ieiunium triduanum**, a Celtic and Jewish institution, II. 78, 227, 258; fasting on Wednesday and Friday, II. 136; Lenten fasts established by Earconbert, iii. 8, p. 142 and note; commutation of fasting, II. 276.
- JEREMIAH**, *v.* Hieremias.
- IERNE**, Ireland, II. 10.
- JEROME**, *v.* Hieronimus.
- JERVAUX**, MS. O<sub>9</sub>, belonged to monastery of St. Mary at, p. cxxi.
- JERUSALEM**, *v.* Hierosolyma.
- Iesse**, root of, iii. 29, p. 197.
- Iesus Christus**, i. 27, p. 51; i. 32, p. 68; ii. 10, p. 103; ii. 19, p. 124; iii. 17, p. 162; iii. 29, p. 198; iv. 5, p. 214; iv. 14, p. 235; iv. 17, pp. 239, 240; v. 14, p. 314; v. 19, p. 330; v. 21, p. 340; v. 24, p. 359; *Ee.* § 4; church at Canterbury dedicated to (Christ Church), i. 33 and note; II. 44; Cuthbert the first archbishop to be buried in, II. 80.
- Iesus Nane**, Joshua, succeeds Moses, II. 367; Haa. § 39 and note; *v.* Iosua.
- Imma**, a thane of Ælfwine, iv. 22, p. 249 and note; taken captive after the battle of the Trent, *ib.* p. 250; his miraculous experience, *ib.* pp. 250, 251 and notes; sold at London to a Frisian, *ib.* p. 251 and note; released and goes to Kent, *ib.*; effects his ransom, *ib.*; returns to Northumbria, *ib.*
- Immin**, a Mercian dux, heads the Mercians against Oswy, iii. 24, p. 180 and note.
- 'imperium' versus 'regnum'**, II. 43, 86.
- 'impietas,' 'impious'** = pitilessness, pitiless, II. 103, 171, 226, 260.
- In Andilegum**, Andeley-sur-Seine, one of the chief Frankish monasteries frequented by the English, iii. 8, p. 142 and notes.
- In Berecingum**, Barking, Essex, iv. 6, p. 219 and note; Earconwald founds a monastery for his sister Ethelberg at, *ib.* and note; plague at, iv. 7, p. 219 and note; II. 195; miracles at, iv. 7-10 and notes; Hildilid abbess of, iv. 10, p. 224 and note; II. 311; a double monastery, II. 150; date of, II. 218.
- INBHER DAEILE**, or Ennereilly, county Wicklow, II. 83.
- In Brige**, Faremoutier-en-Brie, founded by Fara, iii. 8, p. 142 and notes; one of the chief Frankish monasteries resorted to by the English, *ib.* and note; Saethryd and Ethelbergabbesses

of, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 144); a double monastery, II. 150.  
**In Cale**, Cale, Chelles, near Paris, one of the chief Frankish monasteries frequented by the English, iii. 8, p. 142 and note; Hereswith, Hild's sister, enters, iv. 23, p. 253; Hild intends to enter, *ib.* and note; Gisla abbess of, p. xix note; II. 149; Wilcoma abbess of, II. 219; Baldhild retires to, II. 322.  
**INCHKEITH**, v. Giudi urbs.  
**INCLUSUS**, life of an, p. xxxi note; II. 69.  
**In Compendio**, Compiègne, II. 104; Wilfrid consecrated at, iii. 28, p. 194 and note; II. 317.  
**INCORRUPTION** after death, a sign of chastity, II. 151, 152 (cf. II. 240).  
**In Cuneningum**, ? Cunningham, or Chester-le-Street, II. 104; a district of the Northumbrians, v. 12, p. 304 and note; Drythelm belongs to, *ib.*  
**In Deraunda**, id est in Silua Dero- rum, Beverley, Yorks., II. 104; Berthun abbot of monastery of, v. 2, p. 283 and note; Bishop John retires to, dies, and is buried at, v. 6, p. 292; II. 273; Bishop John and Berthun co-founders of, II. 274.  
**INDICTIONS**, II. 38, 39, 212, 231, 376.  
**In Feppingum**, unidentified, region called, II. 104; Diuma died in, iii. 21, p. 171 and note.  
**INFINITIVE**, with a verb of motion to express a purpose, II. 124.  
**'-ING'**, Saxon termination implying derivation, II. 10, 88, 104.  
**In Getlingum**, place called, Gillling, Yorkshire, II. 104; monastery founded at, in expiation of the murder of Oswin, iii. 14, p. 155 and note; iii. 24, pp. 179, 180; Trumhere abbot of, *ib.*; Ceolfred enters, Haa. § 2 and note (cf. II. 193); Cynefrid abbot of, *ib.*; Tunbert abbot of, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 193); Roman Easter observed at, II. 372.

**INGEBRAGA**, wife of Charibert and mother of Bertha, II. 42.  
**Inguald**, bishop of London and of the province of the East Saxons, v. 23, p. 350 and note (cf. II. 178); one of the consecrators of Archbishop Tatwin, *ib.*; alive in 731, *ib.*; dies, C. 745.  
**In Gyruum**, Jarrow, Co. Durham, II. 104; on the Tyne, v. 21, p. 332 and note; called Portus Ecgfridi, p. xi note; II. 361; monastery of St. Paul at, v. 21, p. 332 (cf. Haa. § 7 and note; § 9; § 15, p. 379 and note; § 18 and note; Haa. § 11 and note; § 12 and note; §§ 14, 18; § 23 and note; §§ 25, 29; pp. ix, xi, xiv, xvi-xviii, xx, xxvii note, xxxii note, xlvi, xlviii, lxxii; II. 193); Bede a priest of, v. 24, p. 357; v. Baeda; called 'Egferðes Mynster', p. xi note; in the diocese of Hexham, pp. x note, cxlvi note; no large scriptorium at, p. xx; decline of, p. xxxii; becomes a cell of Durham, *ib.* note; part of Biscop's church still remaining at, p. lxxix note; date of foundation of, II. 361, 370; dedication inscription of church of, II. 361; v. Paulus.  
**In Hryppum**, Ripon, II. 104; Alehfrid grants to Wilfrid the monastery of, which he had formerly granted to the adherents of the Scotti, v. 19, p. 325 and note; iii. 25, p. 183 and notes; II. 193, 317; Ethelwald a monk of, v. 1, p. 281; Wilfrid buried in church of St. Peter at, v. 19, pp. 322, 330 and note; Cuthbert 'praepositus hospitum' at, p. xxviii note (cf. II. 323); Wilfrid exhorted to retire to, II. 56; Gregorian music at, II. 119; body of St. Cuthbert at, II. 157; Cuthbert and Eata retire from, II. 189, 193, 323; Wilfrid in retirement at, II. 207, 317, 324; Wilbrord educated at, II. 288, 293; Wilfrid builds the church at, II. 318,

- 323; Wilfrid restored to, II. 319, 320, 326, 328; expulsion of Eadhed from, II. 326; ceases to be a bishop's see till 1836, *ib.*; II. 328 (cf. II. 384); Wilfrid complains of treatment of, II. 224, 327, 385; Ceolfrid returns to, from Icanhoe, II. 372; Ceolfrid retires to, from Wearmouth, II. 373; v. Hrypensis.
- INI**, king of the West Saxons, succeeds Cædwalla, v. 7, p. 294 and note; iv. 15; keeps Sussex in subjection, *ib.*; resigns and goes to Rome, v. 7, p. 294 and note; the first to introduce written law into Wessex, II. 87; calls Earconwald 'my bishop,' II. 217; spurious charter of, II. 229; said to have founded the school of the Anglo-Saxons at Rome, II. 281; a friend of Aldhelm, *ib.*; his wars with Ceolred of Mercia, II. 314; his law on Church-scots, II. 382.
- INISBOFINDE**, Inisboffin, on the coast of Mayo, Colman builds a monastery at, for the monks brought from Lindisfarne, iv. 4, p. 213 and notes; leaves the Irish monks there, *ib.*
- INIS CELTRA**, Lough Derg, Stellan abbot of, II. 113.
- INISHMAHEE**, v. Nendrum.
- INLADE**, v. Genladae.
- IN LITORE**, Kaiserswerth, II. 104; an island in the Rhine, v. 11, p. 302 and note; granted by Pippin to Swidbert, *ib.*; Swidbert builds a monastery, and dies there, *ib.*
- INNOCENT III**, pope, p. cxiv; sends a MS. by Gregory I to the bishop of Livonia, II. 70, 71. 'innotesco,' transitive, II. 61.
- INSULA CERUI**, v. Heruteu.
- INSULA CERUI**, v. Cerui Insula.
- INSULA UTILI MARINI**, v. Selsæou.
- INSULAE**, v. Lirinensis insula.
- INTERCESSION OF SAINTS**, Bede's views on, II. 181.
- IN UNDALUM**, Oundle, Northants., II. 104; Wilfrid dies in the province called, v. 19, pp. 322, 330 and note; II. 320.
- INVOCATION OF SAINTS**, Bede's views on, II. 181.
- JOASH**, example of, cited, II. 187.
- IOB**, his example cited, i. 19; ii. 1, pp. 77, 78; v. 21, p. 342; Hab. § 12; Gregory I's commentary on, begun at Constantinople, finished at Rome, ii. 1, p. 75 and notes; cited, *ib.* p. 78 and notes; Bede's chapters of readings on, v. 24, p. 358.
- JOCELINE**, Life of St. Kentigern, II. 287.
- IOHANNES BAPTISTA**, accounted a martyr, i. 27, p. 51 and note; II. 164; practised what he preached, p. xxxvi note; homily for day of, p. cxix; austerity of, II. 259.
- IOHANNES**, euangelista, the Celts defend their Easter practice by the example of, iii. 25, pp. 184-186 and notes; II. 190, 348, 349; his successors in Asia abandon his Easter practice, *ib.* p. 186; lame man cured by, v. 2, p. 284; Bede's commentary on the Apocalypse of, v. 24, p. 358; v. Baeda; pictures from the Apocalypse of, placed in St. Peter's church at Wearmouth, Hab. § 6, p. 369 and note; Epistle of, cited, Ec. § 17, pp. 422, 423; Bede translates Gospel of, pp. lxxv, clxii; fragment of hymn to, p. cxiii; type of the contemplative life, II. 69; church of St. John Lateran, Wilfrid's first appeal heard in, II. 71; authority of, claimed for Celtic tonsure, II. 354.
- IOHANNES**, martyr, relics of, sent by Vitalian to Oswy, iii. 29, p. 198.
- IOHANNES IV**, pope, succeeds Severinus in the Roman see, ii. 19, pp. 122, 123 and note; while pope elect writes to the Irish on the Paschal question and Pelagianism, *ib.* pp. 122-124 and notes; II. 125; opposes the Monothelites, II. 112.

- Iohannes VI.** pope, Wilfrid's second appeal heard before, v. 19, pp. 327, 328; II. 320; letters of, in favour of Wilfrid, v. 19, p. 327; II. 275.
- IOHANNES VIII.** pope, his regulations about the pallium, II. 50.
- IOHANNES XII.** pope, grants pallium to Dunstan, II. 52.
- IOHANNES**, patriarch of Constantinople, letter of Gregory I to, II. 68.
- Iohannes**, archchanter of St. Peter's, and abbot of St. Martin's at Rome, Hab. § 6, p. 369 and notes; Haa. § 10; iv. 18, pp. 240, 241 and notes; present at, and signs the decrees of the Council of Hatfield, *ib.* and note; v. 24, p. 355; comes to Britain with Benedict Biscop, iv. 18, p. 241 and note; Haa. § 10; Hab. § 6, p. 369 and note; teaches the Roman mode of chanting in Benedict's monastery and elsewhere, *ib.*; iv. 18, p. 241 and note; II. 119; commissioned to inquire into the orthodoxy of the English Church, iv. 18, pp. 241, 242; lends the decrees of the Council of Rome to Benedict's monastery to be copied, *ib.* p. 242 and note; receives a copy of the decrees of the Council of Hatfield for the pope, *ib.*; dies and is buried at Tours on his way back, *ib.* and note; writings of, preserved at Wearmouth, Hab. § 6, p. 369.
- Iohannes**, consiliarius and vicergerent of the Roman see, joins in writing to the Irish clergy, ii. 19, p. 123.
- IOHANNES**, one of Augustine's companions, afterwards abbot of St. Augustine's, II. 37.
- Iohannes**, primicerius and vicergerent of the Roman see, joins in writing to the Irish clergy, ii. 19, p. 123.
- Iohannes**, archbishop of Arles, Vitalian gives Theodore and Hadrian commendatory letters to, iv. 1, p. 203 and notes; he detains them, *ib.*
- IOHANNES**, bishop of Antioch, letter of Theodoret to, II. 233.
- Iohannes**, bishop of Hexham, iv. 23, p. 254; educated under Hild at Whitby, *ib.* (cf. II. 274); succeeds Eata at Hexham, v. 2, pp. 282, 283 and notes; II. 326; miracles wrought by, v. 2-6 and notes; p. lxv note; cites a medical precept of Archbishop Theodore, v. 3, p. 285 and note (cf. II. 274); transferred to York on death of Bosa, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 274, 327); succeeded by Wilfrid at Hexham, *ib.*; forbids an ignorant priest to administer baptism, v. 6, p. 291 and note; causes Herebald to be rebaptized, *ib.* and note; retires to Beverley, dies, and is buried there, *ib.* p. 292 (cf. II. 273); succeeded by Wilfrid II, *ib.* and note; ordains Bede deacon and priest, p. x; v. 24, p. 357; II. 274, 275; wrongly called archbishop, I. 432; II. 117, 274; Life of, by Folcard, p. cxx; II. 275, 277; chronology of life of, II. 273; his festival observed at Beverley, *ib.*; co-founder of Beverley, II. 274; on the Wilfridian view was a usurper, II. 316; lections on, I. 432.
- IOHANNES** diaconus, his Life of Gregory, II. 389; uses the early Life of Gregory, *ib.*
- IONA**, v. Hii; of origin of the name, II. 127; equated with the Hebrew word for dove, *ib.*
- JOMAS** or **BOBBIO**, his Life of St. Columban ascribed to Bede, II. 83; his Life of St. Fara, II. 148.
- JORDAN**, Bede on sources of, cited, II. 4.
- IOREUALLIS**, v. Jervaux.
- Ioseph**, example of, cited, v. 21, p. 342.
- JOSEPH** of ARIMATHEA, II. 90, 91.
- JOSEPH**, husband of the Virgin Mary, Bede maintains perpetual virginity of, II. 54.

- IOSEPHUS**, use made by Bede of, p. li.
- Iosua**, p. xv; Bede's chapters of readings on, v. 24, p. 358; v. Iesus Naue.
- 'ipse'** = the same, II. 61, 373.
- IRISH CHURCH**, monastic organisation of, II. 133-135, 285; use of the Psalms in, II. 137; asceticism of, p. xxx; II. 139, 170, 178; liberality of, to foreign students, II. 145; v. Celtic Churches, Chanting.
- IRISH MISSIONARIES**, convert a large part of the Continent, II. 170; in parts of Britain other than Northumbria, II. 226.
- IRISH MONASTERIES**, v. Monasteries.
- IRISH PILGRIMS**, at Glastonbury, II. 170 (cf. p. cxi note).
- IRISH SAINTS**, their fondness for imprecations, II. 260.
- Irminric**, father of Ethelbert, son of Octa, ii. 5, p. 90 and note.
- Isaac**, v. 24, p. 357; Hab. § 9.
- Isaias**, II. 164; cited, iii. 29, p. 197; Ee. § 11, p. 414 (cf. II. 394); § 14, p. 418 (cf. II. 393); Bede's excerpts from St. Jerome on, v. 24, p. 358; Bede's chapters of readings on, *ib.*; Bede's letter on a passage of, *ib.*; v. Baeda.
- 'isicius'** and its cognates, II. 6.
- ISIDORE**, bishop of Seville, Bede's obligations to, pp. xxxvii note, xxxviii note, xli; II. 339; his doctrine of the six ages of the world, p. xli; Dante places Bede next to, p. xli note; his opinion of the Vulgate, p. lv; Bede's translations from, pp. lxxv, clxii; his etymologies, II. 10, 29, 41; on prohibited degrees, pp. xc, xcix; on the Saracens, II. 339.
- Ismahel**, v. 24, p. 357; the Saracens or Agareni descended from, II. 339.
- Israel**, iii. 29, p. 197; v. 21, pp. 334-336; their exodus from Egypt, and entry into the Promised Land, one of Cædmon's subjects, iv. 24, p. 261; II. 253; Bede's letter on the stations of the children of, v. 24, p. 358; v. Baeda.
- Israelitica gens**, i. 34. **Israelitica plebs**, v. 21, p. 336; Haa. § 6; Ee. § 9, p. 412. **Israeliticus populus**, in Egypt, i. 30, p. 65 and notes. **Israeliticum regnum**, Hab. § 13 and note.
- ITALA**, v. Bible.
- Italia**, length of day in, i. 1, p. 11; Gratian attempts to cross to, i. 9; Valentinianus expelled from, *ib.*; miracles of saints of, collected by Gregory I in his Dialogues, ii. 1, p. 76 and note; bishops of, *ib.* p. 77 and note; synod of, under Boniface IV, ii. 4, p. 88 and note; Ronan learns the catholic Easter in, iii. 25, p. 181; Wilfrid sees the catholic Easter practised in, *ib.* p. 184; visits of Benedict Biscop to, Haa. § 5 and note; v. Biscop; daily communion the rule in, Ee. § 15; Berengar king of, II. 137; exile in, II. 197.
- Italicum mare**, Romanus of Rochester drowned in, ii. 20, p. 126 and note.
- Ithamar**, 'de gente Cantuariorum,' bishop of Rochester, consecrated by Honorius, iii. 14, p. 154 and note (cf. II. 49, 110); consecrates Deusdedit, iii. 20; dies, *ib.* and note; succeeded by Damian, *ib.* and note; the first native bishop, II. 162, 174; his orthodoxy, II. 206.
- Iuda**, reges, Ee. § 11, p. 414.
- Iudaei**, Paschal customs of Iona not identical with those of, iii. 4, p. 135; II. 114; concessions of the Apostles to the prejudices of, cited, iii. 25, p. 185 and notes; forbidden to enter Jerusalem, II. 19; Jutes said to be derived from (!), II. 29; make no representation of the Deity, II. 59.
- JUDAISM** of the early Church, II. 190.
- Iudas Scariothes**, example of, cited, Ee. § 17, p. 422.

- on readings on the book  
24, p. 358.
- JUDITH**, daughter of Charles  
Bald, wife of Ethelwulf  
Ethelbald, II. 249; perhaps  
patroness of Otfrid of Wei-  
burg, *ib.*; Anglo-Saxon poem  
Judith possibly dedicated to  
**JUDITH**, wife of Tostig, said  
to have carried off relics of Osw  
II. 158; present at the trans-  
lation of Oswin, II. 164.
- JULIAN**, St., monastery of, at  
Mans, MS. M probably belong-  
ing to, p. lxxxix.
- JULIAN ERA**, p. c.
- Julianus**, bishop of Eclanum  
Campania, a semi-Pelagian,  
expelled from his see, i. 10 a  
note.
- Iulius**, a citizen of Caerleon-  
Usk, martyred in the persecu-  
tion of Diocletian, i. 7 pp. 2  
22 and note; II. 18.
- IUSTINA**, virgin, II. 242.
- Iustinianus**, emperor, iii. 4,  
133; Code of, II. 47.
- Iustinianus minor**, emperor  
Council of Constantinople under  
iv. 17, p. 240 and note.
- Iustinianus II**, emperor, emperor  
at time of Cadwalla's death, v  
7, p. 294.
- IUSTINUS MARTYR**, spurious poem  
on, p. clviii.

Lent, II. 271; asceticism of, II. 298; Life of, by Joceline, II. 287.  
**KETRINHAM**, Robert, rector of St. Gregory's, London, bequeaths MS. O<sub>15</sub> to Merton College, p. cxxv.  
**KILROS**, ordo monasticus of, cited, p. xxx note.  
**KINGS**, progresses of the Anglo-Saxon, II. 109.  
**KINSHIP**, importance of tie of, in early times, II. 117.  
**KIRKNEWTON**, Northumberland, equated by Bates with Maelmin, II. 105.  
**KIRKOSWALD**, name of places in Cumberland and Ayrshire, II. 159.  
**KYLE**, v. Cyil Campus.

L.

**Labienuis**, tribune of Caesar, killed by the Britons, i. 2, p. 14.  
**Læstingæu**, **Laest**, **Læstingæ**, **Læstingæi**, **Læstingham**, **Yorkshire**, monastery of, founded by Cedd, iii. 23, pp. 174-176 and notes (cf. Pref. p. 7 and note); the monks of, furnish Bede with materials for the history of the Mercians and East Saxons, Pref. p. 7; organised on the model of Lindisfarne, iii. 23, p. 176 and note (cf. II. 178); stone church at, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 101); Ceadda abbot of, iii. 28, p. 195 (cf. II. 207); Ceadda in retirement at, v. 19, p. 326; iv. 3, p. 206; Owine enters the monastery of, *ib.* p. 208; Trumbert a monk of, p. xviii.  
**LAGNY**, v. **Latineacum**.  
**LAISREN**, abbot of Leighlin, induces the Southern Irish to adopt the Roman Easter, II. 113; dies, *ib.*; v. **Laistranus**.  
**LAISREN MAC NASCA**, abbot of Ard mic Nasca, or Hollywood, II. 113; v. **Laistranus**.  
**Laistranus**, Irish presbyter, letter of John, pope elect, and others to, ii. 19, p. 123 and note.  
**LANDULPHUS SENIOR**, his account of Gregory I's liturgical reforms, II. 47.  
**LANFRANC**, archbishop of Canterbury, II. 43; Gregory VII refuses pallium to, II. 51; obit of, observed at Canterbury, II. 138; rebuilds Rochester cathedral and translates Paulinus' relics, II. 162; canonises Aldhelm, II. 309; translates alleged relics of Wilfrid, II. 328.  
**LANGRES**, v. **Lingonae**, **Lingonensis ciuitas**.  
**Lapidem**, ad, v. **Ad Lapidem**.  
**LAPPENBERG**, his charge against Bede refuted, p. xlv note.  
**LASTINGHAM**, v. **Læstingæu**.  
**LATERAN COUNCIL**, story of an Irish bishop at (1179), II. 194; first, (649), II. 233.  
**Latina lingua**, Hadrian and Theodore skilled in, iv. 1, p. 202; Hab. § 3; their pupils know, as well as English, iv. 2, p. 205; p. xviii; Tobias learned in, v. 8, p. 296; v. 23, p. 348; Albinus learned in, v. 20, p. 331 and note; laymen and some monks and clergy ignorant of, Ee. § 5 and note (cf. II. 366); Gregory I's idea of a unity of, II. 47.  
**Latineacum**, **Lagny**, on the Marne, near Paris, Fursa builds a monastery at, iii. 19, p. 168 and notes; skull of Fursa at, II. 174.  
**Latini**, iv. 13, p. 232; language of, one of the five languages of Britain, i. 1, p. 11 and note.  
**LAUD**, William, archbishop of Canterbury, former owner of MSS. O<sub>3</sub>, O<sub>201</sub>, pp. cxvii, cxxi (cf. p. lxxxvi note); President of St. John's College, Oxford, and Dean of Gloucester, p. cxxi.  
**Laurentius**, archbishop of Canterbury, a presbyter, sent with Augustine by Gregory, II. 81, 390; sent by Augustine to Gregory to announce the conversion of the English, i. 27, p. 48 and note; brings back Gregory's Responsa, &c., II. 45, 56, 63; consecrates the church of SS. Peter and Paul, i. 33 and note;



- consecrated by Augustine as his successor, ii. 4, p. 86 and notes; extends the Church of the English, *ib.* p. 87 and note; practises what he preaches, *ib.* (cf. p. xxxvi); attempts to bring the Celtic Churches to conformity, *ib.* and note; writes letters to the Irish and British clergy, *ib.* pp. 87, 88 and notes (cf. II. 10); receives a letter from Pope Boniface IV, *ib.* p. 88 and note; Mellitus and Justus deliberate with, on the pagan reaction, ii. 5, p. 91; prepares to leave Britain, ii. 6, p. 92; mysterious experience of, in church of SS. Peter and Paul, *ib.* and note; converts Eadbald, *ib.* p. 93; death of, ii. 7, p. 93; buried near Augustine, *ib.*; succeeded by Mellitus, *ib.*; said to have translated body of Liudhard, II. 42; not a monk, II. 45; mentioned in the Stowe Missal, II. 81, 82; wrongly represented as on good terms with the Celtic Churches, II. 83.
- Laurentius**, martyr, relics of, sent by Vitalian to Oswy, iii. 29, p. 198; oratory of, at Wearmouth, Hab. § 17, p. 382 and note; Haa. § 25; chapel of, at Bradford-on-Avon, II. 309.
- LEAD**, use of, in building, II. 188.
- LEADER**, the, a tributary of the Tweed, vision of Cuthbert on the banks of, II. 266.
- LEANDER**, bishop of Seville, Gregory's Moralia written at request of, II. 69; at Constantinople on the affairs of the Visigoths, *ib.*
- LECTIONS**, textual influence of, pp. xvi note, cxii, cxvi, cxviii; I. 424-433; use of the H. E. for, II. 299.
- LECTOR**, meaning of the term, p. lxxii note.
- LEEDS**, *v.* Loidis.
- Legacaestir**, English name of Legionum Ciuitas, *q. v.*, or Chester, ii. 2, p. 84 and note.
- LEGATINE SYNODS** (787), cited, II. 363.
- LEGER**, St., *v.* Leodegar.
- Legionum ciuitas**, Chester, called Legacaestir by the English, Carlegion by the Britons, ii. 2, p. 84 and note; battle of, *ib.* and notes; cause of battle of, II. 93; effects of, II. 75, 77; date of, II. 77; desolation of the city by this battle, *ib.*; description of district of, *ib.*; trade with Ireland, *ib.*; origin of the name, *ib.*
- Legionum urbs**, Caerleon-on-Usk, citizens of, martyred under Diocletian, i. 7, pp. 21, 22 and note.
- LEICESTER**, see of, transferred to Dorchester, II. 245.
- LEIGHLIN**, county Carlow, Ireland, Laisren abbot of, II. 113.
- LEITHRIG**, battle of, II. 65.
- LEWT**, threefold, II. 197, 198; *v.* Ieiunium.
- LEO I**, pope, ordinance about baptism, II. 96.
- LEO III**, pope, letter of Alcuin to, II. 51; letter of Cenulf of Mercia to, about the primacy, II. 53, 57.
- LEO THE ICONOCLAST**, Eastern Emperor, letter of Gregory II to, II. 281.
- LEODEGAR** (St. Leger), made bishop of Autun by Baldhild, II. 322.
- Leonilla**, grandmother of the Gemini Martyres, Hab. § 23; Haa. § 36.
- Leptis**, Africa, birthplace of Severus, i. 5.
- LÉRINA**, *v.* Lirinensis insula.
- LETH CUINN**, Conn's Half, *i. e.* the North of Ireland, colonised by Erem son of Miled, II. 125.
- LETH MOGHA**, Mogh's Half, *i. e.* the South of Ireland, colonised by Eber son of Miled, II. 125.
- LEUCOFIBLA**, probably identical with Whithorn, II. 130.
- 'LEUITA'** = deacon, p. cxlv.
- Leuiticus**, book of, cited, v. 21, p. 336.
- Leutherius**, or Hlothhere, bishop of the West Saxons, II. 144;

- nephew of Agilbert, iii. 7, p. 141 and notes; sent by him to Cenwalh, *ib.* and notes; made bishop by synodical sanction, *ib.* and note; consecrated at Winchester by Theodore, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 206); attends the Council of Hertford, iv. 5, p. 215; fourth bishop of the West Saxons, iv. 12, p. 227; dies, and is succeeded by Hædde, *ib.*; Aldhelm made abbot of Malmesbury under, II. 309.
- LEUVICILD, king of the Goths, II. 106.
- LEWES, Amalric of, p. c; MS. H, probably belonged to priory of, *ib.*
- Lex, *Lex sacra*, the Mosaic Law, cited, i. 27, pp. 50, 51, 56, 57; testamentum ueteris legis, cited, i. 27, p. 59; v. Moses.
- LEX VATINIA, date of, II. 12.
- LIBER PONTIFICALIS, use made by Bede of, pp. li note, clxxiii, clxxiv; II. 14, 82, 84.
- LIBER VITAE, p. xxvii; II. 227.
- LIBRARIES, monastic, pp. xviii, cxix; influence of, p. xix note.
- LICHFIELD, v. Lyeidfeldh, &c.
- LICINIUS, bishop of Angers, II. 40.
- LIDERIK, count of Flanders, p. cxix.
- 'LIGATURAE' = amulets, II. 266.
- LIGUGÉ, v. Defensor.
- Lilla, a Northumbrian thane, saves Edwin at the cost of his own life, ii. 9, p. 99 and note (cf. II. xxxvi, 163).
- LILYBAEUM, Pachasinus bishop of, II. 96.
- LIMINGE, LIMING, Kent, monastery of, founded by Ethelberg, II. 117.
- LINCOLN, v. Lindocolina ciuitas, Lindocolinum.
- LINCOLN COLLEGE, Oxford, owns MS. O<sub>14</sub>, p. cxxii.
- LINDIS FLUUIOLUS, gives its name to Lindisfarne, II. 126.
- Lindisfari, the inhabitants of Lindsey, II. 108; Ceadda bishop of, iv. 3, p. 207; Cynibert bishop of, C. 732; Baeda and Biscop chiefs of, pp. lxxviii, lxxix note; II. 355; not to be identified with the 'Suthumbri,' II. 30. Lindisfarorum prouincia, Diuma bishop in, iii. 24, p. 179 and note; Wynfrid bishop of, iv. 3, p. 212; Wulfhere king in, *ib.*; Sexwulf bishop of, iv. 12, p. 229; separate bishops of, Eadhed, Ethelwine, Edgar, Cynibert, *ib.* and note; Cynibert bishop of, in 731, v. 23, p. 350 and note; Egfrid gains possession of, iv. 12, p. 229 and notes.
- LINDISFARNE, Bede visits, p. xvi; II. 272; community of, inscribe Bede's name in their Album Congregationis, p. xxvii note; scribal school of, Irish in character, p. xx note; MS. C possibly belonged to, pp. xciii, cv; monks of, visit Cuthbert on Farne, pp. xxxi, xxxii; plague at, p. xxxii; II. 195; derivation of name of, II. 126; the most sacred place in Britain, *ib.*; Welsh and Irish names for, *ib.*; constitution of, II. 134, 384, 385; date of, II. 148; deserted for fear of the Danes, II. 125, 157; Cynimund monk and priest of, II. 166; Alcuin's poem on the destruction of, *ib.*; in the province of Iona, II. 188; Roman Easter introduced at, II. 267; troubles at, after Cuthbert's death, II. 270; cleric of Wilbrord cured at, II. 288; Ethelwald's stone cross at, II. 297; Cudda becomes abbot of, II. 320; Ceolwulf becomes a monk at, II. 340; relaxes the asceticism of, *ib.*; buried at, *ib.*; abbots of, Herefrid, II. 270; Wigbert, p. cxlv note; bishops of, Colman, II. 117; Tuda, II. 125; Eadfrid, pp. cv, cxlviii; Hygbald, II. 70, 249; Egbert, p. cxi; Egred, II. 340.
- LINDISFARNE GOSPELS, pp. xx note, cv; II. 297, 298.

**Lindisfarnenses**, the monks of Lindisfarne, Cedd learns discipline from, iii. 23, p. 175 and note; organises Lastingham on the model of, *ib.* p. 176. **Lindisfarnensium ecclesia**, Cuthbert made bishop of, iv. 27, p. 268; Wilfrid administers bishopric of, iv. 29, p. 275; II. 319, 326. **Lind. insula**, Aidan's body brought to, iii. 17, p. 160 and note; church built in, *ib.*; Scotti leave, with Colman, iv. 4, p. 213; Cuthbert transferred as prior to, iv. 27, p. 270 and note (cf. p. xxix note); Eata abbot of, *ib.* and notes; constitution of, *ib.* (cf. II. 134, 384, 385); Cuthbert consents to be buried in, iv. 29, p. 275 and notes. **Lind. monasterium**, physicians in, p. xxv note.

**Lindisfarnensis** (-faronensis, iii. 22, p. 172; v. 23, p. 351) ecclesia, life of Cuthbert written by monks of, Pref. p. 7 and note; Oswald's head buried in cemetery of, iii. 17, p. 160 and note; Cedd visits, iii. 22, p. 172; Cedd trained in, iii. 23, p. 176; Eata made abbot of, iii. 26, p. 190 and note; afterwards bishop in, *ib.* and note; given choice of see in, iv. 12, p. 229 and note; iv. 27, p. 269; his see fixed at, *ib.* and note; Cuthbert bishop of, iv. 28, pp. 272, 273 and notes; Gudfrid monk and abbot of, v. 1, p. 281 and note; Ethelwald bishop of, v. 12, p. 310 and note; still bishop in 731, v. 23, pp. 350, 351; the mother church of the Bernicii, II. 125; abandoned in 875, *ib.* **Lindisfarnensis insula**, Oswald grants Aidan a see in, iii. 4, p. 132 and notes; character of, *ib.* and notes; Finan builds a wooden church in, iii. 25, p. 181 (cf. II. 102); Wilfrid goes to, v. 19, p. 323 and notes; II. 316; brethren from, persuade Cuthbert to accept the offered

bishopric, iv. 28, p. 272; Ethelwald buried in, v. 1, p. 282; called Holy Island, II. 125, 126. **Lindissi provincia, Lindsey**, materials for history of, derived by Bede partly from letters of Bishop Cynibert, partly from oral information, Pref. p. 7; evangelised by Paulinus, ii. 16, p. 117 and notes; to the south of the Humber, *ib.*; Oswald rules over, iii. 11, p. 148 and notes; the light over Oswald's bones seen over nearly the whole of, *ib.*; Bardney monastery in, *ib.* and note; Ethelwine bishop of, *ib.* p. 149; iii. 27, p. 192; Ad Baruae in, iv. 3, p. 207 and note; Hygtald an abbot in, *ib.* p. 211 and note; Ethelred of Mercia recovers, and Bishop Eadhed retires from, iv. 12, p. 229 and note (cf. II. 199, 215, 324, 326); oscillates between Mercia and Northumbria, II. 108, 155, 199, 223; called an 'island,' p. cxiii; Offa of, II. 217; Teoful belongs to, II. 391. **Lindocolina ciuitas, Lincoln**, Blaecca, prefect of, converted by Paulinus, ii. 16, p. 117 and notes; stone church built by Paulinus at, *ib.* (cf. II. 101); this church works miracles though in ruins, *ib.* and note; Honorius consecrated by Paulinus at, *ib.*; derivation of name, II. 108; Alexander bishop of, p. cvii; Thomas Barlow bishop of, p. cxvi; deanery of, given by papal provision, p. cxxi. **Lindocolinum, Lincoln**, Paulinus consecrates Honorius in, ii. 18, p. 120 and note.

**LINEN**, abstinence from, a mark of asceticism, II. 237.

**LINGAN**, corruption of Ninian, II. 129.

**Lingonae, Langres**, a city of the Burgundians, arrival, death; and burial of Ceolfred at, p. xv; Hab. § 21 and note, § 23; Haa. §§ 33, 35-37; II. 366; church and monastery of the Geminal

- Martyres at, Hab. §§ 21, 23 and note; Haa. § 36.
- Lingonensis ciuitas, some of Ceolfred's companions remain at, Haa. § 38 (cf. p. xv; II. 180).
- LINN GARAN, Welsh name of Nechtsansmere, II. 261.
- LINUS, said to have been consecrated as suffragan bishop by St. Peter, II. 82.
- LIORA, St., life of, II. 150.
- Lirinensis insula, Lérins, Benedict Biscop enters the monastery of, Hab. § 2 and notes (cf. Haa. § 5 and note; p. xviii); Germanus and Lupus disciples of, II. 33; Stephen abbot of, II. 37, 39.
- 'LITTERAE DIMISSORIAE,' II. 213.
- 'Litterae solutoriae,' II. 243.
- Litore, in, v. In Lit.
- LITTLEBOROUGH, Notts., equated by Moberly with Tiowulfingacæstir, II. 109; by others with Tunnacæstir, II. 243.
- LITTLE GIDDING, Hunts., revived monastic life at, II. 137.
- Liudbrand, king of the Lombards, Chilperic II recommends Ceolfred to, Haa. § 32 and note.
- LIUDEKE, bishop of Münster, had seen St. Boniface, II. 292.
- Liudhard, bishop, sent with Bertha to Kent, i. 25, p. 45 and note (cf. II. 94); later legends of, II. 42.
- LIUONIA, i. e. Riga, bishop of, II. 70.
- LIUTBERT, archbishop of Mainz, letter of Otfried to, II. 249.
- LIVY, MS. of, belonged to Swidbert, II. 291.
- LLANDAFF, Urban bishop of, II. 212; diocese of, II. 213.
- 'locellus,' 'loculus,' a coffin, II. 239.
- LOGAIRE, Irish king, opposed to St. Patrick, II. 354; origin of Celtic tonsure ascribed to, *ib.*
- Loidis regio, Leeds, royal vill built in, to replace Campodonum, ii. 14, p. 115 and note.
- Loidis regio, ? Leeds, or the Lothians, battle of the Winwæd fought in, iii. 24, p. 179 and notes (cf. II. 183).
- Longobardi, the Lombards.
- Longobardorum rex, Liudbrand, Haa. § 32 and note; Perctarit, II. 150, 279; Cunibert, *ib.*
- Lot, example of, cited, II. 54.
- LOTHIANS, the, v. Loidis.
- LOUIS VI, king of France, p. cxix.
- Lucas, euangelista, cited, Ec. § 4; Bede's commentary on, v. 24, p. 358; v. Baeda.
- Lucius, king of Britain, converted by Eleuther, i. 4 and notes; v. 24, p. 352; said to have endowed Winchester, II. 14, 20.
- LUCIUS UERUS, v. Commodus.
- LUDOUICUS PIUS, emperor, said to have ordered the composition of the Heliand, II. 255.
- Lugdonum, Lugdunum, Lyons, Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop arrive at, v. 19, pp. 323, 324 and note; Biscop leaves Wilfrid at, II. 321; Wilfrid sojourns with Dalfinus the bishop at, *ib.*; iii. 25, p. 182; Patiens bishop of, II. 32; Godwin archbishop of, II. 284; v. Dalfinus, Annemundus.
- LUGDUNENSIS, v. Florus.
- Lugubalia, Carlisle, q. v., Cuthbert meets Herbert for the last time at, iv. 29, p. 274 and note.
- LULLUS, archbishop of Mainz, receives MSS. from Abbot Cuthbert, pp. xx, xxi, cl note; sends gifts to Abbesses Cuneburg and Eadburg, p. lxxvi note; asks for a copy of Bede's In Samuelem, p. cxlviii; and of his In Cantica, p. clii note; and of his Epigrammata, p. cliv note; letters of Abbot Cuthbert to, II. 248, 249, 359; letter of Wigbert to, II. 285; of Cynehard to, II. 308; succeeds Boniface, II. 346; possibly identical with Redger, *ib.*
- LUMBY, Dr. J. R., edition of Bede's De Die Iudicii, p. cliv; v. Mayor.
- Lundonia, Lundenia ciuitas,

London, relation of bishop of, to bishop of York defined, i. 29, p. 64 and note (cf. II. 52); on the Thames, ii. 3, p. 85; metropolis of the East Saxons, *ib.* and note; a great emporium, *ib.*; church of St. Paul built in, by Ethelbert, *ib.*; bishopric of, bought by Wine from Wulfhere, iii. 7, p. 141 and notes; Earconwald bishop in, iv. 6, p. 218 and note; Waldhere bishop of, iv. 11, p. 225 and note; Hædde consecrated by Theodore at, iv. 12, p. 227; Imma sold at, iv. 22, p. 251; Watling Street starts from, II. 20; synod of, condemns marriage within the third degree, II. 48; Canterbury substituted for, as metropolitan church, II. 52; church of St. Gregory in, p. cxxv; Iudicia of, cited, II. 138. **Lundoniae** episcopus, Mellitus, ii. 4, p. 88; ii. 7, pp. 93, 94; Ingwald, C. 745. **Lundonia urbs**, Waldhere bishop of, iv. 11, p. 226. **Lundonienses**, refuse to receive Mellitus, ii. 6, p. 93 and note. **Lundoniensis** antistes, Aldwulf, v. 23, p. 350. **Lund. ciuitas**, bishop of, how to be appointed, i. 29, p. 63. **Lund. ecclesia**, Nothelm a priest of, Pref. p. 6 and note. **Lund. episcopus**, i. 29, p. 64. **Lundonienses** episcopi, Wine not reckoned among, II. 147. **LUPERCALIA**, ceremonies of, transferred to Candlemas, II. 60. **Lupus**, bishop of Troyes, sent with Germanus to help the Britons against the Pelagians, i. 17, p. 34 and notes; wakes Germanus to calm a storm, *ib.* and note; visits the tomb of St. Alban, i. 18; Severus a pupil of, i. 21, p. 40 and note; letters of Sidonius Apollinaris to, II. 32; churches dedicated to, II. 33; v. Germanus. **LUPUS**, bishop of Châlons-sur-Saône, II. 39.

**LUPUS**, abbot of Ferrara, letter of, to Altaig abbot of York, p. clv note; to Hincmar, p. clvi note. **LUXEUIL**, Columban founder of, II. 83.

**Lybicae partes**, i. 1, p. 11.

**Lycoidefeldensis antistes**, Aldwine, v. 23, p. 350 and note.

**Lycoidefelth**, Lichfield, Ceadda's see at, iv. 3, p. 207 and note; Owine a monk at, p. xxv; Offa attempts to convert into an archbishopric, II. 57.

**LYONS**, v. Lugdonum.

**LYONENSIS episcopus**, II. 70; v. Liunonia.

## M.

**Maban**, a chanter brought by Acca from Kent to Hexham, v. 20, p. 331 and note (cf. II. 119); stays there twelve years, *ib.*

**MABON**, Welsh saints called, II. 60.

**Macedonia**, length of day in, i. 1, p. 11.

**Macedonius**, heretic, Council of Constantinople directed against, iv. 17, p. 240 and note.

**MACERIAE**, Mazeroles in Ponthieu, Fursa dies at, II. 173.

**MAELDUIB**, an Irish monk, founder of Malmesbury, II. 225, 310; Aldhelm a pupil of, II. 309, 310; various forms of the name of, *ib.*; v. Mailduff urbs.

**MAELDUIN**, Irish name confused with Maelduib, II. 310.

**Maeldum**, Meaux, a city of Gaul, illness and vision of Wilfrid at, v. 19, pp. 328, 329 and notes; II. 320; v. Meldi.

**MAELGOWN**, British king, said to have been present at Degastan, II. 66.

**Maelmin**, ? Millfield, Mindrum, or Kirknewton, royal villa built at, ii. 14, p. 115 and note.

**MAELMURA**, poem of, cited, II. 8.

**MAELUMA MAC BAERDAIN**, present at battle of Degastan, II. 66.

**MAES-GARMON**, near Mold, Flintshire, traditional scene of the Hallelujah victory, II. 34.

**MAGDALEN COLLEGE**, Oxford, owns MS. O.<sub>17</sub>, p. cxxiv.

**MAGDEBURG**, Norbert archbishop of, II. 290.

**Magéo**, Muigéo, Mayo, Colman builds a monastery at, for the English monks whom he had brought from Lindisfarne, iv. 4, p. 213 and note; still resorted to by the English in Bede's time, *ib.* p. 214 and notes; letter of Alcuin to English monks of, II. 210; Aedan or Edwin bishop of, *ib.*

**MAGH BILE**, *v.* Movilla.

**MAGH BREGH**, wasted by the Northumbrians, II. 260; extent of, *ib.*

**MAGIC**, *v.* Heathenism.

**MAGNIFICAT**, Bede on the, p. xiii note.

**MAGNUM MONASTERIUM**, Whitern called, II. 129.

**MAGYARS**, inroads of the, break up the Slavs, II. 128.

**Maldufi urbs**, Malmesbury, Aldhelm abbot of, v. 18, p. 320 and notes; a monk of, II. 309; MS. O.<sub>11</sub> possibly belonged to, p. cxxv note; date of, II. 149; Maelduib founder of, II. 225; Daniel said to have died and been buried at, II. 308; Faricius a monk of, *ib.*; Aldhelm buried at, II. 309; various forms of the name, II. 310, 311.

**Mailronense monasterium**, date of, II. 149; Cuthbert transferred from, to Lindisfarne, iv. 27, p. 270 and note.

**Mailros**, Melrose, on the Tweed, v. 12, p. 304; iv. 27, p. 269; Eata abbot of, *ib.*; iii. 26, p. 190 and note; v. 9, p. 297 (*cf.* II. 193); Boisil prior of, *ib.*; iv. 27, p. 269 and notes; Cuthbert enters, *ib.* and note; pp. xiii note, xxv; II. 148, 267; succeeds Boisil as prior, iv. 27, p. 269; II. 195; Drythelm enters, v. 12, pp. 304, 310 and notes (*cf.* p. xxx); Ethelwald abbot of, *ib.* and note; prior of, II. 297; R[adulphus] abbot of, II. 38;

Cuthbert and Eata return to, II. 193; Chronicle of, its testimony to Bede, p. xliii note.

**Mailrosense monasterium**, Boisil prior of, v. 9, p. 297.

**MAINZ**, Lullus archbishop of, v. Lullus; Liutbert archbishop of, II. 249.

**MAKERFIELD**, Lancs., claims to be Bede's Maserfelth, II. 159.

**MALACHIAS**, St., Life of, by St. Bernard, p. cxxi.

**MALCOLM CENNMOIR**, king of the Scots, II. 135.

**MALGO**, *v.* Maelgwn.

**MALMESBURY**, *v.* Maildufi urbs.

**MALTBY**, Edward, bishop of Durham, gives a cover for the Lindisfarne Gospels, II. 298.

**Mamre collis**, description of, v. 17, p. 319.

**MAN**, isle of, its extent, II. 40, 41, 94; attacked by Aedan mac Gabrain, II. 65; called Anglesey by W. M., II. 94; dedications to St. Ninian in, II. 129; *v.* Mevaniae insulae.

**MANS**, LE, MS. M probably came from, p. lxxxix.

**Mansio Rendili**, *v.* Rendlæsham.

**MANSIONARIUS**, duties of, p. xxvii note.

**Mansiones filiorum Israel**, Bede's letter on, v. 24, p. 358; *v.* Baeda.

**MANUSCRIPTS**, loan of, p. xix; theft of, *ib.* note; MS. Laud Greek, 35, used by Bede, p. liv; corruption of, pp. lv, lvi; II. 213; various hands in, p. lxxxiii note; one MS. corrected by another, pp. xix, lxxxiii. lxxxiv note; conflation of, pp. xcv, xcvi, cxiii.

'*manus dare*,' meaning of the phrase, II. 200, 205.

**MAPONOS**, Celtic Apollo, II. 60.

**MARCELLINUS**, Life of Swidbert by, spurious, II. 288, 291.

**MARCELLINUS COMES**, Chronicle of, used by Bede, II. 26.

**Marcianus**, joint emperor with Valentinianus, i. 15, p. 30 and note; i. 21, p. 41 and note; v. 24, p. 352.

- Marcus** euangelista, interpreter of St. Peter, v. 21, p. 337; establishes the apostolic Easter tradition at Alexandria, *ib.* and note; Bede's commentary on, v. 24, p. 358; v. Baeda.
- MARCUS AURELIUS**, v. Antoninus. 'MARE' = mere, II. 269.
- Mare orientale**, the North Sea, Ad Murum twelve miles from, iii. 22, p. 172.
- MARGARET**, St., wife of Malcolm Cennmor, puts down evil customs, II. 88; restores Iona, II. 135.
- Maria**, beata uirgo, iv. 20, p. 247 and note; church of, at Lichfield, iv. 3, p. 212; Ceadda buried near, *ib.*; church of, at Bethlehem, v. 16, p. 317; Wilfrid recovers by the intercession of, v. 19, p. 329; picture of, placed in St. Peter's church at Wearmouth, Hab. § 6, p. 369; treatise on the virginity of, p. cxx; monasteries dedicated to, at Bridlington and Jervaux, p. cxxi; v. Dei Genetrix.
- MARIA**, sister of Lazarus, type of the contemplative life, II. 69.
- MARIANUS SCOTUS**, on the date of Bede's *De Temporum Ratione*, p. cl; treats the Irish as quaterdecimans, II. 114.
- MARIS**, bishop of Hardascir, letter of Ibas to, II. 232.
- Maro** (Virgil), iv. 20, p. 247; Bede's knowledge of, pp. lii note, liii; cited, II. 362.
- MARSEILLES**, v. Massilia.
- MARTHA**, sister of Lazarus, type of the active life, II. 69.
- Martinus**, Sanctus, John the archchanter taken to Tours because of his love to, iv. 18, p. 242 and note; date of death of, p. c; II. 43; said to have degenerated after he became a bishop, II. 68; church near Canterbury, of the Roman period, dedicated to, i. 26, p. 47 and note; not the seat of a bishopric, II. 43; probable scene of Ethelbert's baptism, II. 44; porticus of, in church of SS. Peter and Paul at Canterbury, ii. 5, p. 90; II. 42; Nynias' church at Whithorn dedicated to, iii. 4, p. 133 and notes; sends masons to Nynias, II. 136; monastery of, at Rome, John the archchanter abbot of, iv. 18, pp. 241, 242; Hab. § 6, p. 369; Haa. § 10; death of, II. 43; popularity of, in Britain, *ib.*; Adelmar restored to life by intercession of, II. 295; prayers at the tomb of, II. 269; monastery of, at Tournai, pp. xx, xxi; chapel of, at Utrecht, II. 293; v. Turoni.
- Martinus**, papa, Synod of Rome under, iv. 17, p. 240 and note; iv. 18, p. 242 and note; sent to Constantinople, II. 321; dies in Crimea, *ib.*; Eugenius I consecrated during lifetime of, *ib.*
- MARTINUS POLONUS**, Chronicle of, p. cxiv.
- Martyrium**, meaning of the word, II. 91; v. Constantiniana ecclesia.
- Martyrologium**, Bede's, v. 24, p. 359; v. Baeda.
- Maserfelth**, Oswestry, Oswald slain by Penda at, iii. 9, p. 145 and notes; miracles wrought at, *ib.* pp. 145, 146 and notes (cf. II. 129).
- Mass**, v. Missa.
- Massilia**, Marseilles, Theodore and Hadrian come to, iv. 1, p. 203; St. Victor comes from, II. 18; seat of Arigius possibly at, II. 37; Serenus bishop of, II. 39, 360; monks of Auxerre sent to, for marbles, II. 239.
- MATILDA**, daughter of Otho II, her piety, II. 238.
- MATILDA**, the great countess of Tuscany, II. 240.
- MATINS**, v. Canonical Hours.
- MATTHEW**, St., called 'doctor gentium' by Bede, II. 220.
- MAUGER**, archbishop of Rouen, refused the pallium, II. 50.
- MAUNDY THURSDAY**, foot-washing on, p. xxvi; II. 238; origin of the name, *ib.*; consecration of chrism on, II. 383.

- Mauricius Tiberius**, emperor, i. 23, pp. 42, 43 and notes; i. 24, 28, 29, p. 64; i. 30, p. 66; i. 32, p. 70; ii. 1, p. 79.
- Maximinianus**, 'cognomento Heraculius,' made joint emperor by Diocletian, i. 6 and note; orders Carausius to be killed, *ib.*; persecutes the Christians in the West, *ib.*
- MAXIMINUS**, St., MS. Phillips 1873 formerly belonged to abbey of, at Trèves, p. cxxxi.
- Maximus**, becomes tyrant in Britain, i. 9 and note; v. 24, p. 352 (cf. II. 23, 30); crosses to Gaul and slays Gratianus, *ib.* *ib.*; expels Valentinianus from Italy, i. 9; captured and slain at Aquileia, *ib.*
- MAYO**, v. Magéoc.
- MAYOR and LUMBY**, edition of Books iii and iv of H.E., pp. lxxxi note, lxxxiii, lxxxiv.
- MAZARINE**, BIBLIOTHÈQUE, MS. in, II. 295.
- MAZENOËLES**, v. Maceriae.
- Meanuari**, Meanuarorum provincia, in Wessex, iv. 13, p. 230 and note; granted by Wulfhere to Ethelwath of Sussex, *ib.* and notes (cf. II. 147).
- MEAUX**, v. Maeldum, Meldi.
- MEDCAUT**, Welsh name of Lindisfarne, II. 126.
- Medeshamsted**, Peterborough, q. v., in region of the Gyrwas, iv. 6, p. 218 and note; Sexwulf founder and abbot of monastery of, *ib.* and notes.
- MEDGOET**, Irish name of Lindisfarne, II. 126.
- 'meditari' = to study, II. 136, 218.
- Mediterranei Angli**, v. Angli Mediterranei.
- MEDWAY**, the, II. 80.
- MEICEN**, Welsh name of the battle of Hatfield, II. 116.
- Meilochon**, father of Bridius king of the Picts, iii. 4, p. 133.
- MELANTIUS**, bishop of Rouen, II. 40.
- MELDANUS**, Irish prelate, seen by Fursa in his vision, II. 171; translated to Péronne, *ib.*
- Meldi**, Meaux, Faro bishop of, iv. 1, p. 203 and note; Hildegard bishop of, II. 203; v. Maeldum.
- Meleusippus**, v. Gemini Martyres.
- Mellitus**, archbishop of Canterbury, sent by Gregory to aid Augustine, i. 29, p. 63; II. 39, 45, 78, 83 (cf. II. 390); letter of Gregory to Mellitus, abbas, i. 30, pp. 64-66 and notes; consecrated bishop of the East Saxons, ii. 3, p. 85 and notes; converts them, *ib.*; goes to Rome to consult Pope Boniface IV about the English Church, ii. 4, p. 88 and notes; called bishop of London, *ib.* (cf. II. 178); takes part in a Roman synod, the decrees of which he brings back to Britain, *ib.* and note; brings letters from Boniface to Laurentius and Ethelbert, *ib.* and note; expelled from Essex, iii. 22, p. 171; ii. 5, p. 91; goes to Kent to consult with Laurentius and Justus, *ib.*; retires to Gaul, *ib.* p. 92; ii. 6, p. 92; returns, *ib.* p. 93; the people of London refuse to receive, *ib.* and note; consecrates a church of the Virgin in the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, *ib.* and note; succeeds Laurentius as archbishop, ii. 7, pp. 93, 94; rules well, *ib.* p. 94 and note; receives a letter from Boniface V, *ib.* and notes; II. 92; miraculously quells a fire in Canterbury, *ib.* and notes; suffers from gout, *ib.* and note; of noble birth, *ib.* and note; his death, *ib.* p. 95 and note; buried in the church of SS. Peter and Paul, *ib.*; probably did not receive the pallium, II. 79; mentioned in the Stowe Missal, II. 81, 82; wrongly said to have gone to Rome in 615, II. 84; chronology of life of, II. 88.
- MELROSE**, v. Mailros.
- MELTON**, William of, v. William.
- 'memoria' = tomb, II. 305.
- MENNA**, bishop of Toulon, II. 39.



MEON, EAST and WEST, and MEON-STOKE, Hants, derived from the Meanwari, II. 225.

MERCIA, genealogy of kings of, p. cxv; church-building in, II. 123; obscurity of bishops of, II. 185; question of division of diocese of, II. 216, 222, 245, 246; alleged dependence of Wight upon, II. 228; written law first introduced into, by Offa, II. 87; *v.* Lindissi.

Mercii, converted by Cedd and Ceadda, Pref. p. 7 and note; materials for history of, derived by Bede from monks of Lastingham, *ib.*; of Anglian origin, I. 15, p. 31; Penda of the royal race of, ii. 20, p. 124 and note; army of, ravages Northumbria and besieges Bamborough, iii. 16 and notes; converted after the death of Penda, v. 24, p. 354; Wilfrid an exile in the regions of, v. 11, p. 302; identical with the Suthumbri, II. 30; Ethelflæd lady of, and Ethelred alderman of, II. 158; bishops of, have no fixed see, II. 178. Merciorum antistes, Sexwulf, iv. 12, p. 228. Merc. dux, Penda, iii. 18. Merc. episcopus, Diuma, iii. 21, p. 171; Wynfrid, iv. 6, p. 218 and notes; Sexwulf, iv. 12, p. 229 and note. Merc. gens, battle of the Idle fought on the borders of, ii. 12, p. 110 and note; idolaters under Penda, ii. 20, p. 125; arrayed against Oswy, iii. 14, p. 154; attack the East Angles, iii. 18 and note; converted at the death of Penda, iii. 24, p. 179; Oswy rules for three years, *ib.* p. 180; Immin, Eafa, and Eadbert, dukes of, rebel against Oswy, *ib.* and notes; bishopric of, held by Trumhere, Jaruman, Ceadda, and Wynfrid, *ib.* and note; by Ceadda, iv. 3, p. 207; Ethelred ruler of, for thirty-one years, v. 24, pp. 355, 356 and note. Merc. primates, mur-

der their queen, Osthryth, v. 24, p. 355. Merc. provincia, Egfrid a hostage in, iii. 24, p. 178 and note; Diuma first bishop in, *ib.* p. 179 and notes; Wulfhere king of, iv. 3, pp. 206, 212; Wynfrid bishop of, *ib.*; iv. 5, p. 215; Ethelwath of Sumex baptized in, iv. 13, p. 230 and note; vision of a royal thane in, v. 13, pp. 311-313 and notes; Tatwin belongs to, v. 23, p. 350 and note; Aldwine bishop of, in 731, *ib.* and note. Merc. regina, Osthryth, iii. 11, p. 148; v. 24, p. 355; Cynwise, iii. 24, p. 178 and note. Merc. regnum, held by Cenred, v. 19, p. 321 and note; Ceolred succeeds to, *ib.* p. 322 and note; Offa acquires, C. 757. Merc. rex, Cearl, ii. 14, p. 114 and note; Penda, ii. 20, p. 124 and note; iii. 7, p. 140; iii. 9, p. 145; iii. 17, p. 160; iii. 24, p. 177; Wulfhere, iii. 7, p. 141 and note; iii. 30; v. 24, p. 354 and note; Ethelred, iv. 12, p. 228 and note; iv. 21; Ethelbald, v. 23, p. 350 and note; v. 24, p. 356; C. 740, 757; Cenred, v. 24, p. 356; Ceolred, *ib.*; Cenulf, II. 53; Offa, II. 20, 57; Eowa, II. 152; *v.* Mercinenses, Sundarangli.

Mercii Aquilonares, extent of, iii. 24, p. 180; separated from the Southern Mercians by the Trent, *ib.*

Mercii Australes, extent of, iii. 24, p. 180; kingdom of, granted by Oswy to Penda, *ib.* and note.

Mercinenses, Ethelred king of, iv. 17, p. 239 and note; *v.* Mercii.

MEREDYTH, James, perhaps owned MS. Bu., p. cxx.

Meridiani Saxones, *v.* Sax. Mer.

MERLIN, on the kings of England, p. cvii; prophecies of, II. 279.

MEROVINGI, origin of the name, II. 88.

MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD, OWNS

- MS. O<sub>15</sub>, p. cxxv; MS. M of Bede's Ep. to Egbert, p. cxli.
- MESSANA, Felix bishop of, II. 47.
- METHODIUS, Jerome's translation of, pp. cxviii, cxix.
- METRICA ARS, Bede on, v. 24, p. 359; v. Baeda.
- METZ, Aigulfus bishop of, II. 40.
- MEUNIAE insulae, Anglesey and Man, *q. v.*, islands of the Britons between Britain and Ireland, ii. 5, p. 89; reduced by Edwin, *ib.*; ii. 9, p. 97 and note (cf. II. 114); description and dimensions of, *ib.* and notes; II. 40, 41.
- MICHAEL, archangelus, cemetery of, near Hexham, v. 2, p. 283; appears to Wilfrid, v. 19, p. 329; cf. II. 315.
- MIDDILANGLI, iii. 21, p. 169 and note; v. 24, p. 354; retain their separate existence under Mercia, II. 176; v. Angli Mediterranei.
- MILAN, letter of Gregory I to clergy of, II. 62; archbishops of, Anselm V, II. 51; Asterius, II. 142; Benedictus Crispus, II. 281.
- MILDRED, St., monastery of, in Thanet, II. 219; Life of, II. 41.
- MILED, sons of, colonise Ireland, II. 125.
- '*militia caelestis*,' of the monastic life, II. 180, 181, 356, 362.
- MILLES, Jeremiah, dean of Exeter, former owner of MS. A<sub>7</sub>, p. cxxiii.
- MILLFIELD, near Wooler, Northumberland, equated by Camden with Maelmin, II. 105.
- MINDRUM, Northumberland, equated by Moberly with Maelmin, II. 105.
- '*ministerium*' = '*comitatus*,' II. 164.
- MIRACLES, Bede's view of, p. lxxv note; mediaeval, pp. lxiv, lxxv; II. 209; tendency to heighten miraculous element, p. xlvi; II. 277, 278.
- MISCHNA, meaning of term, II. 387.
- MISSA, first use of the term, II. 44; masses for the dead, pp. xxvii, xxviii, lxxii, lxxvi, clx, clxiii; iv. 22; v. 14 *ad fin.*; II. 387.
- '*mittere*' = '*mettre*,' to put, II. 124, 166.
- MOBERLY, Rev. George, his edition of Bede's H. E., p. lxxxii; of Bede's Hist. Abb., p. cxxxix; of Bede's Ep. to Egbert, p. cxlii.
- MOESIA, Upper, Constantine the Great born in, II. 21.
- MOGH, v. Leth Mogha.
- MOINEN, Irish name of Nynias, II. 128.
- MOLD, Flintshire, traditional scene of Hallelujah victory near, II. 34.
- MOMMSEN, Theodor, his testimony to Bede, pp. xlv, xlvi note.
- MONASTERIES, *pueri nutriti*, oblati, in, p. ix note; II. 378; reception of strangers in, p. xiii; life in, p. xvii; schools in, v. Schools; libraries in, v. Libraries; scriptoria of, p. xx; scribes and illuminators in, pp. xx, xxviii note; organisation of, pp. xxiv ff.; manual labour in, p. xxv; II. 76, 209, 299, 362; medicine practised in, p. xxv; canonical hours in, pp. xxv, xxvi; siesta allowed in, p. xxvi; reception of novices in, *ib.*; dormitory of, II. 219, 250, 362; infirmary of, p. xxvii; II. 197; prayers for dying and dead in, pp. xxvii, xxviii; confraternity of prayer between, p. xxvii note; mutual hospitality between, p. xxviii; hospice and '*praepositus hospitum*' in, p. xxviii; II. 272; discipline of, under abbot and prior, pp. xxviii, xxix; chapters of, pp. xxix, xxx note; iii. 5, p. 137 and note; asceticism in, pp. xxx-xxxii; decline of, pp. xxxii, xxxiv, xxxv; discord in, p. xxxii; friendships in, p. xxxiii; rise of false, p. xxxiv; II. 385, 386; power of abbot in, pp. xxviii, xxix; abbots of,

women, II. 150; professor II. 161, 197; exemption from episcopal jurisdiction 213; episcopal visitation of 385, 386; monastic life system of, II. 167; rigorous communistic rule in, II. 387, 388; bells in, II. 248; ; of Irish, II. 259; extravagance of dress in, *ib.*; disorders II. 258, 259; dispersal of mates of, II. 262; clan system in Irish, *ib.*; hereditary tendencies in English, II. 263, 275, 363, 386; use of Psalter in, II. 270; violated, by Ceolred and Osred, 306; indiscriminate adoption of monastic life, II. 306; election of abbot in, II. 36; resignation of abbot in, II. 36; ignorance of Latin in, II. 36, 380; forms for benediction of abbot of, II. 369; connexion with northern sees with, II. 38; scheme of Bede for connecting episcopal jurisdiction with, II. 384, 385; early Jerusalem church regarded as a monastery, II. 387, 388; compulsory entrance into II. 221, 306, 331, 340, 341; plague in, *v.* Plague.

**MONK**, General, joins in restoration of Charles II, p. cxxii.

**MONKS**, forbidden to marry

of, in Book of Armagh, II. 25.

**MUL**, brother of Cædwalla, joins in the conquest of Wight, II. 228; set up by Cædwalla as king in Kent, II. 265.

**MURUM**, ad, v. *Ad Murum*.

**MYRDDIN**, v. *Merlin*.

**MYTHS**, classical, transferred to hagiology, p. lxiv; II. 18, 60.

**N.**

**Naiton** (*Nechtan*), king of the Picts, son of Derile, succeeds his brother Brude, II. 331; sends envoys to Ceolfrid, abbot of Wearmouth, v. 21, pp. 332, 333 and notes; asks for architects, *ib.* p. 333 and notes (cf. II. 101); letter of Ceolfrid to, on the Easter and tonsure questions, *ib.* pp. 333-345 and notes; his joy at the receipt of it, *ib.* pp. 345, 346 and note; orders the adoption of the Roman Easter and tonsure in his kingdom, *ib.* p. 346; expels the Columbite clergy for not conforming, II. 331; dethroned, restored, defeated, and dies, *ib.*

**NAMUR**, MS. of H. E. belonging to, pp. lxxxvi-lxxxviii.

**NAPLES**, v. *Neapolis*.

**NARBONNE**, the Saracens establish themselves at, II. 339.

**NATALIUS**, a heretic bishop, legend of, II. 89.

**NATIONAL UNITY**, influence of the Church on, II. 200, 205, 211; slow growth of feeling of, II. 155, 225, 227.

**Natura Rerum**, Bede on, v. 24, p. 359; v. *Baeda*.

**NATURES**, Humphrey, monk of Peterborough, and rector of Paston, perhaps owned MS. O<sub>2</sub>, p. cxix.

**NATURES**, Humphrey, monk of Peterborough, formerly owned MS. Gough Missal, 47, p. cxix.

**Neapolis**, Naples, Niridanum near, iv. 1, p. 202.

**NECHTAN**, v. *Naiton*.

**NECHTANSMERE**, Dunnichen Moss, Forfarshire, Egfrid slain at, p. xxxiii; II. 261, 301.

**Neemias**, Bede's commentary on, v. 24, p. 358; v. *Baeda*; chapters of readings on, *ib.*; example of, cited, p. xxxv; II. 381, 382.

**NENDRUM**, Co. Down, Cronan Bec bishop of, II. 112.

**NENNIUS**, MSS. of, pp. cxviii, cxxi; cited, II. 7, 8, 13, 16, 24, 25, 64, 141, 152, 182-184; his theory of the origin of the Scotti, II. 8; his version of the coming of the Saxons, II. 27; of the baptism of Edwin, II. 100, 101; De la Borderie on, II. 27, 28; name Nennius equated with Nynias, II. 128.

'nepos' = nephew, II. 141, 244.

**Nero**, emperor, succeeds Claudius, i. 3; nearly loses Britain, *ib.*; Vespasian reigns after, *ib.*; his persecution of the Christians, i. 6.

**Nestorius**, heretic, Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon against, iv. 17, p. 240 and notes (cf. II. 230).

**NETHININ**, equated by Bede with subdeacons, p. cxlv note.

**NEWARK**, equated by some with Tiowulfingacæstir, II. 109.

**NEWARK**, Henry of, v. *Henry*.

**NEWBURGH**, William of, v. *William*.

**NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE**, Edward Balliol does homage to Edward III at, p. cvii.

**NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD**, owns MS. O<sub>18</sub>, p. cxiv.

**Nicaea**, Council of, against Arius, iv. 17, p. 240 and note.

**NICCOLÒ PISANO**, and the renaissance, II. 240.

**Nicenum Concilium**, Nicæna Synodus, condemns Arianism, i. 8 and note; its decision on the Paschal question, ii. 19, p. 122; iii. 25, p. 186 (cf. p. xi note; II. 190, 201, 349, 350 note).

**NICOLAS I**, pope, rebukes Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, II. 52; letter of, to Ado, archbishop of Vienne, II. 212.

NICOLAS, prior of Worcester, letter of, to Eadmer, II. 140, 224.

NICOSTRATUS, a saint. II. 91.

NIDD, fluvius, the Nidd, Yorkshire. synod on, under Osred about Wilfrid, v. 19, p. 329; II. 306, 320.

NIDUARI PICTI, or Picti of Gallo-way, II. 128.

NIHTRED, v. Uictred.

Nineuitae, example of, cited, iv. 25, p. 262.

Niridanum, near Naples, iv. 1, p. 202 and note; Hadrian abbot of monastery of, *ib.* and note.

NISSA, Upper Moesia, Constantine the Great born at, II. 21.

NOAH, pedigree of descendants of, p. cxxiii.

NOBILITY of birth and nobility of mind, II. 90, 91; meaning of nobility of birth in Bede, II. 356; growth of nobility by service, *ib.*

NOKE, origin of the name, II. 103.

NOLA, Paulinus of, v. Paulinus.

NOON, origin of the name, II. 139.

NORBERT, archbishop of Magdeburg, II. 290.

Nordanhymbri, royal race of, descended from Ida, v. 24, p. 353; materials for history of, partly derived by Bede from Albinus and Nothelm, partly from oral testimony, partly from personal knowledge, Pref. pp. 6, 7; of Anglian origin, i. 15, p. 31; name applied to tribes north of the Humber, *ib.* and note; ii. 5, p. 89; ii. 9, p. 97; districts of, ravaged by Penda, iii. 16 and notes; Tuda succeeds Colman in pontificate of, iii. 26, p. 189; Wilfrid holds the bishopric of, iv. 3, p. 206; II. 323; Incuneningum a district of, v. 12, p. 304 and note; Ethelbald devastates a part of, C. 740; II. 342. Nordanhymbrorum dux regius, Bertred, v. 24, p. 355. Nord.ecclesia, ruin of, after the battle of Hatfield, ii. 20, p. 125. Nord.ecclesiae, custom of, during the episcopate of the Scotti, iii. 26, p. 191 and

note; Aeddi teaches chanting to, iv. 2, p. 205. Nord. gens, Edwin king of, ii. 5, p. 89; ii. 9, p. 97; divided into Deiri and Bernicii, iii. 1, p. 127 and note; converted by Paulinus, ii. 9, p. 97 and note; Paulinus bishop of, v. 24, p. 353; zeal of, for baptism, ii. 14, pp. 114, 115 and note; Eanfled the first of, to be baptized, ii. 9, p. 99; conversion of, made known to Pope Honorius, ii. 17, p. 118; devastation of, after the battle of Hatfield, ii. 20, p. 125; Wilfrid bishop of, iv. 5, p. 215; bishops placed over, in Wilfrid's place, iv. 12, p. 229 and notes; Oswald at the head of, iv. 14, p. 234; Aldfrid rules, v. 1, p. 282; many in, adopt the monastic life, v. 23, p. 351 and note; Ceadda and Wilfrid consecrated bishops of, v. 24, p. 354. Nord. provincia, frequently visited by Sigbert of Essex, iii. 22, p. 171; and by Cedd, iii. 23, p. 174; Cedd dies and is buried in, *ib.* p. 176; ravages of the plague in, iii. 27, p. 192; II. 195; Oswy king of, iii. 29, p. 196; Heia the first in, to take the veil, iv. 23, p. 253; Wilfrid bishop of the whole of, v. 19, p. 326; II. 323; four bishops of, in 731, v. 23, p. 350 and notes (cf. II. 129); Ceolwulf king of, in 731, *ib.*

Nord. provinciae (i. e. Bernicia and Deira), ravaged by Oswald, iii. 1, p. 128. Nord. regnum, Cenred succeeds Osred in, v. 22, p. 346 and notes.

Nord. rex, Edwin, ii. 5, p. 89 and note; Oswald, *ib.* and note; iii. 7, p. 139; iii. 9, p. 144; Oswy, iii. 21, p. 169; iv. 1, p. 201; iv. 5, p. 214 and note; v. 24, p. 354; Egfrid, iv. 26, p. 266; v. 24, p. 355; Aldfrid, v. 18, p. 320; v. 19, p. 329; v. 24, p. 356; Osmic, v. 23, pp. 348, 349 and notes; Osred, v. 24, p. 356; Alfwold, II. 130; v. Ambrones, Humbrenses, Hym-

bronenses, Northumbri, Transhumbranus, Ultra-Umbrenses, Umbrensis.

**NORFOLK**, one of the divisions of East Anglia, II. 108, 168.

**NORHAM**, Northumberland, body of Ceolwulf translated to, II. 340.

**NORTHUMBRI**, Egbert called bishop of the, II. 285; v. Nordanhymbri.

**NORTHUMBRIA**, importance of, and of its monasteries, p. xi notes; threatened by Picts, p. xxxiv; II. 206, 385; converted by monks from Iona, p. xviii; asceticism of Church of, p. xxx; Irish influence on Church of, *ib.*; p. clvii; decline of, in Bede's time, pp. xxxiii, xxxiv; II. 343; pedigree of kings of, p. cvi; temples in, destroyed, II. 58; written law not adopted in, II. 87; alliance of, with Kent, II. 117; church-building in, II. 123; relations of, to Picts and Dalriadic Scots, II. 346; v. Lindissi.

**NORWICH**, East Anglian see removed to, II. 108; bishops of, Henry Despensers, p. cxxvii; Herbert Losinga, II. 147.

**'NOTARIUS'** = shorthand writer, p. xx note.

**NOTATIONES DE SANCTIS**, p. cxxvi (cf. p. cxxviii).

**Nothelmus**, a priest of the Church of London, Pref. p. 6; brings presents and letters from Albinus to Bede, I. 3; Pref. p. 6; visits Rome, *ib.* and note; brings documents for Bede from the Roman archives, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 45); consecrated archbishop (of Canterbury), C. 735; dies, C. 739; succeeded by Cuthbert, C. 740; Bede's *De Templo and In Libros Regum* dedicated to, p. xlix note; II. 2; faulty MS. belonging to, p. lv note; chronology of his life, II. 3; furnishes Bede with information, II. 13, 14, 28; St. Boniface sends to, for a copy of Gregory's *Responsa*, II. 45, 47.

**NOVA FORESTA**, death of William II in, II. 29.

**Noum Testamentum**, Bede's chapters of readings on, v. 24. p. 358; v. Baeda.

**NOVICES**, v. Monasteries.

**Numbers**, book of, cited, v. 21, p. 335.

**NUMBERS**, tendency to corruption of, in MSS. p. lvi; symbolism of, pp. lx, lxi note; II. 334, 356.

**NUNS**, as copyists, p. xx note.

**NURSING**, Hants, Winbert abbot of, II. 371.

**Nynias**, a Briton, instructed at Rome, iii. 4, p. 133 and note; evangelises the Southern Picts, *ib.* and notes (cf. II. 76); his see at Whithorn, *ib.* and notes; builds a church of stone, where he is buried, *ib.* and notes; date of, II. 128; Ailred's Life of, II. 128, 129; probably a Strathclyde Briton, II. 128; Irish traditions about, *ib.*; Irish name of, *ib.*; dedications to, *ib.*; corruptions of name of, II. 129; verses on, by scholars of York, *ib.*

## O.

**OBLATA**, II. 270.

**'obsequium'**, = escort, train, II. 19, 331; used of the solemn foot-washing, II. 238.

**Occidentales Saxones**, v. Saxones Occidentales.

**Octa**, son of Oeric, ii. 5, p. 90.

**Odo**, archbishop of Canterbury, translates what he believed to be the body of Wilfrid to Canterbury, II. 328; Dunstan's homage to, II. 377.

**Odo**, abbot of the monastery of St. Martin's, Tournai, a great scribe, pp. xx, xxi.

**ODOACER**, overthrows the Western Empire, II. 35.

**OEDIPUS**, myth of, transferred to hagiology, II. 18.

**Oengus**, king of the Picts, Cuthred of Wessex rises against, C. 750 and note; his tyranny and death, C. 761; son of Fergus,

- II. 346; joins Eadbert against Dumbarton, *ib.*
- Oeric, cognomento Oisc, son of Hengist, ii. 5, p. 90.
- OFFA, an unknown chief of Lindsey, II. 217.
- Offa, son of Sighere king of the East Saxons, v. 19, p. 322 and note; resigns his position and goes to Rome, *ib.* and notes; becomes a monk and dies there, *ib.* and note; succeeded by Selred, II. 314; said to have wished to marry a daughter of Penda, *ib.*; wrongly made king of the East Angles, II. 217.
- OFFA, son of Ethelfrid, II. 99.
- Offa, king of the Mercians, expels Beornred, and seizes the kingdom, C. 757; II. 342; traditional founder of St. Alban's, II. 20; attempts to make Lichfield an archbishopric, II. 57; the first to introduce written law into Mercia, II. 87; his dyke, II. 152; adorns Oswald's tomb, II. 155; Eanwulf grandfather of, II. 341.
- Ofthor, bishop of the Hwiccas, studies under Hild at Hartlepool and Whitby, iv. 23, p. 254; goes to Kent and studies under Theodore, *ib.* pp. 254, 255; thence to Rome, *ib.* p. 255; returns to Britain and goes to the Hwiccas, *ib.* and note; made bishop of the Hwiccas, *ib.* and note; consecrated by Wilfrid, *ib.*; II. 319; spurious grant of Ethelred to, II. 154; date of death of, II. 246; succeeded by Egwin, *ib.*
- Oddi, presbyter, assists Wilfrid in the evangelisation of Sussex, iv. 13, p. 230.
- Oidiluald (Ethelwald), son of Oswald, opposed to Oswy, iii. 14, p. 154 (cf. II. 179); king of the Deiri, iii. 23, p. 174 and notes (cf. II. 120); gives Cedd land for the foundation of a monastery at Lastingham, *ib.* pp. 174, 175 and notes; has Cedd's brother Caolin as his chaplain, *ib.* p. 175 and note; summons Cedd to him, *ib.* p. 176; acts as guide to the Mercians against Oswy, iii. 24, p. 178 and note; remains neutral in the battle of the Winwæd, *ib.*; II. 179; possibly set up by Penda, *ib.*; succeeded by Aelfrid, II. 189.
- Oidiluald (Ethelwald), presbyter, a monk of Ripon, v. 1, p. 281; succeeds Cuthbert as anchorite of Farne, *ib.* and note; miracle wrought by, *ib.* pp. 281, 282; dies in Farne, and is buried in Lindisfarne, *ib.* p. 282 and note; fate of his relics, II. 272; succeeded by Felgeld, II. 273.
- On, calms the sea, II. 165.
- Oisc, cognomentum of Oeric, ii. 5, p. 90; kings of the Cantuarii called Oiscingas from, *ib.* and note.
- Oiscingas, patronymic of the Kentish kings, ii. 5, p. 90 and note.
- OSIN, OSSENE, Irish forms of the name Oswine, II. 163.
- OSIN, or Ossian, son of Finn mac Cumail, II. 163.
- Oliuarum Mons, description of, v. 17, pp. 318, 319.
- 'OLOSERICUS,' II. 362.
- Omellae, Bede's two books of, v. 24, p. 358; v. Baeda.
- ONDREN, Andred, Cædwalla takes refuge in, II. 228.
- ONGENDUS, king of the Danes, Wilbrord attempts to convert, II. 290; identified with Ongen-theow in the Beowulf, *ib.*
- ONGENTHROW, v. Ogendus.
- ÖNGULS-RY, Icelandic name of Anglesey, II. 94.
- opobalsamum, iii. 8, p. 144 and note.
- Oppidum Uitorum, v. Uiltaburg.
- Oroades insulae, at the back of Britain, i. 1, p. 9; added to the Roman empire by Claudius, i. 3 and notes; v. 24, p. 352; Saxons defeated at, by Stilicho, II. 10, 13; basis of attacks on Britain, II. 13, 14; Picts said to have occupied, II. 13; attacked by Aedan mac Gabrain,

- and by Brude, II. 13, 14; seat of a Scandinavian power, II. 14; called 'Organae,' *ib.*; said to have been subject to Edwin, II. 86; king of, said to have been present in battle of Hatfield, II. 116.
- ORDERICUS VITALIS**, born at Attingham or Atcham-on-Severn, II. 193.
- ORGANAE**, *v.* Orcades.
- ORIEL COLLEGE**, OXFORD, MS. belonging to, p. clvi note.
- Orientalis**, equinox fixed by, v. 21, p. 339 and note.
- Orientalis Angli**, *v.* Angli *Orientalis*.
- Orientalis Saxones**, *v.* Saxones *Orientalis*.
- ORIGEN**, heretical, pp. li, lii note; influence of, on patristic exegesis, p. lvi note; his *Hexameron*, II. 7.
- ORLEANS**, bishops of, Prosper, II. 32; Theodulf, II. 282; importance of school of, p. xx note; a body of Alani settled at, II. 34; Theoderic king of, II. 39.
- OROSIUS**, extracts from, p. cxviii; used without acknowledgement by Bede, p. xxiv note (cf. II. 12); Bede corrects an error of, II. 13.
- Orthographia**, Bede on, v. 24, p. 359; *v.* Baeda.
- 'OSAIC'**, II. 238.
- Osfrid**, son of Edwin by his first wife Cwenburg, ii. 14, p. 114 and note; baptized, *ib.*; father of Yffi, *ib.* and note; slain in the battle of Hatfield, ii. 20, p. 124 and note.
- OSFRITH**, 'praefectus in Bromnis,' Wilfrid in custody of, II. 325.
- OSGUILD**, *v.* Oslac.
- OSHERE**, king of the Hwiccas, II. 247.
- OSLAC**, or Osguid (Oswith), son of Ethelfrid, II. 99.
- OSLAF**, son of Ethelfrid, II. 99.
- OSRED**, king of the Northumbrians, succeeds his father Aldfrid, v. 18, p. 320 and note; Hædde dies in the reign of, *ib.* and note; Cenred of Mercia resigns in the fourth year of, v. 19, p. 321 and notes; synod on the Nidd about Wilfrid under, *ib.* p. 329; Abbot Hadrian dies in fifth year of, v. 20, p. 330 and note; slain and succeeded by Cenred, v. 22, p. 346 and note; v. 24, p. 356; II. 337; exchanges land with Ceolfred, Hab. § 15, p. 380 and note; his viciousness and tyranny, II. 306, 314; attacks on the Church date from, II. 314, 386.
- OSRIC**, son of Aelfric, succeeds his cousin Edwin in Deira, iii. 1, p. 127 and notes; converted by Paulinus, *ib.* (cf. II. 103); relapses into paganism, *ib.* (cf. II. 18); slain by Cædwalla, *ib.* p. 128 and notes; not reckoned in list of kings, *ib.* and notes (cf. iii. 9, p. 145); father of Oswin, iii. 14, p. 154 and notes.
- OSRIC**, king of the Hwiccas, iv. 23, p. 255 and note; founder of St. Peter's monastery, Gloucester, p. cxiv; doubtful charter of, II. 215, 246, 247; probably son of Eanfrid, *ib.*; wrongly identified with Osric of Northumbria, *ib.*; II. 338.
- OSRIC**, king of the Northumbrians, succeeds Cenred, v. 23, p. 348 and note; Witred of Kent dies in his seventh year, *ib.*; names Ceolwulf as his successor, *ib.* p. 349 and note; dies, *ib.* and note; v. 24, p. 356; wrongly identified with Osric of the Hwiccas, II. 247, 338; said to have been concerned in the slaying of Osred, II. 336; question as to his father, II. 337, 338.
- OSSLAN**, *v.* Oisín.
- Osthryd**, queen of the Mercians, daughter of Oswy, wife of Ethelfred of Mercia, iii. 11, p. 148 and note; translates the bones of her uncle Oswald to Bardney, *ib.* and notes; a great benefactor of that monastery, *ib.*; sojourns there, *ib.* p. 149; receives there a visit from Abbess Ethelhild,



*ib.*; sister of Egfrid and Ælfwine, iv. 21 and notes; II. 326; causes the expulsion of Wilfrid from Mercia, *ib.*; murdered by the Mercian nobles, v. 24, p. 355; II. 154.

**Oswald**, king of the Northumbrians, son of Ethelfrid, II. 99, 124; Rex Christianissimus, ii. 5, p. 89 and note (cf. iii. 9, p. 144); extent of his power, *ib.* and notes; sixth of the seven great English kings, *ib.* and notes; Oswy brother of, *ib.*; completes the church of St. Peter at York, ii. 14, p. 114; ii. 20, p. 125; Eadfrid murdered by Penda in his reign, *ib.* and note; Edwin's son and grandson sent to Gaul for fear of, *ib.* p. 126 and note; II. 116; reigns of Osric and Eanfrid reckoned as part of his reign, iii. 1, p. 128 and notes (cf. iii. 9 *ad init.*); slays Cædwalla at Denisesburn, *ib.* and notes; cross erected by, at Hefenfelth before the battle, iii. 2, pp. 128-131 and notes; the monks of Hexham celebrate the eve of his obit there, *ib.* p. 129 and notes (cf. II. 138); sends for a bishop to the elders of the Scotti, iii. 5, pp. 136, 137 and notes; iii. 3, p. 131 and note; himself converted while in exile, *ib.* and note; grants Lindisfarne as a see, *ib.* p. 132 and notes; acts as interpreter to Aidan, *ib.* and notes (cf. p. xlv); provinces of the Angli ruled by, *ib.* (cf. II. 86); well acquainted with the language of the Scotti, *ib.* and note; II. 165; instructed by Aidan, iii. 6, p. 137; all nations and provinces of Britain subject to, *ib.* p. 138 and note; anecdote of his charity, *ib.* and notes; his hands preserved as relics at Bamborough, *ib.* and notes; unites the provinces of Bernicia and Deira, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 120); nephew of Edwin by his sister Acha, *ib.* p. 139

and note; godfather and son-in-law of Cynegils, iii. 7, p. 139 and notes; joins in granting Dorchester to Birinus, *ib.* and note; length of his reign, iii. 9, p. 144 and notes; slain by Penda at Maserfelth, *ib.* p. 145 and notes; v. 24, p. 354; his age, iii. 9, p. 145 and note; miracles wrought on the spot, *ib.* pp. 145, 146 and notes; and by dust taken from it, iii. 10 and note; his bones translated to Bardney by Osthryth, queen of the Mercians, iii. 11, p. 148 and notes; the monks at first refuse to receive them, *ib.* and note; a divine light shines above them, *ib.* pp. 148, 149 and notes; they are enshrined, *ib.* p. 148 and note; miracles wrought through the water in which they had been washed, *ib.* pp. 148-150 and notes; had ruled over Lindsey, *ib.* p. 148 and note; a boy cured of fever at his tomb, iii. 12, pp. 150, 151 and notes; his devotion, *ib.* p. 151 (cf. p. xxvi note); his dying prayer, *ib.* and note; his head and hands impaled by Penda, *ib.*; rescued by Oswy, *ib.* p. 152 and note; his head buried at Lindisfarne, his hands at Bamborough, *ib.* and note; his fame in Britain, Germany, and Ireland, iii. 13, p. 152, and note (cf. II. 228); relics of, in Frisia, *ib.*; miracle wrought in Ireland by wood from the stake on which his head was set, *ib.* pp. 152-154; succeeded by his brother Oswy, iii. 14, p. 154 and notes; father of Ethelwald, *ib.*; iii. 23, p. 174 and note; iii. 24, p. 178; plague at Selsey stayed by intercession of, iv. 14, pp. 234, 235 and notes; his obit entered in the 'annale' of Selsey, *ib.* p. 235 and note; his exile in Iona, II. 99; MS. O, probably belonged to a monastery dedicated to, p. cxviii note; lections on, p. cxix; I. 428-431; Life of, by Reginald of Durham,

p. cxxxvii, II. 161; by Drogo, II. 142, 161; by Capgrave, *ib.*; Saga of, *ib.*; his election as king, II. 121; date of his *de facto* accession, *ib.*; relates to Seghine of Iona his vision of St. Columba before the battle of Denisesburn, II. 121, 122; battle against, in 638, II. 152; the first English martyr and worker of miracles, II. 153; fate of his relics, II. 141, 157, 158; cultus of, on the Continent and in Ireland, II. 158-160; churches dedicated to, in Britain, II. 159; confused with Aldfrid, *ib.*; Edith, wife of Otho I, wrongly described as descendant of, II. 160; plague in reign of, II. 195.

**Osuini**, king of the Deiri, of the stock of Edwin, son of Osric, iii. 14, p. 154 and notes; succeeds Oswald in Deira, *ib.* (cf. II. 120); unable to cope with Oswy, *ib.* p. 155; dismisses his army and takes refuge with Hunwald, *ib.*; betrayed and foully murdered at Gilling by Oswy's orders, *ib.* and notes (cf. v. 24, p. 354; II. 116); Gilling monastery founded for the good of his soul, *ib.* and note (cf. iii. 24, p. 180); his beauty of person and character, *ib.* pp. 155, 156 and note; nobles from all parts enter his comitatus, *ib.* p. 156 and note; anecdote of his humility, *ib.* pp. 156, 157 and notes (cf. II. 136, 367); Aidan foretells his death, *ib.* p. 157 and note; ignorant of Irish, *ib.* and note; Trumhere a relative of, iii. 24, p. 180 and note; miracle wrought by relics of, II. 155; Life of, &c., II. 162; in exile in Wessex, *ib.*; confused with Oswy, *ib.*; date of accession of, II. 163; Irish forms of name of, *ib.*; cross erected to, at Collingham, II. 164; buried at Tynemouth, *ib.*; translation of, *ib.*; question of his martyrdom, *ib.*

**Osuini**, slain, C. 761.

**Osuio**, **Osuio**, king of the North-

umbrians, son of Ethelfrid, II. 99, 161; his exile, II. 99; question of his mother, II. 161, 236; brother of Oswald, ii. 5, p. 89 (cf. iii. 14, p. 154 and note); the seventh of the seven great English kings, *ib.* and notes (cf. II. 201, 208, 211); reduces to a great extent the Picts and Scots in Britain, *ib.* pp. 89, 90 and notes (cf. iii. 24, p. 180 and note; iv. 3, p. 206 and note); father of Osthryth wife of Ethelred of Mercia, iii. 11, p. 148 and note; rescues Oswald's head and hands, iii. 12, p. 152 and note; succeeds Oswald, iii. 14, p. 154 and notes; has to contend against various enemies, *ib.* (cf. II. 179); causes Oswin to be murdered at Gilling, *ib.* p. 155 and notes (cf. II. 116, 179); Gilling monastery founded for the good of soul of, *ib.* and notes (cf. iii. 24, p. 180); marries Eanfled, daughter of Edwin, iii. 15, p. 157 and note; his daughter Alchfrid marries Peada, iii. 21, pp. 169, 170 and note; Alchfrid son of, *ib.* p. 170; iii. 24, p. 178; annexes Mercia on the death of Penda, iii. 21, pp. 170, 171; exerts himself for the reconversion of the East Saxons, iii. 22, p. 171 and notes; their king Sigbert frequently visits, *ib.* and note; Sigbert converted by arguments of, *ib.* pp. 171, 172 and notes; at his request sends Cedd to reconvert the East Saxons, *ib.* p. 172; attempts to buy off Penda, iii. 24, p. 177 and notes; his vow, *ib.*; defeats and slays Penda on the Winwæd, *ib.* p. 178 and notes; his son Egfrid a hostage in Mercia, *ib.* and note; fulfilment of his vow, *ib.* and notes (cf. p. xxxiv note); his daughter Elfled dedicated, *ib.* pp. 178, 179 and note; buried at Whitby, *ib.* p. 179 and note (cf. II. 116, 211); gives land at Gilling to found a monastery, *ib.* pp. 179, 180 and notes; rules

over the Mercians and southern provinces for three years, *ib.* p. 180 and notes; places Peada over the South Mercians, *ib.* and notes; the Mercians rebel against, *ib.* and notes; discord in the household of, on the Easter question, p. xl; *iii.* 25, p. 182 (cf. *II.* 350); had been educated by the Scotti, *ib.*; *iii.* 29, p. 196; familiar with their language, *iii.* 25, p. 182 and note (cf. *II.* 165); opens the Synod of Whitby, *ib.* p. 183 and note; decides in favour of the Roman Easter, *ib.* pp. 188, 189 and note; accepts the Roman Church as catholic, *iii.* 29, p. 196; his regard for Colman, *iii.* 26, p. 190; at his request makes Eata abbot of Lindisfarne, *ib.* and note; sends Ceadda to Kent to be consecrated, *iii.* 28, pp. 194, 195 and note; *v.* 19, p. 326 and note; *II.* 316; confers with Egbert of Kent on the state of the English Church, *iii.* 29, p. 196 and note; they agree to send Wighard to Rome to be consecrated archbishop, *ib.* and note; *iv.* 1, p. 201; letter of Vitalian addressed to, as king of the Saxons, *iii.* 29, pp. 196-199 and notes; asked by Theodore to send Ceadda to Mercia as bishop, *iv.* 3, p. 206 and note; his illness and death, *v.* 24, p. 354; *iv.* 5, p. 214 and note; had wished to go to Rome and had asked Wilfrid to accompany him, *ib.* (cf. *II.* 317); succeeded by Egfrid, *ib.* and note; Aldfrid said to be son of, *iv.* 26, p. 268 and note; consents to Wilfrid's consecration, *v.* 19, p. 325; Benedict Biscop a thane of, *Hab.* § 1; forbids his son Alchfrid to go to Rome, *Hab.* § 2; annexes Deira, *II.* 120; governs it through Alchfrid and then Egfrid as under-kings, *ib.*; recovers Lindsey, *II.* 155; question of date of death of, *II.* 162, 211; confused with Oswin, *ib.*; mis-

takes as to regnal years of, *II.* 162, 164, 185; wars of, against the Britons, *II.* 181; limitation of power of, at beginning of his reign, *II.* 181, 182, 186, 187.

**OSUULF**, king of the Northumbrians, succeeds his father Eadbert, *C.* 758; treacherously murdered by his thanes, *C.* 759.

**OSWALD**, archbishop of York, his devotion, p. xxvi note; story of King Edgar and, *II.* 165.

**OSWESTRY**, probably identical with Maserfelth, *q.v.*, origin of the name, *II.* 152, 153.

**OSWINTHORP**, near Leeds, royal residence at, *II.* 105.

**OSWITE**, *v.* Osalac.

**OSWUDU**, son of Ethelfrid, *II.* 99.

**OTFRIED**, monk of Weissenburg, translates the Gospels into German verse, *II.* 249; his letter to Liutbert of Mainz, *ib.*

**OTHO I**, emperor, marries Edith, sister of Athelstan, *II.* 160.

**OTHO II**, emperor, Matilda daughter of, *II.* 238.

**OTHONA**, *v.* Ythanceastr.

**OUINI**, monachus, with Ceadda at time of his death, *iv.* 3, pp. 207-209; his character, *ib.* pp. 207, 208 and notes (cf. p. xxv); had been thane and master of the household to Ethelthryth, *ib.* p. 208 and note; enters the monastery of Lastingham, *ib.*; his miraculous experiences, *ib.* pp. 208, 209 and notes; church at Gloucester dedicated to, *II.* 209.

**OUNDLE**, *v.* In Undalum.

**OVID**, cited by Bede, pp. lii note, liii.

## P.

**PACHASINUS**, bishop of Lilybasum, *II.* 96.

**Padda**, presbyter, assists Wilfrid in the conversion of Sussex, *iv.* 13, p. 230.

**Pægnalæsch**, ? Finchale near Durham, Tuda buried in monastery

- of, iii. 27, p. 192 and note ; date of, doubtful, II. 149.
- PALATIOLUM**, Palentz, near Trèves, Adolana abbess of, II. 185.
- PALGRAVE**, Sir Francis, former owner of MS. A., p. cvii.
- Palladius**, sent by Celestinus as bishop to the believing Scotti, i. 13 and note ; v. 24, p. 352 ; later developments of his story, II. 25, 26 ; said to have induced Celestinus to send Germanus to Britain, II. 32.
- PALLADIUS**, bishop of Saintes, II. 39.
- Pallium**, history of, II. 49-52, 92, 341.
- Pamphylus**, martyr, the friend of Eusebius, v. 21, p. 341.
- Pancratius**, or Pancras, St., relics of, sent by Vitalian to Oswy, iii. 29, p. 198 ; church of, near Canterbury, converted from a heathen temple, II. 58, 59.
- '**pandecte**,' meaning of term, II. 365.
- PANT**, the, v. Penta.
- PANTALEON**, St., church of, at Cologne, II. 18.
- Pantheon**, granted by Phocas to Boniface IV, ii. 4, p. 88 ; converted into a church, *ib.* and note.
- Parabolæ**, book of Proverbs, Bede's chapters of readings on, v. 24, p. 358 ; v. Baeda.
- Paradisus**, Ec. § 17, p. 422.
- paralysis**, II. 272.
- Parisiaca ciuitas**, Paris, Agilbert bishop of, iii. 7, p. 141 and notes ; iii. 28, p. 194 ; v. 19, p. 325 and note ; bishops of, Simplicius, II. 40 ; Importunus, II. 146 ; Sigeband, II. 322 ; Charibert king of, II. 42.
- Parisi**, Agilbert bishop of, iv. 1, p. 203 and note.
- '**parochia**,' use of term, II. 212.
- PAROCHIAL SYSTEM**, growth of, II. 290, 291, 380.
- PARSONSTOWN**, v. Birra.
- PARTICIPLES**, confusion of active and passive in Low Latin, II. 329, 330.
- PARTNEY**, v. Peartaneu.
- PASCHAL** I, pope, rebuilds the church of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, II. 292.
- PASCHAL CONTROVERSY**, pp. xxxix-xli, lxiii ; II. 74, 83, 112-114, 124, 125, 130, 188-193, 201, 267, 300-303, 331-335, 348-353.
- PASCHAL CYCLES**, p. xl ; II. 130, 334, 350, 351 ; influence of, on annalistic writing, *ib.*
- PASCHAL EPISTLES**, II. 334.
- PASTON**, Northants, Humphrey Natures rector of, p. cxix.
- PATERIUS**, the notary, his catena of passages from St. Gregory, p. xxiii note.
- PATERNUS**, an Irish 'inclusus,' burnt in his cell, p. xxxi note.
- PATIENS**, bishop of Lyons, Constantius' Life of Germanus addressed to, II. 32.
- PATRICK**, St., expels snakes from Ireland, II. 10 ; criticism of the legend of, II. 25, 26 (cf. II. 346) ; letter of, to Coroticus, of doubtful authenticity, II. 76 ; devotion of, to the Psalter, II. 137 ; vision of, II. 287 ; Patrick's Purgatory, II. 295 ; opposition of Loegaire to, II. 354.
- '**patruelis**,' II. 362, 371.
- PAULINA**, virgin, II. 242.
- Paulinus**, archbishop of York, sent by Gregory to aid Augustine, i. 29, p. 63 ; v. 24, p. 353 (cf. II. 93) ; converts Edwin and the Northumbrians, ii. 9, p. 97 and notes ; consecrated by Justus, v. 24, p. 353 ; ii. 9, p. 98 and note (cf. II. 96) ; accompanies Ethelberg to Northumbria, *ib.* and note ; his ill success at first, *ib.* ; receives from Edwin his daughter Enanfid to be dedicated to Christ, *ib.* p. 99 (cf. II. 372) ; instructs Edwin, *ib.* p. 100 ; reminds him of his mysterious experience and vow at the court of Redwald, ii. 12, pp. 107, 110, 111 (cf. II. 93) ; consents to the holding of a witenagemot as to the adoption

p. 115 and notes; builds a  
at Campodonum. *ib.* and  
evangelises Lindsey, ii. 16  
and notes; converts L  
prefect of Lincoln, *ib.* and  
builds a stone church in  
coln, *ib.* and notes; conse  
Honorius there, *ib.*; ii. 18,  
and notes (cf. II. 49, 52);  
tizies in the Trent, ii. 16, p  
his personal appearance, *ib.*  
deacon James, *ib.* and note  
cess of, made known to  
Honorius, ii. 17, p. 118; pal  
sent to, by Pope Honorius  
pp. 118, 119; ii. 20, p. 126  
note (cf. II. 51); left by him  
the church at Rochester,  
retires to Kent after battl  
Hatfield with Edwin's wid  
&c., *ib.* pp. 125, 126 and no  
v. 24, p. 354; accepts the  
of Rochester in succession  
Romanus, ii. 20, p. 126 (cf.  
cxxxvi; II. 110); leaves his deac  
James at York, *ib.* and not  
converts Osric, iii. 1, p. 12  
dies, iii. 14, p. 154 and not  
buried in St. Andrew's 'secr  
tarium,' Rochester, *ib.* and not  
first bishop of the Northun  
brians, iv. 22, p. 377

- Peter to unity with, Haa. § 25; monks of, informed of the intention to elect an abbot in place of Ceolfrid, Hab. § 18; senior monks of, take part in the election of Hwætbert, *ib.* and note; Haa. § 29; v. In Gyruum, Petrus et Paulus.
- Paulus, martyr, relics of, sent by Vitalian to Oswy, iii. 29, p. 198.
- PAULUS DIACONUS, his judgement on Theodore's penitential, p. clvii note; his Life of Gregory, II. 73, 389; uses the early Life of Gregory, *ib.*
- Peada, son of Penda, placed by his father as princeps over the Middle Angles, iii. 21, p. 169 and notes (cf. II. 185); asks Oswy's daughter Alchfrid in marriage, *ib.* pp. 169, 170 and note (cf. II. 94); persuaded to become a Christian by Alchfrid, *ib.* p. 170; baptized by Finan at place called Ad Murum, *ib.* and note; takes missionaries with him to evangelise his people, *ib.* and notes; Oswy grants the kingdom of the South Mercians to, iii. 24, p. 180 and note (cf. II. 344); murdered at the alleged instigation of his wife, *ib.*; Middle Angles converted under, v. 24, p. 354.
- Peanfahel, Pictish name of the beginning of the Roman wall, i. 12, p. 26 and note; v. Penneltun.
- Pearls in Britain, i. 1, p. 10 and note.
- Peartaneu, Partney, near Spilsby, Lincolnshire, Deda abbot of monastery of, ii. 16, p. 117 and note; Aldwine abbot of, iii. 11, p. 149; a cell of Bardney, II. 109.
- Pecthelm, bishop of Whithern, tells Bede the story of the impenitent Mercian thane, v. 13, p. 313 (cf. p. xlv note); of the miracles wrought at Hædde's tomb, v. 18, p. 320 (cf. p. xlv note); was a monk and deacon under Aldhelm, *ib.*; bishop of Whithern in 731, v. 23, p. 351 and note (cf. II. 224); letter of St. Boniface to, II. 343; first Anglian bishop of Whithern, *ib.*; meaning of name of, *ib.*; his see probably located in the monastery of Whithern, II. 384.
- PEHTWINE, bishop of Whithern, meaning of name of, II. 343.
- Pelagianus episcopus (Seuerianus), i. 17, p. 33 and note.
- Pelagiana heresis, II. 19, 21, 22, 334; introduced into Britain by Agricola, i. 17, p. 33 and notes; recrudescence of, i. 21, p. 39 and notes; revival of, in Ireland, ii. 19, pp. 122-124 and note; John, pope-elect, writes to the Irish against, *ib.*; refuted by Bede, pp. lxii, lxiii note, and *reff.* there given.
- Pelagius, Bretto, founder of the Pelagian heresy, i. 10 and notes; i. 17, p. 35; play on his name, II. 22.
- PELAGIUS II, pope, Gregory apocrisiarius to, II. 69 (cf. II. 73).
- PELAGIUS, bishop of Tours, II. 39.
- Pelassa lingua, i. e. Greek, v. 8, p. 295 and note.
- PENBROKE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, owns MS. P, pp. lxxxvi note, cv, cvi, cxxxvii.
- Penda, king of the Mercians, aids Cædwalla against Edwin, ii. 20, p. 124 and notes; iii. 9, p. 145 and note; II. 103; his varied fortune, ii. 20, p. 124 and notes; length of his reign, *ib.* and note; Eadfrid, son of Edwin, treacherously slain by, *ib.* pp. 124, 125 and note; an idolater with all his people, *ib.* p. 125 (cf. II. 18); expels Cenwalh of Wessex for divorcing his sister, iii. 7, p. 140 and notes; defeats and slays Oswald at Maserfelth, iii. 9, p. 145 and notes; impales Oswald's head and arms, iii. 12, p. 151; ravages Northumbria and besieges Bamborough, iii. 16 and notes; burns a royal vill and church near Bamborough, iii. 17, p. 160; attacks and defeats the East Angles,

- slaying their king, Anna, iii. 18 and notes (cf. II. 172); places his son Peadar over the Middle Angles, iii. 21, p. 169; his daughter Cyneburg married to Alchfrid, *ib.* p. 170; does not forbid the preaching of Christianity, *ib.* and note; despises inconsistent Christians, *ib.*; his death, *ib.*; irruptions of, into Northumbria, iii. 24, p. 177 and note; Oswy tries to buy off hostility of, *ib.* and notes; defeated and slain by Oswy on the Winwæd, *ib.* p. 178 and notes; v. 24, p. 354; Oswy rules Mercia three years after death of, iii. 24, p. 180 and notes; Wulfhere, son of, made king, *ib.* and notes; place of, in the Mercian pedigree, II. 103; nearly succeeds in uniting the English race, II. 115; gains possession of Lindsey, II. 155; dominates East Anglia, II. 169; interregnum in see of Canterbury possibly due to, II. 174; Britons allied with, against Oswy, II. 181, 182; Celts in his army at the Winwæd, II. 184; Offa of Essex said to have wished to marry daughter of, II. 314, 315.
- PENITENTIAL LITERATURE, character of mediaeval, pp. clvii, clviii.
- Penneltun, English name of the beginning of the Roman wall, i. 12, p. 26.
- Penta amnis, the Pant river, or Blackwater, Essex, iii. 22, p. 173 and note.
- PERTARIT, king of the Lombards, takes refuge with the Huns, II. 150; thinks of flying to Britain, II. 279; father of Cunibert, *ib.*; Wilfrid stays with (679), II. 318; Wilfrid's enemies endeavour to bribe, II. 325.
- 'PERFECTIO' = confirmation, II. 382.
- 'perfidia,' 'perfidus,' applied to unbelief and heresy, II. 18, 19, 147, 182, 339.
- Perrona, Péronne, Ercinwald builds a church at, iii. 19, p. 168 and note; Fursa buried there, *ib.* and note; Fursa translates bodies of Beanus and Meldanus to, II. 171; Ultan abbot of, II. 172.
- PERSIANS, make no representation of the Deity, II. 59.
- 'PERSONA,' theological meaning of the term, II. 232.
- PETERBOROUGH, MS. O, perhaps belonged to monastery of, p. cxix; two monks of, called Humphrey Natures, *ib.*; relics of Oswald at, II. 158; Cyneburg and Cyneswith translated to, II. 175; alleged endowment of, by Wulfhere and Oswy, *ib.* (cf. II. 177); Cuthbald abbot of, II. 216; additions to the Sax. Chron. made at, II. 175, 177, 215, 216; v. Medeshamsted.
- PETER'S PENCE, II. 281.
- Peto, construction of, II. 140, 331.
- PETRONILLA, St., office for day of, p. cxv.
- Petrus, baptismal name of Cædwalla, *q. v.*, v. 7, pp. 292, 293.
- Petrus, an abbot of the province of Tripolitana, catena on St. Paul from St. Augustine ascribed to, p. clvi note.
- Petrus, Venerabilis, letter of, to St. Bernard, II. 353.
- Petrus, monachus, sent by Augustine to Gregory to announce the conversion of the English, i. 27, p. 48 and note; brings back Gregory's Responsa, &c., II. 45, 56, 63; first abbot of monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, i. 33 and notes; sent as legate to Gaul, *ib.*; drowned and buried at Amfleat, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 117); translated to Boulogne, *ib.* and note.
- Petrus, diaconus, dialogues of Gregory I with, ii. 1, p. 76 and note; cited, *ib.* p. 74 and note.
- Petrus de Burgundia, an anchorite in Palestine, acts as guide to Arculfus, II. 303, 304.
- Petrus, beatus, 'apostolorum princeps,' ii. 10, p. 104; ii. 11,

p. 106; ii. 18, p. 121; lived, suffered, and was buried at Rome, iii. 25, p. 184 (cf. v. 7, pp. 292, 293); preached at Rome, *ib.*; Christ's promise to, cited, v. 21, p. 342; this promise decides Oswy to adopt the Roman Easter, iii. 25, p. 188 and note (cf. II. 190); example of his mother-in-law cited, v. 4, p. 287 and note; lame man cured by, v. 2, p. 284; preaches the apostolic Easter tradition at Rome, v. 21, p. 337 (cf. iii. 25, p. 186; II. 349); Mark interpreter of, *ib.*; his tonsure, *ib.* pp. 342-344 (cf. II. 354); his conflict with Simon Magus, *ib.*; appoints two bishops under himself, Hab. § 7, p. 371 and note; consecrates Clement as his successor, ii. 4, p. 87 and note; type of the active life, II. 69; meaning of his name Bariona, II. 127; appears to Laurentius, ii. 6, p. 92 and note; said to have appeared to Edwin, II. 98; the Picts adopt, as their patron, v. 21, p. 346 and note; devotion of Benedict Biscop to, Hab. §§ 2, 5; authority of, claimed for the Roman tonsure, II. 354; pallia laid on tomb of, II. 50; Epistles of, asked for by St. Boniface, p. xx note; Apocalypse Petri, II. 294, 297; see of, v. 7, p. 293; offerings of Ceolfrid to, Haa. §§ 20, 22, 37, 39; the English tributaries of, II. 67. Church of, at Rome, Gregory I institutes masses in, ii. 1, p. 78; buried in, *ib.* p. 79; John archchanter of, Hab. § 6, p. 369; iv. 18, pp. 240, 241; mode of chanting in, *ib.* p. 241; Cædwalla visits and is buried in, v. 7, p. 293; Wilbrord wrongly said to have been consecrated in, II. 292. Church of, at York, begun by Edwin, finished by Oswald, ii. 14, p. 114 and notes; Edwin's head buried in porticus of St. Gregory in, ii. 20,

p. 125 and note. Church of, at Bamborough, iii. 6, p. 138; Oswald's hands preserved in, *ib.* and note. Church of, at Lichfield, iv. 3, p. 212; Ceadda's bones translated to, *ib.*

Church of, at Lindisfarne, iii. 17, p. 160; built by Finan, consecrated by Theodore, improved by Eadbert, iii. 25, p. 181 and notes; Ethelwald buried in, v. 1, p. 282. Church of, at Ripon, Wilfrid buried in, v. 19, pp. 322, 330 and note (cf. II. 327). Church of, at Whitby, Elfled, Oswy, Eanfled, Edwin, and others buried in, iii. 24, p. 179 and note; II. 391; Trumwine buried in, iv. 26, p. 267 and note; altar of, at Whitby, II. 391. Porticus of, at Beverley, Bishop John buried in, v. 6, p. 292. Monastery of, at Gloucester, p. cxiv. Monastery and church of, at Wearmouth, built by Benedict Biscop, iv. 18, p. 241 and notes; v. 21, p. 332 and note; v. 24, p. 357; Hab. § 1 and notes, § 4 and notes; Haa. § 9; pictures placed in the church of, Hab. § 6, p. 369; Eosterwine made abbot of, Hab. § 7, p. 370; § 9; Benedict Biscop buried in church of, Hab. § 14, pp. 378, 379 and note (cf. Hab. § 20 and note); Witmer enters, and brings land to, Hab. § 15, p. 380 and note; mass celebrated, and meeting held in, at Ceolfrid's departure, Hab. § 17, p. 382; Haa. § 25 and note; monks of, take part in Hwætbert's election, Hab. § 18; Hwætbert abbot of, Hab. § 19, p. 383; Haa. § 30; translation of Eosterwine and Sigfrid to, Hab. § 20 and notes; Ceolfrid bids farewell to monks of, Haa. § 23; exhorts them to unity with those of St. Paul, Haa. § 25; v. Uiuraemuda, Petrus et Paulus.

Petrus et Paulus, two lights of the world, iii. 29, p. 197; relics



archbishops of Canterbury;  
 kings of Kent to be buried  
*ib.* and note. cf. ii. 3, p. 86  
 notes; ii. 5, p. 90; ii. 7, p.  
 95; iv. 1, p. 204; v. 8, p. 1  
 Benedict Biscop abbot of,  
 § 3 (cf. II. 204); mona-  
 granted by Theodore  
 Hadrian, *ib.*; iv. 1, p. 204  
 note; gifts of Gregory depos-  
 in, II. 57, 62, 63; grant  
 Eadbald to, II. 90; myster-  
 experience of Laurentius  
 church of, ii. 6, p. 92 and note  
 church of the Virgin built  
 monastery of, by Eadbald,  
 p. 93 and note. Church of  
 Winchester, iii. 7, p. 140  
 note; Birinus' body transla-  
 to, *ib.* and note; built by C-  
 walh, II. 143. Joint mon-  
 tery of, at Wearmouth and  
 Jarrow, v. In Gyruum, Paul  
 Petrus, Uiueraemuda.  
 Pharisei, Ec. § 17, p. 421.  
 PHAROS, island of, II. 23.  
 PHARUS, v. farus.  
 PHILISTINI, II. 367.  
 PHILLIPPS MSS., pp. lxxxi, cxxi,  
 cxliii, II. 118.  
 PHILO, cited by Gildas and Egi-  
 hard, II. 27.  
 PHINEHAS, v. Finceas.  
 PHOCAS, v. Focas.

- 335; relations of, to Northumbria, II. 346; threaten Northumbria, p. xxxiv; II. 206, 385. *Pictorum gens*, Oswy largely subjugates, iii. 24, p. 180 and note; Wilfrid answers for faith of islands inhabited by, v. 19, p. 327; II. 230.
- Pictorum lingua*, one of the five languages of Britain, i. 1, p. 11 and note; one of four languages, iii. 6, p. 138 and note (cf. v. 21, p. 345 and note; II. 8); extinct in H. H.'s time, II. 7.
- Pictorum natio*, follows the Celtic Easter, iii. 3, p. 131 (cf. II. 190); services of Egbert to, iii. 27, p. 194; at peace with the English, and orthodox, in 731, v. 23, p. 351 and note.
- Pictorum prouinciae*, subject to the English, iv. 12, p. 229 and note; Trumwine bishop of, *ib.*; Egfrid leads an army to ravage, iv. 26, p. 266 and note.
- Pictorum prouinciae*, Roman Easter and tonsure adopted in, v. 21, p. 346 (cf. II. 331, 351).
- Pictorum rex*, Naiton, v. 21, p. 332 and note; Talorg mac Anfrith, II. 120; Oengus, C. 761 and note (cf. C. 750); Brude mac Derili, II. 332.
- Pictorum sermo*, i. 12, p. 26 and note.
- Picti australes*, converted by Nynias, iii. 4, p. 133 and notes.
- Picti septentrionales*, Columba comes to evangelise, iii. 4, p. 133 and note.
- '*pietas*,' '*pius*' = pity, pitiful, II. 161, 227, 247, 260; v. 'impious.' pigmentum, II. 272.
- PILGRIMAGES*, II. 304; love of the Irish for, II. 170; as a penance, *ib.*; voluntary, II. 211, 212; bad moral results of, II. 282.
- PINCALA*, v. *Pagnalaech*.
- PINEWALD*, exorcista, II. 157.
- PROMBINO*, v. *Plumbinum*.
- Pippin* (of Heristal), dux Francorum, Witbert and his comrades resort to, v. 10, p. 299 and note; Wilbrord resorts to, II. 288; expels Radbod from Frisia, v. 10, p. 299 and note; sends Wilbrord to preach there, *ib.* and note; buries the two Hewalds at Cologne, *ib.* p. 301 and note; grants In Litore (Kaiserswerth) to Swidbert at the request of his wife Bliththryd, v. 11, p. 302 and notes; sends Wilbrord to Rome to be consecrated, *ib.* and note; grants Utrecht to Wilbrord as his see, *ib.* p. 303 and note; dies, II. 289; succeeded by Charles Martel, *ib.*
- Pippin* (the Short), king of the Franks, baptized by Wilbrord, II. 288, 289; succeeds his father Charles Martel, *ib.*; C. 741 and note; makes himself king of the Franks, *ib.*; II. 288; helps to extend the Gregorian chanting in Europe, II. 118; father of Charles the Great, II. 289.
- Placidia*, mother of Valentinianus, receives Germanus, i. 21, p. 41 and notes; vests his corpse, II. 35.
- PLAGUE*, visitations of, in Britain and Ireland, II. 194-196, 218, 372; ravages of, in monasteries, pp. xi, xii and note, xxxii; II. 180, 363; causes apostasy of Essex and Northumbria, II. 202.
- PLATO*, his saying about the philosopher-king cited, II. 332 (cf. II. 263).
- PLAUTIUS, AULUS*, his campaign in Britain, II. 13.
- '*PLEBEIUS*' = lay, II. 380.
- '*plebs*,' ecclesiastical meaning of the term, II. 212, 213.
- PLECTRUDIS*, v. *Bliththryd*.
- PLEGWIN*, a monk of Hexham, letter of Bede to, pp. xli note, cxlvi; v. *Baeda*.
- PLEINDAMOUR*, v. *Plenus Amoris*.
- PLENUS AMORIS*, name of a family of scribes, p. cxxxviii note.
- PLENUS AMORIS*, Petrus, scribe of MS. F, p. cxxxviii.
- PLENUS AMORIS*, Willelmus, a scribe, p. cxxxviii note.
- PLINY*, Bede's obligations to, pp.

- xxxviii, lii; II. 5; rescript of Trajan to, II. 46.
- PLUMBINUS, Piombino, II. 184.
- 'PLWYF,' v. plebs.
- PLYMPTON, Devon, Augustinian Canons of, formerly owned MS. A., p. cxxiii.
- POITIERS, Fortunatus bishop of, II. 18.
- POLONUS, Martinus, v. Martinus.
- POLYCARP, St., example of, cited, II. 136.
- PONTIOLUS, St., origin of the legend of, II. 26.
- 'popularis' = lay, II. 380.
- 'porticus,' meaning of term, II. 80, 330, 369.
- PORTUS EGFRIIDI, v. In Gyruum.
- 'post consulatum,' origin and meaning of the phrase, II. 38.
- 'praefectus' = reeve, II. 108, 163, 386.
- Praepositus, v. Prior.
- PRAYERS for the impenitent dead, forbidden, II. 300.
- PRESTFELD, granted to the church of Rochester, II. 80.
- PRIESTHOLME, v. Glannauc.
- PRIMACY, question of, II. 52, 53, 57, 91, 92, 111.
- 'primicerius,' meaning of the term, II. 113, 233.
- PRIMOGENITURE, growth of, II. 363.
- PRIMUS AND FELICIANUS, SS., Christ Church, Canterbury, consecrated on festival of, II. 63.
- PRIOR, Praepositus, or Propositus, office of, pp. xxviii, xxix; II. 38, 180, 266, 267, 370-372; first occurrence of the title prior in English documents, p. xxix note.
- PRIORESS, II. 248.
- Priscilla, example of, cited, iii. 25, p. 185 and note.
- PROHIBITED DEGREES, &c., pp. xc, xcix; II. 47, 48, 383.
- Prophetæ, duodecim, Bede's excerpts from St. Jerome on, v. 24, p. 358.
- Propositus, v. Prior.
- Prosper of Aquitaine, cited, i. 10 and note; his chronicle, II. 22; used by Bede, II. 25, 32; Contra Collatorem, cited, II. 25.
- PROSPER, bishop of Orleans, letter of Sidonius Apollinaris to, II. 32.
- PROSPER TIRO, probably to be distinguished from Prosper of Aquitaine, II. 22; his date for the coming of the Saxons, II. 28.
- PROTASIVS, bishop of Aix, II. 37, 39.
- PROVINCIA, Provence, overrun by Saracens as a divine judgement, II. 339.
- PROVISIONS, papal, II. 205.
- PSALTER, use of, II. 137, 139, 370; at the canonical hours, pp. xxv, xxvi note; II. 218, 270, 370; in monasteries, v. Monasteries; in the Irish Church, II. 137; as a penitential discipline, *ib.*; with a special intention, II. 138; as intercessions for the dead, II. 138, 218, 300; Roman and Gallican Psalters, II. 54, 74, 171, 320, 321; Jerome's translation of, from Hebrew, not adopted, II. 321 (cf. II. 394).
- Puch, a gesith, Bishop John of York consecrates a church in his vill, v. 4, pp. 286, 287 and notes; miraculously cures his wife, *ib.* p. 287 and notes.
- PURRI NUTRITI, ORLATI, v. Monasteries.
- PUFFIN ISLAND, v. Glannauc.
- PURGATORY, Bede's view of, p. lxvi note; II. 243, 297, 387.
- PUTEOLI, II. 26.
- Putta, bishop of Rochester, consecrated by Theodore, iv. 2, p. 206 and note (cf. II. 206); had learnt chanting of the disciples of Gregory I, *ib.*; attends the Council of Hertford, iv. 5, p. 215; on the destruction of Rochester by Ethelred, retires to Sexwulf, bishop of the Mercians, iv. 12, p. 228 (cf. II. 215); receives a church and small parcel of land from him, *ib.* and note; teaches chanting, *ib.* (cf. II. 118); succeeded by

Cwichelm, *ib.* and note; ordained priest by Wilfrid, II. 207; probably not bishop of Hereford, II. 222.  
PUTTA, bishop of Hereford, dies, II. 222; probably not identical with the preceding, *ib.*

Q.

QUARTO-DECIMANS, origin of, II. 349; the Celts wrongly charged with being, II. 114, 191, 349.  
QUATTUOR CORONATI, *v.* Coronati.  
QUENTAUC, Etaples, Theodore ill at, iv. 1, p. 203; sails from, for Britain, *ib.* and note.  
QUINQUAGESIMA PASCHALIS, the period between Easter and Pentecost, iii. 5, p. 136 and note (cf. p. lxxv and note, p. clxii).  
'QUISQUE,' for 'QUISQUIS,' in later Latin, II. 62, 212, 219; 'QUISQUE' for 'QUISQUAM,' II. 98.  
QUODVULTDEUS, prelates called, II. 174.  
QUOENBURG, daughter of Cearl king of Mercia, first wife of Edwin, ii. 14, p. 114 and note; her sons Osfrid and Eadfrid, *ib.* and note; her pedigree, II. 103.  
QUOENBURG, daughter of Hereburg abbess of Watton, miraculously cured by Bishop John of York, v. 3, pp. 285, 286 and notes (cf. II. 262).

For other names beginning with *Qu-*, see under *Cw-*.

R.

RACUULF, Reculver, at the mouth of the Inlade, v. 8, p. 295 and note; Bertwald abbot of the monastery of, *ib.* and note; legend of Ethelbert having transferred his capital to, II. 44; grant of, by Egbert, to Bass the priest, II. 283.  
RADBOD, St., bishop of Utrecht, homily, &c., on Swidbert by, II. 291.

RADBOD, *v.* Rathbed.

R[ADULPHUS], abbot of Melrose, uses the style 'Seruus seruorum Dei,' II. 38.

RAEDFRID, prefect of Egbert of Kent, iv. 1, p. 203; sent by him to escort Theodore to Britain, *ib.* and note.

RÆGENHERI, son of Redwald, slain in the battle of the Idle, ii. 12, p. 110.

RAINER II, count of Hainault, II. 48.

RALPH, archbishop of Canterbury, letter to Calixtus II, cited, II. 12.

RAMESSES, children of Israel depart from, v. 21, p. 335.

RAMSEY, Hunts., Felix' relics translated to abbey of, II. 174.

RATHBED, king of the Frisians, Witbert preaches to, v. 9, p. 298; expelled by Pippin, v. 10, p. 299 and note; address of, to Wilbrord, p. xxxvi note; Wilbrord despairs of converting, II. 288; refuses baptism at the last moment, II. 289; at war with Charles Martel, *ib.*; dies, *ib.*  
RATHMELSIGI, unidentified, Ireland, Ethelhun dies of the plague in monastery of, iii. 27, pp. 192, 193 and note.

RATISBON, Council of, in 742, II. 58, 60.

RAUENNA, Germanus goes to, i. 21, p. 41 and notes; dies there, *ib.* and notes; Synod of, in 877, II. 50.

RAWLINSON, Thomas, formerly owned MSS. H., p. cvi; O., pp. cxv, cxvi.

RAWLINSON MSS., pp. cxliii, cxlix note; II. 137, 285.

REBAPTISM, question of, II. 276, 277.

'RECIPROCI VERSUS,' II. 241.

RECVLVER, *v.* Racuulf.

REDBRIDGE, *v.* Hreutford.

REDGER, consecrated archbishop by Pope Stephen, in succession to St. Boniface, C. 754 and note; possibly identical with Lullus, II. 347.

- Reduald**, king of the East Angles, the fourth of the seven great English kings, ii. 5, p. 89 and note; begins to win the ascendancy even in Ethelbert's lifetime, *ib.* and note; Edwin takes refuge with, ii. 12, p. 107 (cf. II. 93, 390); promises Ethelfrid to kill or surrender Edwin, *ib.* (cf. II. 390); his intended treachery revealed to Edwin, *ib.* p. 108 and note; dissuaded from committing it, *ib.* pp. 109, 110; defeats and slays Ethelfrid in the battle of the Idle, *ib.* p. 110 and note (cf. II. 93); his son Rægenhere slain, *ib.*; Earpwald son of, ii. 15, p. 115 and note; had been converted in Kent, *ib.* p. 116 (cf. II. 93); relapses into partial heathenism by persuasion of his wife, *ib.* and notes (cf. II. 93); erects Christian and pagan altars in the same fane, *ib.* and note; son of Tytili, *ib.*; succeeded by Earpwald, iii. 18 (cf. II. 106); Sigbert takes refuge from, in Gaul, *ib.* (cf. II. 107); Eni brother of, II. 169.
- Regia ciuitas**, *v.* Bebbanburg.
- REGINALD OF COLDINGHAM** or Durham, his Life of St. Cuthbert, p. cxxxviii; his Life of St. Oswald, *v.* Oswald.
- regnare**, with dative, II. 126.
- 'regnum' versus 'imperium'**, II. 43, 86.
- Regum Liber**, Bede's questions on, *v.* 24, p. 358. **Regum Libri**, Bede's chapters of readings on, *ib.*; *v.* Baeda.
- REICHENAU**, Wetinus a monk of, II. 295.
- RELICS**, wearing of, II. 33; essential to consecration of churches, II. 60; traffic in, II. 158; early Christian feeling against the translation of, II. 274.
- REMIGIUS**, St., date of death of, p. c.
- RENCHIDUS**, episcopus, II. 101.
- Rendlesham**, id est mansio Rendili, Rendlesham, Suffolk, in East Anglia, iii. 22, p. 174 and note; Swidhelm of Essex baptized at, *ib.*
- Repton**, Richborough, English name of Rutubi portus, i. 1, p. 9 and note.
- REPTON**, Co. Derby, a double monastery, II. 150; Ethelbald of Mercia buried at, II. 342.
- 'RESPONSALIS'** = apocrisiarius, I. 426; II. 69.
- Reuda**, leads a colony of Scotti to settle north of the Firth of Clyde, i. 1, pp. 12, 13 and notes.
- REX CHRISTIANISSIMUS**, use of title, II. 86.
- RHABANUS MAURUS**, his commentary on St. Matthew used in the Heliand, II. 254.
- RHEDA**, Saxon goddess, II. 59.
- RHEIMS**, Hincmar archbishop of, p. clii; II. 52.
- Rhenus**, *v.* 10, pp. 300, 301; *v.* Hrenus.
- RHINX**, the, *v.* Hrenus.
- RHYME** in Latin verse, II. 241.
- For other words beginning with *Rh-*, see under *Hy-*.
- Riobert**, a pagan, murders Earpwald of East Anglia, ii. 15, p. 116.
- RICBOD**, archbishop of Trèves, asked by Alcuin for a copy of Bede's *In Librum Tobiae*, p. clii note.
- RICHBOROUGH**, *v.* Rutubi Portus.
- RICOBALDUS FERRARENSIS**, his doctrine of the seven ages of the world, p. xlii note.
- Ricula**, sister of Ethelbert of Kent, and mother of Sæbert of Essex, ii. 3, p. 85 and note.
- RIDDLE LITERATURE** of the Middle Ages, II. 341.
- RIEVAULX**, Ailred of; *v.* Ailred.
- RIGA**, *v.* Liuania.
- RIMD**, father of Finan of Lindisfarne, II. 189.
- RINGAN**, corruption of Ninian, II. 129.
- RIPON**, *v.* Hrypensis, *In Hrypum*.
- Riuus Denesi**, *v.* Deniseburna.
- ROBALDO**, administrator of Alba, II. 51.

**ROBERT DE MONTE**, or de Torigny, abbot of Mont St. Michel, discusses the authorship of two series of excerpts from St. Augustine on St. Paul, pp. clv note; makes an abbreviation of his own, p. clvi note.

**Robur Augustini**, v. *Augustinaes* Ac.

**ROCHESTER**, v. *Dorubreuis ciuitas*, *Hrofæscæstir*, *Hrofi ciuitas*.

**ROEULX**, near Mons, monastery of Foillan at, II. 172.

**ROFA**, *ROFI*, II. 80; v. *Hrofi ciuitas*.

**ROGATIONS**, observance of, p. lxxvi note.

**ROGER OF WENDOVER**, confuses Bede's chronicle with the H. E., p. cli note.

**ROGERS**, I., former owner of MS. O., p. cxiv.

**Roma**, *Nothelm* visits, Pref. p. 6 and note; *Claudius* returns to, i. 3 and note; *Eleuther præsul* of, v. 24, p. 352; captured by the Goths, *ib.*; i. 11 and notes; Britons send embassy to, i. 12, p. 26 and note; second embassy sent to, *ib.* p. 27; *Augustine* announces to *Ethelbert* that he is come from, i. 25, p. 45; *Laurentius* and *Petrus* sent to, by *Augustine*, i. 27, p. 48 and note; *Gregory I* finishes his commentary on *Job* at, ii. 1, p. 75 and note; *Mellitus* goes to, ii. 4, p. 88 and note; *Nynias* instructed at, iii. 4, p. 133 and note; *SS. Peter* and *Paul* lived, suffered, and were buried at, iii. 25, p. 184; *St. Peter* preaches at, *ib.* p. 185; v. 21, p. 337; *Wighard* sent to, and dies at, Hab. § 3; iii. 29, p. 196 and notes; iv. 1, pp. 201, 202 (cf. II. 357); *Theodore* at, *ib.* p. 202 and note; *Oswy* had intended to go to, iv. 5, p. 214; *Cædwalla* goes to, and dies at, iv. 12, p. 228; v. 7, pp. 292-294 and notes; v. 8, p. 294; v. 24, p. 355; *St. Peter* appoints two bishops under himself at, Hab.

§ 7, p. 371 and note; council at, under Pope *Martin*, iv. 17, p. 240 and note; iv. 18, p. 242 and note; church of *St. Peter* at, *ib.*; Hab. § 6; monastery of *St. Martin* at, *ib. ib.*; copy of decrees of Council of *Hatfield* sent to, iv. 18, p. 242 and note; *John the archchanter* dies on his way back to, *ib.*; *Offto* goes to, iv. 23, p. 255; journey to, thought of great value, *ib.*; many of the English go to, v. 7, p. 294 and note; II. 366 (contrast II. 321); *Ini* goes to, v. 7, p. 294; *Wilbrord* goes to, v. 11, p. 301 and note; *Wilbrord* sent by *Pippin* to, *ib.* p. 302 and note; *Cenred* and *Offa* of *Essex* go to, v. 24, p. 356; v. 19, pp. 321, 322 and notes; *Wilfrid* resolves to visit, *ib.* pp. 323, 324; his arrival and studies at, *ib.* p. 324 and notes; iii. 25, p. 182 (cf. II. 316, 317); sees the catholic Easter practised at, *ib.* p. 184; *Wilfrid* goes to (first appeal), iv. 13, p. 230; v. 19, p. 326 and notes (cf. II. 318); council at, against the *Monothelites*, *ib.* pp. 326, 327 and notes (cf. II. 230, 318); *Wilfrid* goes to (second appeal), *ib.* pp. 327, 328 and notes; II. 320; with *Acca*, iii. 13, p. 152; II. 327; nineteen-year cycle first adopted at, v. 21, p. 341; first and second visits of *Benedict Biscop* to, Hab. § 2 and notes; *Alchfrid* wishes to go to, Hab. § 2; *Egbert* of *Kent* wishes *Wighard* to be consecrated at, Hab. § 3; third visit of *Benedict Biscop* to, *ib.* and notes; fourth do. do., Hab. § 4 and notes; his acquisitions at, *ib.* and notes; fifth visit to, with *Ceolfred*, and acquisitions at, Hab. §§ 6, 7, pp. 368-370 and notes; § 16; Haa. § 9 and note; § 10; iv. 18, p. 241 and note; *John the archchanter* returns with them from, *ib.*: Hab. § 6, p. 369 and note; sixth visit of *Benedict Biscop* to, and acqui-

gate when he sets out for  
 Haa, § 20; cf. Haa, § 3  
 note; MS. of the cosmogra-  
 bought by Benedict Biscu-  
 Hab, § 15, p. 380; monks  
 by Ceolfrid to, *ib.*, and;  
 Haa, § 20; p. xvii; II.  
 Ceolfrid resolves to return.  
 Hab, § 17, p. 381 and note  
 Haa, §§ 21, 22; p. xv;  
 before he reaches, *ib.*, *ib.*  
 Hwaetbert visits, Hab, §  
 II, 365; some of Ceolfrid's  
 companions abandon their jour-  
 ney to, Hab, § 21 and note  
 p. xv; Ceolfrid prepares to send  
 messengers to, Haa, § 22; some  
 of his companions continue  
 their journey to, *ib.*, §§ 37;  
 p. xv; II, 370; idea of a visit  
 of Bede to, negatived, pp. x  
 xvii; sieges of, by the Got.  
 II, 22; Gregory I's monastery  
 of St. Andrew at, II, 38; popu-  
 lary to force archbishops to con-  
 sider, for their pallium, II, 5  
 Council of, in 721, p. xc; d.  
 in 679, said to have sent John  
 the archchanter to Britain, I  
 233; bad moral results of pi-  
 grimages to, II, 282; Constan-  
 tine builds church at, called  
 Constantiniana, II, 305; Daniel  
 bishop of Winchester, goes to  
 II, 308; Aldhelm comes to, II,

- catholic and apostolic, iii. 29, p. 196; the Irish party at Ripon refuse to accept the rites of, v. 19, p. 325 and note; the English model their religion on, v. 21, p. 332; Naiton promises to follow, *ib.* p. 333; Eucharistic customs of, observed by Egbert, Ee. § 15 and note. **Romani** fines, acquisitions of Benedict Biscop from, Hab. § 6, p. 368.
- Romana gens**, Ambrosius Aurelius descended from, i. 16 and note. **Romanum imperium**, i. 3 and note; iii. 4, p. 133. **Romana institutio**, devotion of Oswy to, iv. 5, p. 214; chanting after the manner of, adopted at Wearmouth, Hab. § 6, p. 369; Haa. § 9.
- Romanus papa**, Honorius, ii. 20, p. 126. **Romanus populus**, v. s. **Romana provincia**, i.e. Britain, i. 12, p. 27.
- Romanum regnum**, i. 3, 34.
- Romana respublica**, law of, cited, i. 27, p. 50 and note; made Christian by Constantine, i. 32, p. 68. **Romana sedes**, Gregory I pontiff of, i. 23, p. 42 and note; ii. 1, p. 73 and note; Boniface V do., ii. 7, p. 94 and note; vicegerents of, during a vacancy, &c., II. 113. **Romana urbs**, Gregory I pontiff of, ii. 3, p. 86; ii. 4, p. 88.
- Roman sites used as quarries**, II. 239; **Roman walls in Britain**, II. 15-17; **Roman Psalter**, v. Psalter.
- Romanus**, bishop of Rochester, consecrated by Justus in succession to himself, ii. 8, p. 95 (cf. II. 92); sent as an envoy to Pope Honorius by Justus, ii. 20, p. 126 and notes; drowned in the Italian sea, *ib.* and notes.
- Romanus**, presbyter, from Kent, chaplain to Eanfled, iii. 25, pp. 181, 182; observes the catholic Easter, *ib.* p. 182; takes part in the Synod of Whitby, *ib.* p. 183.
- Romulea urbs**, Cædwalla visits, v. 7, p. 293; v. Roma.
- ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS**, overthrown by Odoacer, II. 35.
- Ronan**, natione Scottus, learns the catholic Easter in Gaul and Italy, iii. 25, p. 181; defends it against Finan, *ib.* and notes.
- ROSNAT**, Irish name of Whitern, II. 129.
- ROUEN**, MSS. of Bede's H. E. at, p. lxxxvi note; Melantius bishop of, II. 40; Mauger archbishop of, II. 50.
- ROWLEY WATER**, v. Denisesburna.
- ROYAL MSS.** Brit. Mus., pp. ci, cxiv, cxliv.
- ROYAL MARRIAGES**, spread of Christianity by, II. 94.
- ROYAL POWER**, aid given by, to the Church, II. 58, 148, 383, 384.
- ROYAL SOCIETY** of London, formerly owned MS. Ar., p. cxxvi.
- Rufinianus**, sent by Gregory to aid Augustine, i. 29, p. 63 and note; becomes abbot of St. Augustine's, II. 56.
- RUFINUS**, v. Eusebius.
- RÜGEN, RÜGENWALDE**, derived from the Rugini, II. 286.
- Rugini**, one of the tribes of Germany, v. 9, p. 296 and note.
- RULEYSTAL**, v. Steel.
- RUM or RUN**, son of Urbgen, said to have baptized Edwin, II. 100, 101.
- Rutubi portus**, Richborough, Kent, port of embarkation for Gaul, i. 1, p. 9 and note; called Reptacæstir by the English, *ib.*
- Rypensis**, v. Hrypensis.
- RYSWICK**, Peace of, p. lxxxix.

S.

- Saba**, shortened name of Saberct, ii. 5, p. 91 and note.
- Saberct**, king of the East Saxons, nephew of Ethelbert, ii. 3, p. 85 and note; East Saxons converted under, v. 24, p. 353; death of, followed by pagan



- reaction, II. 5, p. 91 and note (cf. III. 22, p. 171 and note); called Saba, *ib.* and note; sons of, expel Mellitus, *ib.* and note; sons of, slain in battle against the Gewissas, *ib.* p. 92 and note; confusion of name with Sigbert, II. 79; date of death of, II. 88.
- Sabrina, Severn, Walhstod bishop of the peoples to the west of, v. 23, p. 350 and note; priests beyond, refuse to hold intercourse with the Saxons, II. 352, 353.
- 'sacerdos,' 'sacerdotalis,' 'sacerdotium' = bishop, episcopal, episcopate, Pref. p. 7 and note; II. 32, 33, 40, 55, 56, 126, 146, 230, 285; also means presbyter, &c., II. 227, 372.
- SACRAMENT, reservation of, II. 227, 250.
- 'sacramentum,' use of the word by Bede, pp. lvi, lvii; II. 106, 108, 123, 355.
- 'sacrarium,' meaning of the term, II. 155, 369.
- Saethryd, step-daughter of Anna king of the East Angles, III. 8, p. 142; becomes abbess of Faremoutier-en-Brie, *ib.* (cf. II. 144).
- SEWARD, son of Eadbald of Kent, II. 88.
- ST. ABE'S HEAD, Berwickshire, called from Ebba, II. 236.
- ST. ALBAN'S, v. Uerolamium.
- ST. BEES, Cumberland, II. 248; a cell of St. Mary's, York, I. 431.
- ST. BOSWELLS, on the Tweed, called after Boisil of Melrose, II. 266.
- ST. CARLEF, William of, v. William.
- ST. GALLAN, Irish 'inclusus' at, p. xxxi; MSS. at, p. lxxii; II. 389.
- ST. GEORGENBERG, near Schwatz, Tyrol, MS. A., belonged to monastery of, p. ci.
- ST. HERBERT'S ISLE, Derwent-water, II. 269.
- ST. HUBERT, monastery of, in the Ardennes, p. xx note; list of officers in, p. xxviii note; MS. belonging to, p. lxxxvii.
- ST. JAMESSTREET, name of a village called after Paulinus' deacon, II. 118.
- ST. JOHN, Francis, formerly owned MS. A., p. cvii.
- ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD, owns MS. O., p. cxxi; Laud president of, *ib.*; owns MS. of Bede's *De Arte Metrica*, p. cxlv.
- ST. JOHN'S LEE, near Hexham, anciently Herneshaw, II. 274.
- ST. OMER, MS. belonging to, II. 240; monastery of St. Bertin at, p. xvii note.
- ST. OSWALD'S, v. Hefenfelth.
- SAINTES, Palladius bishop of, II. 39, 40.
- SAINTS' LIVES, historical character of, II. 288.
- SALAMANCA, Irish College at, II. 169.
- SALISBURY, Robert Wyville bishop of, p. cxiv.
- SALOMON, Es. § 11, p. 414; son of (Rehoboam), Haa. § 25; Bede's commentary on the Proverbs of, v. 24, p. 358; v. Baeda.
- SALVATOR, church of, at Utrecht, founded by Willbrord, II. 22.
- SALZBURG, Arno archbishop of, p. clx; II. 70, 240.
- Samaritani, hybrid religion of, II. 15, p. 116 and note.
- Sambuce, v. Ad Uillam Sambuce.
- SANER, v. Siluiacum.
- SAMUEL, example of, cited, Es. § 7, p. 411; type of 'pauci oblati,' p. ix note; Bede's commentary on, v. 24, p. 357 and note; v. Baeda.
- SANDOE, Northumberland, perhaps identical with Ad Uillam Sambuce, II. 365.
- SANDWICH, Wilfrid lands at, II. 207.
- SANTCLAIR, Sir W., of Roslyn, former owner of MS. O., p. cxxi.
- SAPHIRA, example of, cited, Es. § 16, p. 420; § 17, p. 422 and note.
- SARANUS, Irish cleric, letter of

John, pope elect, and others to, ii. 19, p. 123 and note.  
**SARCOPHAGUS**, II. 239, 240.  
**Sarraceni**, devastate Gaul, v. 23, p. 349 and note; defeated, *ib.* and note; their heathenism, II. 18, 339; conquer Spain, II. 338; threaten Rome, II. 282, 339; descended from Ishmael, *ib.*; overrun Africa and parts of Asia and Europe. *ib.*; their inroads a divine judgement on the peoples of Spain, Provence, and Burgundy, *ib.*  
**Satanas**, v. 9, p. 296; v. 14, p. 314 and note.  
**Saul**, king of Israel, i. 34; v. 24, p. 357; *Ee.* § 17, p. 422.  
**Saulus**, qui et Paulus, *q. v.*, *Haa.* § 6.  
**Saxones**, name used as identical with Angli, i. 15, p. 30; i. 22; v. 9, p. 296; ravage the coasts of the empire, i. 6; Carausius sent to repress, *ib.*; invited into Britain by Vortigern, i. 14; i. 15, p. 30 and note; conquer the enemies of the Britons, *ib.* p. 31; send for reinforcements, *ib.*; settlement granted to, by the Britons, *ib.*; one of three German tribes who settle in Britain, *ib.*; divided into East, South, and West Saxons, *ib.* and note; ally themselves with the Picts against the Britons, *ib.* p. 32 and note; i. 20, p. 38 and note; defeated by Britons under Germanus, *ib.* p. 39; Britons neglect to evangelise, i. 22 and note; called Garmani by the Britons, v. 9, p. 296 and note; early ravages of, in Britain, II. 9, 10; date of coming of, discussed, II. 27, 28; ravages of, in Gaul and on the Continent, II. 28; their conquest of the Britons not easy, II. 29; retire to their settlement in Thanet, II. 30; advance of, during sixth century, II. 35; effect of conversion of, II. 76; subject to Edwin, II. 86; Saxo candidus, II. 72;

war of, against Oswald, II. 152; extension of Wilfrid's authority over, II. 208; community of feeling between insular and continental, II. 254, 285; hostility of British priests to, II. 352, 353. **Saxonum dux**, *v.* **Saxones Antiqui**.

**Saxonum lingua**, *i. e.* West Saxon, iii. 7, p. 140; *i. e.* East Saxon, iii. 22, p. 173. **Saxonum natio**, *i. e.* South Saxons, boy of, in the monastery of Selsey, iv. 14, p. 233. **Saxonum prouincia**, *i. e.* Sussex, *ib.* **Saxonum rex**, Oswy, iii. 29, p. 196; Cædwalla, v. 7, p. 293.

**Saxones Antiqui**, the Saxons of the Continent, i. 15, p. 31; one of the tribes of Germany, v. 9, p. 196 and note; the two Hewalds endeavour to evangelise, v. 10, pp. 299, 300 and notes; constitution of, *ib.* and note; expel the Boructuari, v. 11, p. 302; said to have come from Britain, II. 29; community of feeling with the insular Saxons, II. 254, 285; the poet of the *Heliand* belongs to, II. 255 (*cf.* *Ald Saxones*, II. 261). **Saxonum dux**, Widukind, II. 293.

**Saxones Australes**, materials for history of, derived by Bede from Bishop Daniel, *Pref.* p. 7; II. 307; Damian, bishop of Rochester, belongs to, iii. 20 and note; II. 324; Wight opposite to boundary between the West Saxons and, iv. 16, p. 238; Hlothhere of Kent wounded in battle against, led by his nephew Edric, iv. 26, p. 268; bishopric of, ceases on Eolla's death, v. 18, p. 321 and note; restored, II. 313; attempt to massacre Wilfrid and his company, II. 59, 207, 324 (*cf.* II. 225). **Saxonum Australlium prouincia**, *Pref.* p. 7; situated between Kent and Wessex, iv. 13, p. 230; heathen

until evangelised by Wilfrid, *ib.* and notes; v. 19, p. 327 and note; II. 44, 318, 319; oppressed by Cædwalla and Ini, iv. 15; after Wilfrid's retirement subject to the West Saxon see, *ib.* and note; subject to Winchester, v. 18, p. 321; made into a separate diocese, *ib.* and note; receives episcopal ministrations from the bishop of the West Saxons, v. 23, p. 350. Sax. Austr. rex, Ælle, ii. 5, p. 89 and note.

**Saxones Meridiani**, i. 15, p. 31; v. *Saxones Australes*.

**Saxones Occidentales**, anciently called Geuissæ, *q. v.*, iii. 7, p. 139; iv. 15 (cf. II. 88, 89); materials for history of, derived by Bede from Albinus, Nothelm, and Bishop Daniel, Pref. pp. 6, 7 and note; II. 307; Augustine's Oak on the borders of, ii. 2, p. 81 and notes; defeated by Edwin, ii. 9, p. 100 and note; the South Saxons next to, iv. 13, p. 230; Britons subject to, adopt the orthodox Easter, v. 18, p. 321 and note; advance of, separates North and West Welsh, II. 74; written law first introduced among, by Ini, II. 87; history of see of, II. 144, 145; Essex under the hegemony of, II. 217; anarchy of, on death of Cenwalh, II. 221 (cf. II. 231).

**Saxonum Occidentalium antistes**, Birinus, Agilbert, Wine, Hlothhere, iv. 12, p. 227; Hædde, v. 18, p. 320; the South Saxons receive episcopal ministrations from, v. 23, p. 350. Sax. Occid. episcopus, South Saxons subject to, iv. 15; Agilbert, iii. 25, p. 183; Daniel, Pref. p. 7; iv. 16, p. 238; II. 307; Leutharius, iv. 5, p. 215. Sax. Occid. gens, converted by Birinus, iii. 7, p. 139 and notes; Deusdedit belongs to, iii. 20; II. 324; the Meanwari situated in, iv. 13, p. 230 and note. Sax. Occid.

lingua, ii. 5, p. 89 and note; v. *Saxones*. Sax. Occid. provincia, devoid of a bishop, iii. 7, p. 141 and note; Wine bishop in, iii. 28, p. 195; Cædda and Eadhed come to, *ib.*; divided into two dioceses on the death of Hædde, v. 18, p. 320 and note; Daniel and Forthere bishops of, in 731, v. 23, p. 350. Sax. Occid. rex, Cælin or Ceaulin, ii. 5, p. 89 and notes; Cwichelm, ii. 9, pp. 98, 99 and note; Cenwalh, Hab. § 4; Cædwalla, v. 7, p. 202 and notes; v. 24, p. 355; Ethelhard, C. 739; Cuthred, C. 750 and note; Cynewulf, C. 757 and note.

**Saxones Occidui**, i. 15, p. 31; v. *Saxones Occidentales*.

**Saxones Orientales**, i. 15, p. 31 and note; materials for history of, derived by Bede from Albinus, Nothelm, and the monks of Lastingham, Pref. pp. 6, 7 and notes; converted by Mellitus, v. 24, p. 353; relapse into heathenism on the death of Sæbert, ii. 5, pp. 91, 92 and notes; iii. 22, p. 171 and notes (cf. II. 18, 52, 195); reconverted by Cedd and Cædda, Pref. p. 7 and note (cf. iii. 22, pp. 171-173 and notes); interest of Oswy in their reconversion, *ib.* pp. 171, 172; separated from Kent by the Thames, ii. 3, p. 85; London metropolis of, *ib.* and note; Sighere and Sebbi rule, iv. 6, p. 218; Earconwald made bishop of, *ib.* and note; kings of, said to have ruled in Kent, II. 177; titles borne by bishops of, II. 178; recover power on death of Wulfhere, II. 216; under the hegemony of Wessex, II. 217; confused with East Angles, II. 217, 315. **Saxonum Orientalium gens**, Cedd sent to preach to, iii. 22, p. 172; made bishop of, *ib.*; iii. 23, p. 174. Sax. Or. provincia, Mellitus consecrated to preach to, ii. 3, p. 85 and note; converted by him, *ib.*;

- Cedd's monks from, go to Lastingham, iii. 23, p. 176 and notes; Sighere and Sebbi joint kings of, iii. 30; partially relapses into paganism in consequence of the plague, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 99); reconverted by Jaruman, *ib.* and note; Barking in, iv. 6, p. 219 and note; Ingwald, bishop of, in 731, v. 23, p. 350 and note.
- Sax. Or. regnum, Sebbi governs, iv. 11, p. 225. Sax. Or. rex, Sæbert, ii. 5, p. 91 and note; Sigbert, iii. 22, p. 171 and note; Sighere, v. 19, p. 322; Offa, v. 19, capitulum; II. 314; Ethelbert called, II. 79.
- Saxonia**, Hwætbert belongs to, Hab. § 19, p. 383 and note; Haa. § 30, p. 399; term applied by Celts to any part of Teutonic Britain, II. 172; Wilfrid calls himself bishop of, II. 368; applied to Wessex, *ib.*
- Saxonica lingua**, Tobias learned in, v. 8, p. 296 and note.
- Saxonici littoris or limitis Comes, II. 28, 178. Saxonium uocabulum, iv. 17, p. 239.
- SCANDINAVIA**, called Scythia, II. 8; Scandinavian invasions bring the North and South of Ireland together, II. 125; separate Scoti of Ireland and Britain, II. 135; desolate Iona, *ib.*; v. Dani.
- SCELLAN**, the Leper, of Armagh, II. 113; v. Scellanus.
- Scellanus**, Irish presbyter, letter of John, pope elect, and others to, ii. 19, p. 123 and note.
- Schematibus**, de, siue de Tropis, Bede's, v. 24, p. 359; v. Baeda.
- '**SCHOLASTICUS**,' meaning of term, II. 161.
- SCHOOLA**, monastic, pp. xvii, xviii; episcopal, p. xx note; subjects of study in, pp. xvii note, xviii; discipline in, p. xvii note.
- SCIREBURNIA**, v. Sherborne.
- SCOTLAND**, spread of Gaelic in, II. 10; tract on the cultus of St. Andrew in, p. cvii; rights of the see of York in, II. 140, 234.
- Scots**, inroads of, II. 262.
- Scotti**, refuse the Picts a settlement in North Ireland and advise them to settle in North Britain, i. 1, pp. 11, 12 and notes; give them wives, *ib.* and notes; settle under Reuda north of the Clyde, *ib.* pp. 12, 13 and notes (cf. II. 23); their proper country Ireland, *ib.* p. 13 and notes; ii. 4, p. 87; in what sense a transmarine people, i. 12, p. 25 and note; attack the part of Britain held by the Britons, *ib.* pp. 25-28 and notes; Palladius sent by Pope Celestinus as bishop to, i. 13 and note; v. 24, p. 352; Paschal errors of, iii. 25, p. 181; II. 190; identical with those of the Britons, ii. 4, pp. 87, 88; opinions held of, by the Roman missionaries, *ib.* and note; letter of John, pope elect, and others to doctors and abbots of, ii. 19, p. 123; sons of Ethelfrid exiled and instructed among, iii. 1, p. 127 and note; Oswald sends to the elders of, for a bishop, iii. 3, p. 131 and notes; many missionaries from the region of, come to Britain, *ib.* p. 132 and note; English children taught by teachers from, *ib.* (cf. II. 193); Iona granted to monks from, *ib.* pp. 132, 133; Iona an island and monastery of, iii. 17, p. 160; II. 140; Fursa of a noble race of, iii. 19, p. 164 and note; Trumhere consecrated by, iii. 21, p. 171; iii. 24, p. 179; Finan consecrated by, iii. 25, p. 181 and note; wooden buildings characteristic of, *ib.* (cf. II. 101, 102); Oswy educated by, iii. 29, p. 196; iii. 25, p. 182; traditions of, rejected by Alchfrid, *ib.*; adherents of, expelled by him from Ripon, v. 19, p. 325 and note; iii. 25, p. 183 and note; Hild an adherent of,

and notes; those among  
English adopt catholic prac  
or withdraw, iii. 28, p. 19;  
notes; monks of, leave Li  
farne with Colman, iv.  
213; their quarrels with  
English monks at Inisbo  
*ib.*; Inisboffin given up to,  
reverence of, for Iona, v  
p. 297; Wilfrid perceives  
errors of, v. 19, p. 323; ref  
the sect of, *ib.* p. 325; said  
have come from Scythia by  
of Spain, II. 8, 9; early rava  
of, in Britain, II. 9, 10, 34; tl  
advance southward checked  
Degsistan, II. 10; consecrat  
by a single bishop comm  
among, II. 49; two, offer  
sell wisdom in Gaul, II.  
not present at conference w  
Augustine, II. 75; zeal  
as missionaries, II. 76; questi  
of their subjection to Edw  
Oswald, and Oswy, II. 8  
consult the Roman see  
the Easter question, II. 11  
not quarto-decimans, *ib.*; fon  
ness of, for remote sites, I  
126; their love of pilgrimag  
II. 170; friendliness of, to tl  
English, II. 206 contrast I  
210; extension of Wilfrid  
authority over, II. 208; nam  
of, supplants that of Pict

- monasteries of, subject to Iona, iii. 3, p. 132 and notes; adopt the Roman Easter, II. 211, 300, 302, 303; their Paschal cycles, II. 351.
- SCOTTIA**, Columba comes from, v. 24, p. 353; Fursa preaches in, iii. 19, p. 167 and note; Tuda comes from, iii. 26, p. 190; Ceollach retires to, iii. 24, p. 179 and note; Colman sent from, iii. 25, p. 182; clerks from, accompany Colman to the Synod of Whitby, *ib.* p. 183; Colman returns to, after the synod, iii. 26, p. 189 and note; Colman belongs to, iv. 4, p. 213; Egbert tries to dissuade Egfrid from attacking, *iv.* 26, p. 267; Adamnan returns to, v. 21, p. 345; Angli alleged to belong to (!), p. xxxix note; application of the term, II. 11, 12; question of inclusion of Iona in, v. Hii; Scotia Maior and Scotia Minor, II. 11.
- SCOTTICA natio**, monks of, at Iona, v. 22, p. 346. **Scotticus** sermo, iv. 4, p. 213.
- SCOTTUS**, Diuma a Scottus, iii. 21, p. 170 and note; Ronan, iii. 25, p. 181 and note.
- SCOTWAD**, name of the Forth, *q.v.*, II. 120.
- SCRIBES**, mechanical work of, p. ciii; *v.* Monasteries.
- SCROCMAIL**, **SCROMAIL**, miswriting of Brocmail, II. 78.
- Scylla**, v. 21, p. 338.
- SCYTHAE**, midnight sun in land of, II. 7; equated with Scotti, II. 8.
- Scythia**, application of the name, II. 8; Picts said to have come from, i. 1, p. 11 and note; II. 23; Scots said to have come from, II. 8, 9.
- SCYTHLECESTER**, perhaps Chesters near Chollerton, Northumberland, Alfwold of Northumbria murdered at, II. 159; church of SS. Cuthbert and Oswald at, *ib.*
- Sebbi**, joint king of the East Saxons after Swidhelm, iv. 6, p. 218; iii. 30 (cf. II. 176, 177); remains faithful to Christianity. *ib.*; his piety, iv. 11, p. 225 and note; resigns his kingdom and becomes a monk, *ib.* pp. 225, 226; story of his death, *ib.* p. 226; miracle at his burial, *ib.* pp. 226, 227 and notes; succeeded by Sighard and Swefred his sons, *ib.* p. 227; II. 314.
- SECKINGTON** or **Secceswald**, Warwickshire, Ethelbald of Mercia murdered at, II. 342.
- SECNAB**, p. xxix note.
- 'secretarium'**, meaning of term, II. 71.
- 'secus'**, use of, II. 199.
- Sedechias**, the last king of Judah, *Ee.* § 11, p. 414.
- Sedulius**, imitated by Aldhelm, v. 18, p. 321 and note.
- Segeni**, presbyter and abbot of Iona at the time of Aidan's mission, iii. 5, p. 135 (cf. II. 113); furnishes Adamnan with materials for his Life of Columba, II. 113; Cummian's Paschal letter addressed to, *ib.*; Oswald tells the story of his vision of St. Columba to, II. 121, 122.
- Segenus**, Irish presbyter, letter of John, pope elect, and others to, ii. 19, p. 123 and note (probably identical with the preceding).
- SEGHINE MAC UA CUINN**, II. 113; *v.* Segenus.
- SEHAM**, near Ely, Felix translated to, II. 174.
- Selæseu**, *insula uituli marini*, Selsey, Sussex, Ethelwath grants land to Wilfrid at, for a monastery, iv. 13, p. 232 and notes (cf. II. 167); miracles at, iv. 14, pp. 232-236 and notes; ravages of the plague at, *ib.* pp. 233-235 (cf. II. 195); monks of, relate the story to Acca, who tells it to Bede, *ib.* p. 233; p. xlii note; Eadbert abbot of, v. 18, p. 321 and note.
- SELBY**, Yorkshire, abbey of, dedicated to St. Germanus, and possessing relics of him, II.

324.

**SELRD**, king of the East Saxons, after Offa, II. 314; slain, c. 826.

**SELSEY**, c. Sellescu.

**Senones**, Sens, Emme bishop of, iv. 1, p. 203 and note; 2 bishops of, Beornred, II. 289; Wulframn, II. 289.

**Septentrionales Picti**, i. 1. 1. Septentrionales.

**Septentrionales Scotti**, c. Sc. Septentrionales.

**SERENUS**, bishop of Marseilles, 39. 360.

**Sergius**, papa, pope at the time Cadwalla's arrival at Rome 7, pp. 292-294 and note; causes him to be baptized by the name of Peter, *ib.* and note; pope at the time of Wilfrord's two visits to Rome, v. 11, pp. 303 and notes; consecrates him as archbishop of the Frisians at St. Cecilia's church, *ib.* p. 303 and notes; gives him the name of Clement, *ib.* cf. II. 287, 292, 293; grants privileges to Ceolfrid for his monastery, IIa § 15, p. 380 and note; IIaa § 2, p. xvii; Hwæthbert at Rome at time of, Hab. § 18; II. 36; letter of, to Ceolfrid, pp. xv-xvii; spurious letters of, to Bertwald, II. 283.

**SERVA**

- II. 215); grants him a church and parcel of land, *ib.*; loses bishopric of Lindsey, *ib.* p. 229 and note (cf. II. 215); retains that of the Mercians and Middle Angles, *ib.*; succeeded as abbot by Cuthbald, II. 216; division of diocese of, *ib.*
- SHEPPEY**, Kent, Sexburgh receives the veil from Theodore, II. 239.
- SHERBORNE**, Dorset, Aldhelm's see at, II. 144; Forthere bishop of, II. 283; extent of diocese of, II. 307; a mere village, *ib.*
- SHERWOOD FOREST**, Haethfelth said to be in, II. 115.
- Siogfrid**, diaconus, elected abbot of Wearmouth in succession to Eosterwine, Hab. § 10 and note (cf. § 14, p. 379 and note); Haa. § 13 and notes, §§ 15, 18; p. xiii; his sickness, Hab. §§ 9, 10, p. 374; Haa. § 15; last interview with Benedict Biscop, Hab. § 13; pp. xiv, xxxiii; his death, Hab. § 14, p. 377 and note; Haa. § 17 and note; pp. xiii, lxviii; his relics translated on the anniversary of his death, Hab. § 20 and note; Haa. § 18; chronology of life of, II. 364, 374.
- SICILY**, Julianus of Eclanum dies in, II. 22.
- SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS**, bishop of Clermont, his description of the ravages of the Saxons, II. 28; induced by Constantius to publish his correspondence, II. 32; letters to Lupus, *ib.*; to Sulpicius, *ib.*; to Prosper, bishop of Orleans, *ib.*
- SIFRED**, v. Sæbbhard.
- Sigbert**, king of the East Angles, succeeds his brother Earpwald after three years, ii. 15, p. 116 and notes; iii. 18 and note (cf. II. 106); his learning, ii. 15, p. 116; converted while an exile in Gaul, *ib.* and notes (cf. iii. 18 and notes); evangelises his people with the help of Felix, *ib.* and notes; establishes a school on the Frankish and Kentish model, iii. 18 and notes; resigns and retires to a monastery, *ib.* and notes; forced to lead his people against the Mercians, *ib.*; slain in battle, *ib.*; receives St. Fursa, iii. 19, p. 163; grants him a site for a monastery, *ib.* p. 164 and note.
- Sigbert**, 'cognomento Paruus,' king of the East Saxons, iii. 22, p. 171 and note; succeeded by Sigbert, *ib.* and note; confusion of the name with Sæbert, II. 79.
- Sigbert**, king of the East Saxons, succeeds Sigbert 'Paruus,' iii. 22, p. 171 and note; a friend of Oswy, whom he frequently visits, *ib.*; converted to Christianity by his arguments, *ib.* p. 172; baptized by Finan at place called Ad Murum, *ib.* and note; asks Oswy for missionaries, *ib.*; murdered by two of his relatives, gesiths, *ib.* p. 173 and note (cf. II. 48); this was a punishment foretold by Cedd, *ib.* p. 174; succeeded by Swidhelm, *ib.*
- SIGBERT III**, king of Austrasia, alleged correspondence with Desiderius of Cahors, II. 168.
- SIGEBALD**, ? abbot of Chertsey, letter of, to St. Boniface, II. 217.
- SIGEBERTUS GEMBLACENSIS**, ceases to notice English affairs after Bede's death, p. xliii note; his judgement of Theodore's penitential, p. clvii note.
- SIGEBRAND**, bishop of Paris, put to death as an adherent of Baldhild, II. 322.
- SIGFRID**, v. Siegfried.
- Sigfrid or Sigga**, bishop of Selsey, consecrated by Tatwin, C. 733; II. 313.
- SIEGA**, v. Sigfrid.
- Sighard**, son of Sebbi joint king of the East Saxons, iv. 11, p. 227 (cf. II. 176, 314); present at Sebbi's death, *ib.*
- Sigheri**, joint king of the East Saxons after Swidhelm, iv. 6, p. 218; iii. 30 (cf. II. 176, 177);



- Silver in Britain, i. 1, p. 1  
note.
- SILCESTER, pope, baptism of  
stantine by, II. 44.
- SILVIA, mother of St. Gregor  
68, 389.
- SILVIAUM, Samer, Pas-de-Calais  
II. 279.
- SIMEON OF DURHAM, uses MS.  
Bede's II. E., p. xciv; his  
tory of the Church of Durl  
p. cxxxvii.
- Simon (Magus), his contest  
St. Peter, v. 21, pp. 343; ;  
his tonsure the origin of  
Celtic tonsure, *ib.* and note;  
354.
- Simony, v. 21, p. 344; iii. 7  
141 and note; II. 19.
- SIMPLICIUS, a saint, II. 91.
- SIMPLICIUS, bishop of Paris, II.
- Sina Mons, i. 27, p. 59.
- 'SINCELLUS,' meaning of, II. 38
- Sion, iii. 19, p. 164 and note; t  
Mount of Olives the same heig  
as, v. 17, p. 318.
- SIRICIUS, pope, ordinance of, abo  
baptism, II. 95. 96.
- SIRMUM, r. Syrmium.
- 'sine' = et, II. 83.
- SLACK, near Huddersfield, equate  
with Campodenum, II. 105.
- SLAVERY, share of Church i  
abolishing, II. 227.
- SLAVE-TRADE, II.

- STEVENSON**, Joseph, his edition of the H. E., p. lxxxi; his translation of Bede's Historical Works, p. cxxxii; his edition of Bede's Hist. Abb., pp. cxxxiii, cxxxix; of Bede's Homily on Benedict Biscop, p. cxxxiii; of the Hist. Anon. Abb., p. cxli.
- STILICHO**, **FLAVIUS**, defeats the Saxons, Picts, and Scots, II. 10.
- STINGO**, origin of the name, II. 104.
- STONEHAM**, on the Itchen, v. Ad Lapidem.
- STORKES**, Henry, perhaps owned MS. O., p. cxix.
- STOUT-HERIS**, name applied to the East Angles, II. 86.
- STOWE** MS., p. cxx.
- STOWE** MISSAL, mention of English saints in, II. 81, 82.
- stragicus**, **stragicus**, II. 229.
- STRAHAM**, Mare de, near Ely, II. 269.
- 'stramen'** = saddle, horse-cloth, II. 154.
- STRASBURG**, bishopric of, offered to Wilfrid, II. 325.
- STRATHCLYDE**, Britons of, II. 301; Dumbarton a fort of, II. 24; possibly present at conference with Augustine, II. 75; cut off from North Welsh by battle of Chester, II. 75, 77; Nynias probably belongs to, II. 128; expedition of Oengus and Eadbert against, II. 346; relations of, to Northumbria, *ib.*
- Streansshalch**, Whitby, monastery of, built by Hild, iv. 23, p. 254 and note; iii. 24, p. 179 and note; Elfled nun and abbess of, *ib.* and note; Elfled, Oswy, Eanfled, Edwin, and others buried in church of St. Peter at, *ib.* and note; iv. 26, p. 267; II. 391; Hild abbess of, iv. 23, p. 252 and notes; iii. 25, p. 183 and note; synod on the Paschal question held at, *ib.* and notes; p. xxxix; II. 146; importance of synod of, p. xl; omitted by Sax. Chron., II. 188; Trumwine retires to, after the death of Egfrid, iv. 26, p. 267 and notes (cf. II. 224); dies and is buried at, *ib.* and notes; Elfled and Eanfled joint abbesses of, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 391); Hild dies at, v. 24, p. 355; a double monastery, II. 150, 184, 246; destroyed by the Danes, *ib.*; etymology of the name, II. 189; MS. said to have belonged to, II. 201; John of Hexham trained at, II. 274; leaden bulla of Archdeacon Boniface preserved at, II. 321; earliest Life of Gregory written by a monk of, II. 389; Edwin's body translated to, II. 391; altars of SS. Peter and Gregory at, *ib.*
- 'studium'** = medical treatment, II. 275.
- Suæbhard**, joint king in Kent with Witred, v. 8, p. 295 and note; identified by some with Swefred of Essex, II. 177, 284; called Sifred by R. W., II. 177; spurious charter of, II. 222.
- Sualua**, the Swale, Yorkshire, Paulinus baptizes Deirans in, ii. 14, p. 115; flows past Catterick, *ib.* and note.
- 'subintroduco'**, a term of blame, II. 146, 316, 363.
- 'subsistentia'**, theological meaning of the term, II. 232.
- 'SUBSTANTIA'**, theological meaning of the term, II. 232.
- Sudergeons regio**, Surrey, Chertsey in, iv. 6, p. 218 and note.
- Suefred**, son of Sebbi, joint king of the East Saxons, iv. 11, p. 227 (cf. II. 176, 177, 220, 314); identified by some with Swæbheard of Kent, II. 177, 284.
- Sueui**, cross the Rhine and ravage Gaul, i. 11.
- SUFFOLK**, one of the divisions of East Anglia, II. 168.
- Suidberet**, missionary in Frisia, v. 11, p. 302 and note; sent to Britain, *ib.*; consecrated bishop by Wilfrid, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 319); goes to the Boructuari, *ib.*; on their dispersion obtains

- a grant of In Litore (Kaiserswerth) from Pippin, *ib.* and note; builds a monastery, and dies there, *ib.* and notes; his successors, *ib.* and note; spurious Life of, by Marcellinus, II. 288, 291; his see at Dorostat, II. 291; MS. of Livy belonging to, *ib.*; his relics still preserved, *ib.*; homily and verses on, *ib.*
- Suidbert**, abbot of monastery of Dacre, iv. 32, p. 279.
- Suidhelm**, king of the East Saxons, son of Sexbald, succeeds Sigbert, iii. 22, p. 174 and note; baptized by Cedd at Rendlesham, *ib.* and note; Ethelwald of East Anglia his godfather, *ib.* and note; succeeded by Sigheri and Sebbi, iii. 30.
- SUNDARANGI** = Mercii, q. v. (cf. Suthanglia), II. 391.
- SUNDERLAND**, Co. Durham, possible birthplace of Bede, p. ix note.
- SURREY**, v. Sudergeona regio. 'suspectus,' used actively, II. 30.
- SUTHANGLIA**, II. 30.
- SUDANHYMBRE**, SUTHUMBRI, meaning of term, II. 30.
- SUTHYMBRIA**, II. 30.
- SWALE**, the, v. Sualua.
- SYAGRIUS**, bishop of Autun, II. 39.
- 'symbolum' = creed, II. 231.
- SYMPHORIUS**, a saint, II. 91.
- 'synaxis,' use of the term, II. 238, 239.
- SYNESIUS**, bishop of Ptolemais, cited, II. 68.
- synodica actio**, II. 211; synodica epistola, synodicus libellus, II. 70, 234.
- 'synodus' = synodica epistola, II. 234.
- SYRACUSE**, Constans II dies at, II. 204.
- Syria**, famine in, foretold by Agabus, i. 3; religious syncretism in, II. 60.
- Syrmiium**, Pannonia, Theodosius assumes the purple at, i. 9.
- T.**
- Tabernaculo**, de, Bede's work, v. 24, p. 357; v. Baeda.
- TACITUS**, cited, II. 5-7, 10, 11, 13.
- TADCASTER**, identified with Melcacaestir, II. 244.
- TALBOT**, Robert, Rector of Burlingham, Norfolk, II. 115.
- TALORG MAC ANFRITH**, king of the Picts, probably son of Eanfrid of Bernicia, II. 120, 187, 261.
- Tamensis**, the Thames, staked by the Britons, i. 2, p. 14 and note; crossed by the Romans, *ib.*; separates Kent and the East Saxons, ii. 3, p. 85; Tilbury situated on, iii. 22, p. 173; Chertsey near, iv. 6, p. 218; stated by Orosius to be fordable only at one point, II. 13.
- TANAISE ABRAID**, p. xxix note.
- Tanatos**, Thanet, island to the east of Kent, containing 600 hides, i. 25, p. 45 and note; Augustine lands there, *ib.*; Eadburt abbes of, p. xx; II. 219; Solinus' description of, II. 10; Saxons retire to, II. 30.
- TANNER**, Thomas, bishop of St. Asaph, former owner of MS. O<sub>15</sub> p. cxxv.
- TARENTUM**, diocese of, II. 212.
- Tarsus** of Cilicia, Theodore born at, iv. 1, p. 202.
- Tata**, name of Ethelberg daughter of Ethelbert, ii. 9, p. 97.
- Tatfrid**, bishop of the Hwiccas, educated at Whitby under Hild, iv. 23, p. 255; elected bishop of the Hwiccas, *ib.* and note; dies before consecration, *ib.*
- Tatuini**, archbishop of Canterbury, a priest of the monastery of Bredon in Mercia, v. 23, p. 350 and note (cf. II. 324); succeeds Bertwald as archbishop of Canterbury, *ib.*; consecrated at Canterbury by four bishops, *ib.*; alive in 731, *ib.*; v. 24, p. 356; ninth archbishop of Canterbury, *ib.*; receives the pallium, C. 733 (cf. II. 341); consecrates Alwic and Sigfrid,

- ib.*; II. 313; dies, C. 734; author of Latin riddles, II. 341.  
 'TAWDREY,' derivation of the word, II. 235.  
 TEARS, the gift of, II. 268.  
 TECH-BÆITHIN, *v.* Tibohine.  
 Tecla, iv. 20, p. 247 and note.  
 TEES, the, *v.* Tessa.  
 TEFFIA, *v.* Tethba.  
 TEILO, St., II. 213.  
 TEMPEST, Sir Thomas, former owner of MS. Harl. 4688, p. cxli.  
 Templi, de aedificatione, Bede's work, v. 24, p. 358; *v.* Baeda.  
 'tempore, ex' = at leisure, Pref. p. 5 and note.  
 Temporibus, de, Bede's, v. 24, p. 359; *v.* Baeda.  
 Temporibus, liber maior de, *i. e.* Bede's De Temporum Ratione, v. 24, p. 359; *v.* Baeda.  
 TENNYSON, In Memoriam, cited, II. 180.  
 TENTS, use of, II. 240.  
 TEOTUL, of Lindsey, points out the place of Edwin's burial, II. 391.  
 TESA flumen, the Tees, boundary of Deira according to some, II. 120; all between Tyne and, desert, *ib.*  
 Testamentum Uetus, cited, i. 27, p. 54; *v.* Lex.  
 TESTRY, near St. Quentin, importance of battle of, II. 288.  
 TETHBA, Teffia, Ireland, Aed, son of Brendan prince of, II. 133.  
 TEUTONES, Skene derives Iutae from (I), II. 29.  
 TH between vowels tends to disappear, II. 145.  
 THAMES, *v.* Tamensis.  
 THANE, king's, II. 243; queen's, *ib.*  
 THANET, *v.* Tanatos.  
 'theca,' *v.* Bibliotheca.  
 THEKSTONE, near Ripon, equated with Degaстан by Pearson, II. 66.  
 Theodbald, brother of Ethelfrid of Northumbria, slain at Degaстан, i. 34 and note.  
 THEODEBERT, king of Austrasia, II. 39, 41.  
 Theodoretus, bishop of Cyrus, Council of Constantinople against, iv. 17, p. 240 and note.  
 THEODORIC II, king of the Burgundians, II. 39, 41.  
 THEODORIC III, king of the Neustrian Franks, bribed by the enemies of Wilfrid, II. 215.  
 Theodorus, bishop of Mop-suestia, Council of Constantinople against, iv. 17, p. 240 and note.  
 Theodorus, monachus, archbishop of Canterbury, Albinus a pupil of, Pref. p. 6 and note; v. 20, p. 331; consecrates Leutharius as bishop of the West Saxons, iii. 7, p. 141 and notes; consecrates the church of St. Peter at Lindisfarne, iii. 25, p. 181 and note; a native of Tarsus, iv. 1, p. 202; recommended by Hadrian as archbishop of Canterbury, *ib.* and notes; ordained subdeacon, *ib.* and note; wears the Eastern or Pauline tonsure, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 353, 354); consecrated, *ib.* and notes; v. 24, p. 354; sets out with Hadrian, iv. 1, p. 203 and note; v. 20, p. 331; Hab. § 3; Benedict Biscop accompanies, *ib.* and note; p. xviii; detained at Arles, iv. 1, p. 203; goes to Agilbert, bishop of Paris, *ib.* and note; Egfrid sends Rædfrid to escort, *ib.* and note; ill at Quentawic, *ib.* and note; reaches Britain, *ib.* (cf. iv. 5, p. 214 and note; II. 200); rejoined by Hadrian, *ib.* p. 204 and note; gives him the monastery of St. Peter by papal command, *ib.* and notes (cf. II. 357); reaches Canterbury, Hab. § 3 and note; II. 202; iv. 2, p. 204 and note; traverses the whole of the English part of the island, *ib.*; the first archbishop to whom the whole English Church submits, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 53); learning and disciples of, *ib.* pp. 204, 205 and notes (cf. p. xviii);

consecrates Putta to Rochester, *ib.* p. 206 and note; Wulfstan asks for a bishop from, *ib.* p. 206; asks O-swy to send as bishop to Mercia, *ib.* p. 206 and note; insists on Ceadda instead of walking on his episcopal tours, *ib.* cf. II. 316. 32. consecrates Wynfrid Ceadda's successor, *ib.* p. 206 and note; summons the Council of Winchester, *ib.* p. 214 and note; presides at it, *ib.* p. 215; v. 354; canons proposed by him, *ib.* pp. 215-217 and note; consecrates Bisi as bishop of the East Angles, *ib.* p. 217 and note; deposes Wynfrid, *ib.* p. 218 and notes; consecrates Sexwulf in his place, *ib.* p. 218 and notes; makes Earconwald bishop of London, *ib.* and notes; consecrates Hæddo in London as bishop of the West Saxons, *ib.* p. 227 and note; consecrates Cwihelm in Rochester, *ib.* p. 228 and note; appoints Cuthmund in his place, *ib.* p. 228 and note; consecrates Eadlulf, Bosa, and Eata at York, *ib.* p. 229 and notes cf. II. 316. 32; makes Tunbert bishop of Hereford, and Trumwine of York, *ib.* and notes; places Eadred at Winchester, *ib.* p. 230 and notes.

- and note; Paschal cycle composed by Theophilus of Alexandria for, v. 21, p. 341 and note.
- Theodosius Iunior**, succeeds Honorius as emperor, i. 13.
- THEODULF**, bishop of Orleans, on pilgrimages, II. 282.
- THEODRID**, abbot of Epternach, Life of Wilbrord by, II. 288, 293.
- THEOPHANU**, empress, translates the body of St. Albinus, II. 18.
- THEOPHILACIAS**, archdeacon of Rome, sends presents to St. Boniface, p. lxxvi note.
- Theophilus**, bishop of Alexandria, composes a Paschal cycle of a hundred years, v. 21, p. 341 and note.
- THETFORD**, East Anglian see removed to, II. 108.
- Theudor**, king of the Strathclyde Britons, dies, C. 750 and note; son of Beli, II. 346.
- THIETMAR**, his chronicle cited, II. 67.
- THINGVÖLLR**, Iceland, II. 255.
- THOMAS**, apostolus, apocryphal Acts of, II. 294.
- Thomas**, of the Gyrwas, bishop of the East Angles, deacon of Bishop Felix, iii. 20; succeeds him as bishop of the East Angles, *ib.* and notes (cf. II. 106); consecrated by Honorius, *ib.*; succeeded by Bertgils, *ib.* and note; the second native bishop, II. 174; his orthodoxy, II. 206.
- THOMAS I**, archbishop of York, restores York Cathedral, II. 102.
- THOMAS II**, archbishop of York, attempts to translate Eata's relics, II. 274.
- THOMAS OF ELMHAM**, his opinion of Bede, p. xliii note; on St. Alban, II. 18; on Benedict Biscop, II. 204; on 'pompatie' writing, II. 312.
- THOMAS OF ELY**, Life of St. Ethelthryth by, II. 235.
- THOR**, worship of, blent with Christianity, II. 106.
- THORLAK**, bishop of Skalholt, Iceland (†1193), II. 251.
- THORNEY**, Cambridgeshire, Benedict Biscop's body said to have been translated to, II. 365.
- Thracia**, Theodosius made emperor of, i. 9.
- Thruidred**, presbyter, monk, and afterwards abbot, of the monastery of Dacre, iv. 32, p. 280; owns relics of Cuthbert, *ib.*
- Thryduulf**, priest and abbot of a monastery in the forest of Elmet, ii. 14, p. 115.
- THURSDAY**, a festal day on account of the Ascension, II. 258.
- Thuuf**, English name of 'Tufa,' q. v.
- THYLE**, midnight sun in, II. 7; Picts defeated in, II. 10.
- TIBERIUS III**, APSIMARUS, emperor, p. cxlvi.
- Tiberius Constantinus**, emperor, assists Gregory I in his refutation of Eutychius, ii. 1, p. 76.
- TIBOHINE**, county Roscommon, Baeithin Mor bishop of, II. 112.
- Tilaburg**, Tilbury, on the Thames, iii. 22, p. 173 and note; monastery founded by Cedd at, *ib.*; date of, II. 149.
- TILL**, the, Northumberland, the Beaumont Water a tributary of, II. 105.
- Tilmon**, monachus, formerly a thane, v. 10, p. 301 and note; one of the companions of the two Hewalds, *ib.*; has a vision of one of them, *ib.*
- Timotheus**, circumcision of, by St. Paul, cited, iii. 25, p. 185 and note (cf. II. 58); epistles of Paul to, i. 27, p. 48; Ee. § 3.
- Tinus**, Tina amnis, the Tyne, separates Hexham from the cemetery of St. Michael, v. 2, p. 283; Herebald abbot of monastery at mouth of, v. 6, p. 289 and note; Jarrow on, v. 21, p. 332 and note; Roman wall connects Solway with, II. 15, 17; boundary of Deira according to some, II. 120; all between Tees and, desert, *ib.*

- Tiowulfingacæstir**, ? Littleborough, on the Trent, ii. 16, p. 117 and note.
- TIRECHAN**, collections of, in Book of Armagh, II. 25.
- Titillus**, a notary, writes the canons of the Council of Hertford, iv. 5, p. 217.
- TITUS**, v. Tytus.
- TNUGDALI VISIO**, II. 295.
- Tobias**, Bede's commentary on, v. 24, p. 358; v. Baeda.
- Tobias**, consecrated by Bertwald as bishop of Rochester in succession to Gebmund, v. 8, p. 295 and note; his learning, p. xviii note; v. 8, p. 296; v. 23, p. 348; pupil of Theodore and Hadrian, *ib.* (cf. II. 205); dies, and is buried in a porticus of St. Paul which he had made for his tomb, *ib.* pp. 348, 349; succeeded by Aldwulf, *ib.* p. 349 and note; present at witenagemot of Bapchild, II. 284.
- TOLEDO**, Council of, II. 234.
- TOMENE MAC RONAIN**, abbot and bishop of Armagh, II. 112; v. Tomianus.
- Tomianus**, Irish bishop, letter of John, pope elect, and others to, ii. 19, p. 123 and note.
- Tondberet**, prince of the South Gyrwas, first husband of Ethelthryth, iv. 19, p. 243 and note.
- Tondheri**, a faithful thane of Oswin, iii. 14, p. 155 and notes; remains with him at the time of his murder, *ib.* and notes; son of Tylsius, II. 163.
- TONSURE**, question of, II. 83, 203, 337, 353, 354.
- Toretgyd**, a nun at Barking, sees a vision of Ethelberg's death, iv. 9, pp. 221, 222 and notes; Ethelberg appears to, before her own death, *ib.* pp. 223, 224 and notes.
- Torhthelm**, an abbot in Gaul, Benedict Biscop obtains architects from, Haa. § 7 and note; II. 359.
- TORHTHELM**, prior, p. xxix note.
- TORIGNY**, Robert de, v. Robert.
- TORRESEY**, Lines., not to be equated with Tiowulfingacæstir, II. 109.
- TORTHERE**, bishop of Hereford before Walhstod, II. 341.
- TORY ISLAND**, St. Ernan abbot of, II. 113.
- TOSTIG**, earl of Northumberland, II. 158; neglects to be present at the translation of Oswin, II. 164.
- Toul**, bishops of, Frothar, II. 138; Deodatus, II. 325.
- TOULON**, Menna bishop of, II. 39.
- TOULOUSE**, defeat of the Saracens at, II. 339.
- TOURNAL**, monastery of St. Martin's at, p. xix note; MSS. of, *ib.*; Odo abbot of, *ib.*; p. xx note; scriptorium of, *ib.*
- TOURS**, the Saracens defeated at, by Charles Martel, II. 339; v. Turoni.
- TOURS**, Gregory of, v. Gregory.
- TOWCESTER**, Northants., identified by some with Tunnacæstir, II. 243.
- TRAJAN**, his rescript to Pliny about the Christians, II. 46.
- Traiectum**, Gallic name of Uilburg (*q.v.*) or Utrecht, v. 11, p. 303 and note; Wilbrord's first visit to, II. 288; St. Radbod bishop of, II. 291; church of St. Saviour at, II. 292, 293; chapel of St. Martin at, *ib.*
- TRAJECTUS AUGUSTI**, probably Aust on the Severn, II. 74.
- Transhumbrana gens** (= Nordanhymbri, II. 29), Oswy rules over part of, iii. 14, p. 155. Transhumbrana regio, Egfrid king of, Hab. § 4, II. 29.
- TRANSLATION** of poetry, Bede and Dante on, II. 250.
- Treanta**, iii. 24, p. 80; iv. 21; v. Treenta.
- TREASON** to a Lord, inexpiable, II. 163.
- TRECAR**, Troyes, saved from Attila by the prayers of St. Lupus, II. 33.
- Treassena ciuitas**, Troyes, Lupus bishop of, i. 17, p. 34 and note;

- MS. of Bede's excerpts from St. Augustine at, p. clv; MS. at, II. 295.
- Trecaseni**, Troyes, Lupus bishop of, i. 21, p. 40.
- Treenta**, *Treanta*, *fluuius*, the Trent, Paulinus baptizes the people of Lindsey in, ii. 16, p. 117 and notes; boundary between the Northern and Southern Mercians, iii. 24, p. 180; battle of, between Egfrid and Ethelred, iv. 21 and notes (cf. II. 155); the Idle a tributary of, II. 98; *Trisanton*, ancient name of, II. 109.
- Treuiri**, *Trèves*, Severus bishop of, i. 21, p. 40 and note; Ricbod archbishop of, p. clii note; abbey of St. Maximin of, p. cxxxi.
- TRIADS**, the Welsh, cited, II. 64, 66.
- Triduanum ieiunium**, v. Ieiunium.
- TRIMAN**, *TRINIAN*, *TRINYON*, corruptions of Ninian, II. 129.
- TRIMMA**, a Mercian monk, II. 391.
- Trinouantes**, submit to Caesar, i. 2, p. 14.
- Tripolitanus**, Severus a Tripolitan, i. 5. *Tripolitana prouincia*, p. clvi note.
- TRISANTONA**, ancient name of the Trent, II. 109.
- Troia**, iv. 20, p. 247.
- TROIS FONTAINES**, v. Alberic.
- Tropis**, *de*, *siue* *de* *Schematibus*, Bede's, v. 24, p. 359; v. Baeda.
- TROYES**, v. *Trecas*, &c.
- Trumberet**, pupil of Ceadda (Chad) and teacher of Bede, iv. 3, p. 210 and note; p. xviii.
- Trumheri**, 'natione Anglorum,' bishop of the Middle Angles and Mercians, succeeds Ceollach, iii. 21, p. 171 and note; iii. 24, p. 179 and notes; consecrated by the Scotti, *ib. ib.*; abbot of Gilling, iii. 24, pp. 179, 180; a relative of Oswin, *ib.* p. 180 and note (cf. p. xxxv note); first bishop of the Mercians under Wulfhere, *ib.* and note; succeeded by Jaruman, iii. 30 and note.
- Trumuini**, made bishop of the province of the Picts subject to the English, iv. 12, p. 229 and note; retires from Abercorn to Whitby after the death of Egfrid, iv. 26, p. 267 and notes (cf. II. 24, 224, 385); dies and is buried in the church of St. Peter there, *ib.* and note; goes to Farnie to persuade Cuthbert to accept the offered bishopric, iv. 28, p. 272 and note; his see wrongly placed at Whithorn, II. 224; hears from Cuthbert a story of his childhood, II. 268; called also Tuma, *ib.* (cf. II. xxxvi); his see located in the monastery of Abercorn, II. 384.
- TRUYONS**, corruption of Ninian, II. 129.
- Tuda**, pontiff of the Northumbrians, educated and consecrated among the Southern Irish, iii. 26, p. 189 and notes (cf. II. 125, 196); comes from Ireland during Colman's episcopate, and succeeds him, *ib.* pp. 189, 190; practises what he preaches, *ib.*; p. xxxvi; was probably meant to be bishop of Bernicia, II. 323; dies of the plague, iii. 27, p. 192 and notes (cf. II. 192, 323); buried at Pægnalæch, *ib.* and note.
- Tufa**, Roman name of banner used by Edwin, ii. 16, p. 118 and notes.
- Tuidi flumen**, the Tweed, Melrose on banks of, iv. 27, p. 269; v. 12, p. 304 (cf. p. xxx); Bernicia north of, said to have been lost in 685, II. 262.
- Tuifyrdi**, v. *Ad Tuifyrdi*.
- TUMA**, shortened name of Trumwine, II. 268 (cf. II. xxxvi).
- Tunberet**, bishop of Hexham, abbot of Gilling, Haa. § 2 and note (cf. II. 164, 223); invited by Wilfrid to Ripon, Haa. § 3 (cf. II. 193); made bishop of Hexham, iv. 12, p. 229 and note; Haa. § 2 (cf. II. 164, 193);



note; named after the  
Tunna, *ib.*

**Turon.** Tours, *q.v.*, John the  
chanter stays at, on his w  
Britain, iv. 18, p. 242;  
and is buried there on  
return, *ib.* and note; Al  
founds schools in the mona  
of St. Martin's at, p. xvii n  
Caroline minuscule devel  
at, p. xx note; grants of Beret  
and Charles the Simple to  
138; Aleuin head of, II.  
258; story of, II. 258, 259;  
in, stayed by Aleuin's pray  
II. 269; Pelagius bishop of,  
39.

**Turonica** sedes, privileges gran  
by Gregory I to, II. 323, 324  
**TWEED**, *r.* Tuidi.

**TWEEDMOUTH**, church at, dedicat  
to Boisil, II. 266.

**TWELVE**, frequency of the numb  
II. 193, 288.

**TWINE**, Bryan, former owner  
MS. O<sub>16</sub>, p. cvii.

**TWYSDEN**, Roger, former owner  
MS. Bu., p. cxx.

**TYDLIN**, prefect of Dunbar, Wilf  
in custody of, II. 325.

**TYLSIUS**, father of Tondhere,  
163.

**TYNE**, the, *r.* Tinus.

**TYNEMOUTH**, Oswin buried at.  
164.

- by Cædwalla to Wilfrid, and by him to Bernwine, *ib.* and note; Arwald king of, *ib.* and note; two princes of, baptized and executed, *ib.* pp. 237, 238; dimensions and position of, *ib.* (cf. i. 3); the last province of Britain to be converted, *ib.* p. 238 (cf. II. 319); Daniel the first to exercise episcopal functions in, *ib.* (cf. v. 23, p. 350; II. 307).
- Uecta, son of Uoden, i. 15, p. 32. 'uel' = et, II. 83, 243.
- VENANTIUS, a patrician of Syracuse, letter of Gregory I to, II. 62.
- Uenta, Uenta ciuitas, Winchester, *q. v.*, called by the Saxons Uintancæstir, iii. 7, p. 140; becomes a see, *ib.* and notes; body of Birinus translated to, *ib.* and notes; Leutherius consecrated in, *ib.* p. 141; Daniel bishop of, in 731, v. 23, p. 350; II. 144, 307.
- Uentanus antistes, Daniel, v. 23, p. 350; II. 307. Uentana ciuitas, Daniel bishop of the diocese of, v. 18, p. 321.
- Uerba dierum, Books of Chronicles, Bede's chapters of readings on, v. 24, p. 358.
- VERDUN, Hermann count of, II. 48.
- VERGILIUS, *v. Maro*.
- Vergilius, archbishop of Arles (wrongly called successor of Aetherius), Gregory recommends Augustine to, i. 28 and note; letters of Gregory to, II. 39, 40; consecrates Augustine, II. 45.
- Uerlamacæstir, English name of Verolamium, St. Alban's, i. 7, p. 21.
- Uerolamium, St. Alban's, called Uerlamacæstir, or Uaeclingacæstir, by the English, i. 7, p. 21 and note; St. Alban martyred at, *ib.*
- VERONA, Bruno, archbishop of, II. 51.
- Uespasianus, sent by Claudius to Britain, i. 3 and notes; succeeds Nero as emperor, *ib.*
- Uetadun, Watton, East Riding of Yorkshire, Heriburg abbess of monastery at, v. 3, p. 285 and note (cf. II. 262); miracle wrought by John of Hexham at, *ib.* pp. 284, 285 and notes.
- Uictbert, a companion of Egbert, v. 9, p. 298 and notes (cf. II. 288); an anchorite in Ireland, *ib.* (cf. II. 196); attempts to evangelise Frisia, *ib.*; fails, and returns to Ireland, *ib.*; v. 10, p. 299; a companion of Wilbrord, II. 288.
- Uictgils, son of Uitta, father of Hengist and Horsa, i. 15, pp. 31, 32.
- VICTOR, bishop of Capua, refutes Victorius' Paschal heresies, II. 201.
- VICTOR, martyr of Marseilles, II. 18.
- VICTOR, St., church of, at Xanten, II. 290.
- VICTORIANUS, one of the 'quattuor Coronati,' II. 91.
- VICTORIUS, of Aquitaine, his Paschal heresies refuted by Victor of Capua and Bede, II. 201, 351 note.
- Uictred, king of Kent, son of Egbert, v. 23, p. 348 and notes; iv. 26, p. 268; succeeds his brother Edric after a period of anarchy, *ib.* and notes (cf. II. 121); reigns jointly with Swæbhard, v. 8, p. 295 and note; dies, leaving three sons as co-heirs, v. 23, p. 348 and notes; v. 24, p. 356; laws of, against idolatry, II. 60; time of his doubtful predecessors included in reign of, II. 121; ecclesiastical laws of, II. 284.
- Uictuarii, the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight, of Jutish origin, i. 15, p. 31 and note.
- VIENNA, Vienne in Gaul, Constans slain at, i. 11; Benedict Biscop comes to, Hab. § 4; Desiderius bishop of, II. 39, 40; Ado archbishop of, II. 212.
- VIENNA, MS. of Livy at, II. 291.

**Ughard**, presbyter, an Englishman, iv. 1, p. 201; a pupil of Gregory's disciples in Kent, Hab. § 3; one of the clergy of Deusdedit, iii. 29, p. 196; sent by Oswy and Egbert of Kent to Rome with a view to consecration, *ib.* and notes; Hab. § 3; II. 357; dies at Rome before consecration, *ib.* *ib.* *ib.*; iv. 1, pp. 201, 202; his successor, iii. 29, p. 199.

**VIGILUS**, pope, introduces the system of dating by imperial regnal years into papal documents, II. 38.

**UILBERT**, amanuensis to Bede, pp. lxxvii and note, clxiii.

**Uilbrord**, archbishop of the Frisians, iii. 13, p. 152; Wilfrid and Acca stay with, *ib.* and notes (cf. II. 327); Acca reports a miracle told by him of the time of his voluntary exile in Ireland, *ib.* and note; II. 196 (cf. II. 288); sent by Egbert from Ireland, v. 10, p. 299 and note; goes to Pippin, *ib.* and notes; sent by him to Frisia, *ib.*; his success there, *ib.*; II. 292; address of Radbod to, p. xxxvi note; goes to Rome to obtain papal sanction for his mission, and relies, v. 11, pp. 301, 302 and note; destroys idols, *ib.* p. 301 and note; II. 292; sent a second time to Rome by Pippin, *ib.* p. 302 and note; consecrated archbishop of the Frisians by Pope Sergius in the church of St. Cecilia, *ib.* pp. 302, 303 and notes; receives the name of Clement, *ib.* p. 303 and notes (cf. II. 288, 292, 293); receives Utrecht as his see, *ib.* and notes; alive in 731, *ib.*; Wilfrid prepares the way for, v. 19, p. 326; II. 293; his treatment of heathenism, II. 58; his collection of relics, II. 60, 159; miracle at burial of, II. 220; Alcuin's Lives of, pp. lxiv, cxlvii; II. 285, 287, 288, 293; founded on an earlier Life by an Irishman, II.

287, 288; Life of, by Theofrid, abbot of Epternach, *ib.*: II. 293; son of Wilgils, II. 288; educated at Ripon, *ib.* (cf. II. 293); a cleric of, healed at Cuthbert's tomb, *ib.*; his companions, *ib.*; baptizes Pippin the Short, II. 289; assisted by Boniface, and wishes to consecrate him, *ib.*; tries to evangelise the Danes, II. 290; trains Danish boys as missionaries, *ib.* (cf. II. 37); builds the church of St. Saviour and chapel of St. Martin at Utrecht, II. 293; Alcuin's description of, *ib.*; his monasteries, *ib.*; dies and is buried at Epternach, *ib.*; date of his death, *ib.*; fate of his relics, *ib.*

**Uilfaræsdun**, id est mons Uilfari, probably Gariston, ten miles from Catterick, iii. 14, p. 155 and note; Oswin dismisses his army at, *ib.*

**Uilfrid**, bishop of York, his birth, II. 316; his cruel stepmother, II. 320; enters Lindisfarne, II. 316; v. 19, p. 323 and notes; learns the Psalter, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 137); resolves to go to Rome, *ib.* and note; sent by Eanfled to Kent, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 316); studies under Honorius, *ib.* (cf. II. 110, 111, 372); Earconbert sends him to Rome with Benedict Biscop, *ib.* and notes; iii. 25, p. 182; II. 316, 356; stays with Dalfinus (really Annemundus), bishop of Lyons, v. 19, p. 324 and notes; iii. 25, p. 182; II. 316, 356; refuses his offers, and reaches Rome, v. 19, p. 324 (cf. II. 316, 317); becomes friends with Archdeacon Boniface, *ib.* and note; studies at Rome, *ib.*; returns to Dalfinus, *ib.* (cf. II. 317); is nearly put to death with him, *ib.* pp. 324, 325 and notes; returns to Britain, II. 317; Alchfrid a friend and pupil of, v. 19, p. 325 and note; iii. 25, p. 182 and note; Alchfrid grants Ripon to, *ib.* and

note; v. 19, p. 325 and note (cf. II. 193, 317); with land at Stamford, *ib.* and note; II. 317; invites Tunbert and Ceolfrid to Ripon, Haa. § 3 and note (cf. II. 193, 323); Agilbert a friend of, iii. 25, p. 183; ordained priest by him at Ripon, *ib.*; v. 19, p. 325; acts as spokesman on the Roman side at Whitby, iii. 25, pp. 184-188 and notes (cf. v. 19, p. 325); regards Celtic orders as invalid, II. 178; sent by Alchfrid to Gaul, iii. 28, p. 194 and note; v. 19, p. 325 and note; II. 317; was probably meant to be bishop of Deira only, II. 323; consecrated at Compiègne, iii. 28, p. 194 and note (cf. v. 19, pp. 325, 326 and notes; v. 24, p. 354; II. 317); remains abroad, iii. 28, p. 194 and note; v. 19, p. 326 and note; II. 317; returns to Britain, iii. 28, p. 194; driven on to the coast of Sussex, II. 59, 207, 324; lands at Sandwich, II. 207; reaches Britain before Theodore, iv. 2, pp. 205, 206; ordains priests and deacons in Kent, *ib.* p. 206 and note; II. 207, 317; ordains Putta priest, II. 207; retires to Ripon, *ib.*; II. 317; ordains Ceolfrid priest, Haa. § 3 and note; II. 317, 370; sent for by Wulfhere to act as bishop in Mercia, II. 207; Wulfhere an adherent of, II. 185; installed in his see by Theodore, II. 317; his share in the transfer of Chad to Mercia, II. 207; holds the bishopric of York, of all the Northumbrians, and of the Picts subject to Oswy, iv. 3, p. 206 and notes; v. 19, p. 326; II. 323, 383; wrongly called archbishop of York, II. 117, 226; calls himself 'episcopus Saxoniae,' II. 368; teaches orthodox practices to the Churches of the English, iii. 28, p. 195; the first English bishop to do so, iv. 2, p. 205 and note; invites Aeddi from Kent to teach

chanting to the Northumbrian churches, *ib.* and note (cf. II. 359); his services to church music, II. 119, 206; asked by Oswy to accompany him to Rome, iv. 5, p. 214; II. 315, 317; Ethelthryth receives the veil from, iv. 19, p. 244; II. 317; sends representatives to the Council of Hertford, iv. 5, p. 215; II. 318; grants Ceolfrid to Benedict Biscop, Haa. § 5 and note; church of York restored by, II. 102, 188, 359; churches of Ripon and Hexham built by, II. 318; church of Hexham adorned by, II. 360; extension of his authority over Celts and Saxons, II. 208; Egfrid's successes due to, II. 223; quarrels with Egfrid, iv. 12, p. 229; Eormenburg's arguments against, II. 385; expelled from his see (first expulsion), iv. 12, p. 229; iv. 13, p. 230 and note; v. 19, p. 326 and notes; v. 24, p. 355; II. 318; foretells the death of Ælfwine, II. 242 (cf. II. 318); his diocese divided, iv. 12, p. 229; iv. 13, p. 230; v. 19, p. 326 and notes; II. 318, 383; sets out for Rome (first appeal), iv. 13, p. 230; v. 19, p. 326 and note; II. 71, 318, 360; goes to Ely, II. 324; Ebroin and Theodorie bribed to intercept, II. 215; Wynfrid mistaken for, *ib.*; preaches in Frisia, v. 19, p. 326 and notes; II. 226, 293, 318; Ebroin tries to have him killed in Frisia, II. 325; stays with Dagobert II and Perctarit on the way to Rome, II. 318, 325; his cause decided in his favour by Pope Agatho, v. 19, p. 326 and notes; II. 318; opposed at Rome by Theodore and Hild, II. 189, 190; attends a Roman council, and answers for the faith of Britain, Ireland, and the Isles, v. 19, pp. 326, 327 and notes; II. 230; on returning through Gaul is in danger of being

Wessex, II. 236, 318, 326  
pelled therefrom, II. 242.  
persecution of, by Egfrid,  
264; evangelises the S  
Saxons, v. 19, p. 327 and n.  
iv. 13, p. 230; baptizes t  
chief men, *ib.* (cf. II. 44,  
319, 324); relieves the fan  
by teaching them to fish, iv  
pp. 230, 231 and notes (cf.  
315); receives land from Et  
walh at Selsey, *ib.* p. 232  
note; builds a monastery wh  
his successors still held in  
*ib.* and note (cf. v. 18, p. 3  
II. 319); frees the slaves up  
it, *ib.* and note; remains  
Sussex till the death of Egfr  
*ib.* (cf. v. 19, p. 327); has a visi  
of the damnation of Egfrid,  
261; first bishop of the Sou  
Saxons, iv. 15; assists Cædwal  
II. 229, 326; goes to Cædwal  
in Wessex, II. 319; receives  
fourth part of Wight from Cæ  
walla, iv. 16, p. 237 and note  
(cf. II. 319, 326); regrants  
to his nephew Bernwine, wit  
Hiddila, for the conversion o  
the island, *ib.* (cf. v. 19, p. 33  
and note; reconciliation o  
Theodore with, II. 217; re  
stored after Egfrid's death, iv  
15; v. 19, p. 327 and notes; II.  
319; restoration due to him.

- bishop of Hexham, v. 20, p. 331; Acca had left Bosa to follow, *ib.* p. 332; letter of Aldhelm to clergy of, II. 327; practises what he preaches, p. xxxvi; a great collector of relics, II. 330; his munificence, II. 383; and ostentation, II. 198; Bede's suppression of incidents in the life of, p. xlv note; II. 315, 325, 327; Bede's view of, II. 316, 383; additional matter relating to, in some MSS. of the H. E., p. cv; Life of, by Eddius, II. 206; Bede's use of it, v. Baeda; Lives of, II. 316; tendency to heighten miraculous element in Lives of, II. 277, 278.
- Uilfrid II**, bishop of York, succeeds John, v. 6, p. 292 and note; iv. 23, p. 254; educated under Hild at Whitby, *ib.*; bishop of York in 731, v. 23, p. 350; succeeded by Egbert, C. 732; II. 278; dies, C. 745; II. 278; retires before his death, *ib.*; Alcuin's character of, *ib.*; 'uicedomnus' and abbot of York, *ib.*; question of translation of body of, to Canterbury, II. 328.
- Uilfrid**, bishop of the Hwiccas in 731, v. 23, p. 350 and note.
- Uiltaburg**, id est oppidum Uiltorum, Utrecht, called in the Gallic language Traiectum, *q.v.*, v. 11, p. 303 and note; granted by Pippin to Wilbrord as his see, *ib.* and note; regranted by Charles Martel, II. 294.
- VINE**, culture of, in Britain, II. 5, 6.
- Uinfrid**, v. Bonifacius.
- VINHEIÐI**, Icelandic name of Brunanburgh, II. 183.
- Uini**, bishop of the West Saxons, and afterwards of London, consecrated in Gaul, iii. 7, p. 140 and notes; brought in by Cenwalh, and placed at Winchester, *ib.* and notes (cf. II. 199, 316); expelled by him, iii. 7, p. 141 and notes; buys the see of London of Wulfhere, *ib.* and notes (cf. II. 206, 383); bishop of London till his death, *ib.* and notes; while bishop of the West Saxons consecrates Ceadda with the assistance of two British bishops, iii. 28, p. 195 and notes (cf. II. 207); the only bishop in Britain at that time canonically consecrated, *ib.* and note; third bishop of the West Saxons, iv. 12, p. 227; said to have retired to Winchester before his death, II. 147.
- Uintancæstir**, Winchester, Saxon name for Uenta, *q.v.*, iii. 7, p. 140.
- Uinuæd**, fluuius, ? the Went, a tributary of the Don, Yorks., Oswy defeats and slays Penda near, iii. 24, p. 178 and notes (cf. II. 168, 169, 185, 187).
- VISIONS** of the other world, II. 294, 295.
- '**UITA ACTIUA**' versus 'uita contemplatiua', II. 68, 69.
- Uitalianus**, pope at the time of Benedict Biscop's and of Wighard's arrival, Hab. § 3; iv. 1, p. 201; deliberates whom to send as archbishop to Britain, Hab. § 3 and note; letter of, to Oswy on the death of Wighard and appointment of Theodore, iii. 29, pp. 196-199 and notes; asks Abbot Hadrian twice to accept the archbishopric of Canterbury, iv. 1, p. 202; agrees to appoint Theodore, *ib.*; Hab. § 3; consecrates him, iv. 1, p. 203; requires him to provide for Hadrian in his diocese, *ib.* p. 204 and note; gives them letters of recommendation, *ib.* p. 203 and note (cf. v. 20, p. 331); requires Hadrian and Benedict Biscop to accompany Theodore, Hab. § 3; gives books to Benedict Biscop, p. xix note; doubtful letter of, to Theodore, II. 38, 205.
- Uitmær**, a monk of Wearmouth, enters the monastery of Wearmouth, and endows it with land which he had received from Aldfrid at Dalton, Hab. § 15, p. 380 and notes; death and burial,

note, xiv, xlv, xlviii, lxxii  
 358; in diocese of Hexha  
 x note; decline of, p. xxxii  
 102; becomes a cell of Durl  
 p. xxxii note; part of Bisc  
 church at, still remaining  
 lxxix note; John the archcha  
 teaches Gregorian music at  
 119, 233; Cynimund a mon  
 iii, 15, p. 158 and note; ca  
 the greater monastery, Hab.  
 and note; Alcuin's letters  
 monks of, r. Alcuin; the aut  
 of the Hist. Anon. Abb. a me  
 of, II. 371; r. Petrus.

**Uiuri flumen**, the Wear, mon  
 tery founded at mouth of,  
 Benedict Biscop, iv, 18, p. 2  
 and notes; v, 21, p. 332 a  
 note; Hab. § 1 and note, §  
 Haa. §§ 5, 7; II. 370; Bisc  
 buys land to the south of, Ha  
 § 9; r. Petrus.

**ULTAN**, an Irish scribe in Nort  
 umbria, p. xx note.

**Ultanus**, brother of Fursa, wl  
 joins him in his eremitic li  
 iii, 19, p. 168 and notes; of roy  
 descent, II. 171; accompani  
 Fursa to Britain, II. 172; go  
 to Gaul and founds the mon  
 tery of Fosse, *ib.* (cf. II. 173  
 abbot of Fosse and Péronne, *il*  
 foretells St. Gertrude's death,

**ULTRA-UMBRESSES** II. 22

iv. 13, p. 230 and note; grants him Wight and the district of the Meanwari, *ib.* and notes; II. 147, 246; dies and is succeeded by his brother Ethelred, v. 24, p. 354 and note; married to St. Ermingild, II. 144, 344; recovers Lindsey, II. 155; alleged endowment of Peterborough by, II. 175; mentioned on the Bewcastle Cross, *ib.*; chronology of reign of, II. 185, 186; a supporter of Wilfrid, II. 187; sends for him to act as bishop in Mercia, II. 207; East Saxons recover power on death of, II. 216; spurious grant of, to Chertsey, II. 217; his war with Wessex, II. 225; first Christian king of all Mercia, II. 344; puts down idolatry, *ib.*

**VULMAR**, St., abbot of Siluicacum (Samer), gifts of Cædwalla to, II. 279.

**Uurtigern** (Vortigern), invites Saxons into Britain, i. 14; i. 15, p. 30; ii. 5, p. 90; called 'dux Anglorum,' II. 18; Gerontius the historical counterpart of, II. 23; Nennius' account of, II. 27; prophecies of Merlin to, II. 279.

**Uuscfrea**, son of Edwin and Ethelberg, ii. 14, p. 114 and note; baptized, *ib.*; sent into Gaul, ii. 20, p. 126 and note; diesthere, and is buried, *ib.*

**Uynfrid**, fourth bishop of the Mercians under Wulfhere, iii. 24, p. 180 and note; consecrated by Theodore to succeed Ceadda as bishop of the Mercians, Middle Angles, and Lindisfari, iv. 3, p. 212 (cf. II. 206); one of the clergy of Ceadda, *ib.*; deacon under Ceadda, *ib.*; attends the Council of Hertford, iv. 5, p. 215; deposed by Theodore, iv. 6, p. 218 and notes (cf. II. 268); retires to Ad Baruae, where he dies, *ib.* and note; goes to the Continent, and is mistaken for Wilfrid, II. 215, 216 (cf. II. 324).

W.

**WÆGDÆG**, son of Woden, ancestor of the kings of the Deiri, II. 119.

**WAGELE** (on), ? Whalley, Cheshire, II. 196, 197.

**WALAFRIDUS STRABO**, poem of, on Bede's *In Cantica*, p. clii note; on the vision of Wetinus, II. 295.

**WALBOTTLE**, Northumberland, identified by Smith with Ad Murum, II. 176.

**WALCHER**, bishop of Durham, sends monks to restore Wearmouth, II. 102.

**WALCHEREN**, Wilbrord destroys an idol at, II. 290.

**WALES**, churches in, dedicated to St. Germanus, II. 33; Anglesey the granary of North, II. 41; meaning of terms North, South, and West Wales, II. 73, 74; sees in, c. 600, II. 75; boundaries of North Wales, II. 74, 75.

**WALLA**, Offa's Dyke divides England from, II. 152.

**WALKING**, as opposed to riding, a mark of asceticism, II. 136, 164 (cf. II. xxxvi).

**WALLSEND**, on Tyne, Roman wall ends at, II. 15.

**WALTHAM**, Essex, Augustinian Canons of the Holy Cross of, formerly owned MS. O<sub>6</sub>, p. cxxiv.

**WALTON**, near Newcastle-on-Tyne, identified by Camden with Ad Murum, II. 176.

**WANTSUM**, the, v. Uantsumu.

**WARE**, Sir James, his edition of Bede's *Hist. Abb.*, p. cxxviii; of Bede's *Ep. to Egbert*, p. cxlii.

**WATLING STREET**, II. 20.

**WATTON**, v. Uetadun.

**WEAR**, the, v. Uiuri.

**WEARMOUTH**, v. Uiuraemuda.

**WEBB**, Philip Carteret, former owner of MS. O<sub>4</sub>, p. cxvi.

**WEBHEARD**, v. Susebhard.

**WEDA**, v. Peada.

**WEDMORE**, 'chrim-loosing' of Guthrum at, II. 280.

**WEISSENBURG**, Otfried of, v. Otfried.



- WENT, the, a tributary of the  
identified by Raine with  
Winward, II. 183.
- WEREBURG, St., daughter of  
here of Mercia and St. E  
gild, II. 144.
- WERGELD, II. 242.
- WESTWYK, Iohannes de, f  
owner of MS. P, p. cvii.
- WETINUS, a monk of Reiche  
his vision of the other w  
II. 294, 295; written by I  
bishop of Basle, and vers  
by Walafridus Strabo, *ib.*
- WEXFORD, p. ci.
- WHALLEY, r. Wagele.
- WHARTON, Henry, his editio  
Bede's Hist. Abb., p. cxxxv  
of Bede's Ep. to Egbert, p. c
- WHITBY, r. Streanashalch.
- WHITCHURCH, places in Engl  
called, II. 129.
- WHITERN, r. Ad Candidam Cas.
- WHITSTABLE, Kent, pearls s  
found at, II. 6.
- WIBURG, St., found incorrup  
after death, II. 240.
- WICBERT, WICFBERT, corruptly  
Hwaetbert, II. 371.
- WICRED, Bede's letter to.  
Aequinoctio, r. Baeda; Bed  
visit to, p. xvi note.
- WIDUKIND, dux Saxonum, forc  
the Frisians to apostatise, I  
293.

WILLIAM OF TYRE, his reference to Bede cited, II. 4.  
 WILLIBALD, Life of St. Boniface, II. 346.  
 WILTON, Bede said to be buried at, p. lxxviii note; wooden church at, II. 101.  
 WIMBORNE, Dorset, a double monastery, II. 150; rules of, *ib.*  
 WINBERT, abbot of Nursling, confused with Hwætbert, II. 371.  
 WINCANHEAL, *v.* Pægnalæch.  
 WINCHCOMBE, near Cheltenham, MS. O, formerly belonged to monastery of, p. cxv.  
 WINCHESTER, MS. of Bede's H. E. belonging to, pp. lxxxvi note, civ, cix-cxi; Winchester group of MSS. of H. E., pp. civ, cv, cix-cxiii; see of, said to have been endowed by Lucius, II. 14, 20; church of, rebuilt, II. 20; bishops of, Beornstan, II. 138; Cynehard, II. 308; Ethelwold, II. 365; Wine said to have retired to, II. 147; extent of diocese after division, II. 307; *v.* Uenta, Uentanus.  
 WINE, *v.* Vine.  
 WINIGOTH, Leander bishop of Seville at Constantinople on affairs of, II. 69; derivation of the name, II. 89.  
 WITENAGEMOT, traces of action of, in Bede, II. 87, 94; co-operation of, in grants of land, II. 362, 386.  
 WOMEN, influence of, in English Church, II. 245; position of, in German tribes, *ib.*; exclusion of, from Columbite churches, II. 258.  
 WOOL, wearing of, a mark of asceticism, II. 237.  
 'WOOLWARD, TO GO,' meaning of the phrase, II. 237.  
 WORCESTER, Nicolas prior of, II. 140, 224; see of the Hwiccas at, II. 246; Wulfstan bishop of, II. 139.  
 WORKSOP, Notts., monastery of, formerly owned MS. H., p. cvi.  
 WORLD, belief in approaching end of, II. 62.

WROXETER, Shropshire, Watling Street ends at, II. 20.  
 WULFRAMN, St., archbishop of Sens, II. 289.  
 WULFSTAN, archbishop of York, adopts Bede's doctrine of the six ages of the world, p. xlii note; cites Gildas, II. 35, 36; cited, II. 62, 296.  
 WULFSTAN, St., bishop of Worcester, attacks the slave-trade, II. 139.  
 WYCLIFFE, his version of N. T. cited, II. 46.  
 WYRA, sacerdos, companion of Swidbert, II. 291.  
 WYVILLE, Robert, bishop of Salisbury, MS. O, written for, p. cxiv.  
 WYVILLE, arms of, p. cxiv.

X.

XANTEN, church of St. Victor at, II. 290.

Y.

YATADINI, II. 275; *v.* Uetadun.  
 YENLADE, *v.* Genladae.  
 YEVERIN, *v.* Ad Gefrin.  
 Yffi, son of Osfrid son of Edwin, ii. 14, p. 114 and note; baptized, *ib.*; sent into Gaul, ii. 20, p. 126 and note; dies there and is buried, *ib.*  
 Yffi, father of Ælle of Deira, II. 119; Oswin the last ruler of the line of, II. 120.  
 YORK, *v.* Eburacum.  
 YTENE, II. 29; *v.* Iutae.  
 Ythancaestir, St. Peter's on the Wall, on the Blackwater, Essex, monastery founded by Cedd at, iii. 22, p. 173 and note; on the Pant, *ib.*; date of, II. 149; the ancient Othona, II. 178.

Z.

ZACHARIAS, pope, forbids St. Boniface to appoint his own successor, II. 82; writes to him about Theodore, II. 202, 203; about rebaptism, II. 277; orders monks to wear wool, II. 237.  
 ZEDEKIAH, *v.* Sedechias.  
 ZOSIMUS, pope, deposes Pelagian bishops, II. 21.

PRINTED AT  
BY HORACE HAR

# Clarendon Press, Oxford.

---

## Ecclesiastical History, &c.

**Adamnani Vita S. Columbae.** Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by J. T. FOWLER, M.A., D.C.L. Crown 8vo, half-bound, 8s. 6d. *net*.

— The same, together with Translation. 9s. 6d. *net*.

**Bigg.** The Christian Platonists of Alexandria; being the Bampton Lectures for 1886. By CHARLES BIGG, D.D. 8vo, 10s. 6d.

**Bingham's** Antiquities of the Christian Church, and other Works. 10 vols. 8vo, 3l. 3s.

**Bright.** Chapters of Early English Church History. By W. BRIGHT, D.D. *Second Edition*. 8vo, 12s.

**Burnet's** History of the Reformation of the Church of England. *A New Edition*. Carefully revised, and the Records collated with the originals, by N. POCOCK, M.A. 7 vols. 8vo, 1l. 10s.

**Cardwell's** Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England; being a Collection of Injunctions, Declarations, Orders, Articles of Inquiry, &c., from 1546 to 1716. 2 vols. 8vo, 18s.

**Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents** relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Edited, after SPELMAN and WILKINS, by A. W. HADDAN, B.D., and W. STUBBS, D.D. Vols. I and III. Medium 8vo, each 1l. 1s.

Vol. II, Part I. Medium 8vo, 10s. 6d.

Vol. II, Part II. Church of Ireland; Memorials of St. Patrick. Stiff covers, 3s. 6d.

**Formularies** of Faith set forth by the King's authority during the Reign of Henry VIII. 8vo, 7s.

**Fuller's** Church History of Britain. Edited by J. S. BREWER, M.A. 6 vols. 8vo, 1l. 19s.

**Le Neve's** Fasti Ecclesi  
tinued from 1715 to 1853.

**Noelli** (A.) Catechismus  
Pietatis Christianae Latini  
JACOBSON, A.M. 8vo, 5s.

**Primers** put forth in the

**Records** of the Reform  
Mostly now for the first time  
and other Libraries. Coll.  
2 vols. 8vo, 17s. 16s.

**Reformatio** Legum Ecclesiasticarum  
Ecclesiastical Laws, as altered  
VI, and Elizabeth. Edited

**Shirley.** Some Account of  
By W. W. SHIRLEY, D.D.

**Stillingfleet's** Origines Britannicæ  
Account of Church Government  
2 vols. 8vo, 10s.

**Stubbs.** Registrum Sacrum  
exhibit the course of Episcopal  
D.D. Small 4to. 8s. 6d.

16/1/99

# SELECT LIST OF Standard Theological Works

PRINTED AT  
THE CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD.

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, ETC.	page 1
FATHERS OF THE CHURCH, ETC.	" 4
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, ETC.	" 5
ENGLISH THEOLOGY	" 6
LITURGIOLOGY	" 8

## 1. THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, ETC.

**HEBREW, etc.** *Notes on the Text of the Book of Genesis.* By G. J. Spurrell, M.A. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 12s. 6d.

— *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel.* By S. R. Driver, D.D. 8vo. 14s.

— *Treatise on the use of the Tenses in Hebrew.* By S. R. Driver, D.D. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

— *The Psalms in Hebrew without points.* Stiff covers, 2s.

— *A Commentary on the Book of Proverbs.* Attributed to Abraham Ibn Ezra. Edited from a MS. in the Bodleian Library by S. R. Driver, D.D. Crown 8vo, paper covers, 3s. 6d.

— *Ecclesiasticus* (xxxix. 15-xlix. 11). The Original Hebrew, with Early Versions and English Translation, &c. Edited by A. E. Cowley, M.A., and Ad. Neubauer, M.A. 4to, 10s. 6d. net.

— Translated from the Original Hebrew, with a Facsimile. Crown 8vo, stiff covers, 2s. 6d.

— *The Book of Tobit.* A Chaldee Text, from a unique MS.

in the Bodleian Library; with other Rabbinical Texts, English Translations, and the Itala. Edited by Ad. Neubauer, M.A. Crown 8vo. 6s.

— *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, with an Appendix containing the Biblical Aramaic, based on the Thesaurus and Lexicon of Gesenius, by Francis Brown, D.D., S. R. Driver, D.D., and C. A. Briggs, D.D.*

Parts I—VI. Small 4to. 2s. 6d. each.

— *Hebrew Accentuation of Psalms, Proverbs, and Job.* By William Wickes, D.D. 8vo. 5s.

— *Hebrew Prose Accentuation.* By the same Author. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

— *The Book of Hebrew Roots,* by Abu 'l-Walid Marwan ibn Janāh, otherwise called Rabbi Yōnāh. Now first edited, with an appendix, by Ad. Neubauer. 4to. 2l. 7s. 6d.

**ETHIOPIC.** *The Book of Enoch.* Translated from Dillmann's Ethiopic Text (emended and revised), and edited by R. H. Charles, M.A. 8vo. 16s.

*Lessons in Doulos Greek.*  
By Edwin Hatch, M.A., D.D. 8vo.  
10s. 6d.

— *Origenis Hexaplorum  
quae supersunt; sive, Veterum Interpre-  
tum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testa-  
mentum Fragmenta.* Edidit Fridericus  
Field, A.M. 2 vols. 4to. 5l. 5s.

— **NEW TESTAMENT.** *Novum  
Testamentum Graece.* Antiquissimo-  
rum Codicum Textus in ordine  
parallelo dispositi. Accedit collatio  
Codicis Sinaitici. Edidit E. H. Han-  
sell, S.T.B. Tomi III. 8vo. 24s.

— *Novum Testamentum  
Graece.* Accedunt parallela S. Scrip-  
turae loca, etc. Edidit Carolus  
Lloyd, S.T.P.R. 18mo. 3s.

On writing paper, with wide  
margin, 7s. 6d.

— *Appendices ad Novum  
Testamentum Stephanicum, jam inde a  
Millii temporibus Oxoniensium  
manibus tritum; curante Gulmo.  
Sanday, A.M., S.T.P., LL.D. I. Col-  
latio textus Westcottii-Hortiani (jure  
permissa) cum textu Stephanico anni  
MDL. II. Delectus lectionum notatu*

**LATIN.** *Old-Latin Biblical*

*Texts* : No. IV. Portions of the Acts, of the Epistle of St. James, and of the First Epistle of St. Peter, from the Bobbio Palimpsest (s), now numbered Cod. 16 in the Imperial Library at Vienna. Edited by H. J. White, M.A. 5s.

**Nouum Testamentum Domini**

*Nostri Iesu Christi Latine, secundum Editionem S. Hieronymi. Ad Codicum Manuscriptorum fidem recensuit Iohannes Wordsworth, S.T.P., Episcopus Sarisburiensis. In operis societatem adsumto Henrico Iuliano White, A.M.* 4to.

*Pars I, buckram, 2l. 12s. 6d.*

*Also separately—*

*Fasc. I, 12s. 6d. Fasc. II, 7s. 6d.*

*„ III, 12s. 6d. „ IV, 10s. 6d.*

*Fasc. V, 10s. 6d.*

**OLD-FRENCH.** *Libri Psalmorum*

*Versio antiqua Gallica e Cod. ms. in Bibl. Bodleiana adseruato, una cum Versione Metrica alisque Monumentis perreustis. Nunc primum descripsit et edidit Franciscus Michel, Phil. Doc. 8vo. 10s. 6d.*

**ENGLISH.** *The Books of*

*Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon. According to the Wycliffite Version of Hereford and Purrey. With Introduction and Glossary by W. W. Skeat, Litt.D.* 3s. 6d.

*The New Testament. According to the same Version.* 6s.

*The Holy Bible,*

*Revised Version\*.*

*Cheap Editions for School Use.*

*Revised Bible. Pearl 16mo, cloth boards, 10d.*

*Revised New Testament. Nonpareil 32mo, 3d.; Brevier 16mo, 6d.; Long Primer 8vo, 10d.*

\* The Revised Version is the joint property of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

**ENGLISH.** *The Oxford Bible*

*for Teachers, containing the Holy Scriptures, together with a new, enlarged, and illustrated edition of the Oxford Helps to the Study of the Bible, comprising Introductions to the several Books, the History and Antiquities of the Jews, the results of Modern Discoveries, and the Natural History of Palestine, with copious Tables, Concordance and Indices, and a series of Maps. Prices in various sizes and bindings from 3s. to 50s.*

*— Helps to the Study of the Bible, taken from the Oxford Bible for Teachers. New, Enlarged, and Illustrated Edition.*

*Pearl 16mo, stiff covers, 1s. net.*

*Nonpareil 8vo, cloth boards, 2s. 6d.*

*Large Type edition, long primer 8vo, cloth boards, 5s.*

*— The Psalter, or Psalms of David, and certain Canticles, with a Translation and Exposition in English, by Richard Rolle of Hampole. Edited by H. R. Bramley, M.A. With an Introduction and Glossary. Demy 8vo. 1l. 1s.*

*— Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica. Essays in Biblical and Patristic Criticism, and kindred subjects. By Members of the University of Oxford. 8vo.*

*Vol. I. 10s. 6d. Vol. II. 12s. 6d.*

*Vol. III. 16s. Vol. IV. 12s. 6d.*

*— The Book of Wisdom : the Greek Text, the Latin Vulgate, and the Authorised English Version ; with an Introduction, Critical Apparatus, and a Commentary. By W. J. Deane, M.A. 4to. 12s. 6d.*



## 2. FATHERS OF THE CHURCH, ETC.

**St. Athanasius :** *Orations against the Arians.* With an account of his Life by William Bright, D.D. Crown 8vo. 9s.

— *Historical Writings, according to the Benedictine Text.* With an Introduction by William Bright, D.D. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**St. Augustine :** *Select Anti-Pelagian Treatises, and the Acts of the Second Council of Orange.* With an Introduction by William Bright, D.D. Crown 8vo. 9s.

**St. Basil :** *The Book of St. Basil on the Holy Spirit.* A Revised Text, with Notes and Introduction by C. F. H. Johnston, M.A. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Canons of the First Four General Councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon.** With Notes by W. Bright, D.D. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum.** Edidit J. A. Cramer, S.T.P. Tomi VIII. 8vo. 2l. 4s.

**Clementis Alexandrini Opera,** ex recensione Guil. Dindorfii. Tomi IV. 8vo. 3l.

**Cyrilli Archiepiscopi Alexandrini in XII Prophetas.** Edidit P. E. Pusey, A.M. Tomi II. 8vo. 2l. 2s.

— *in D. Joannis Evangelium.* Accedunt Fragmenta Varianon Tractatus ad Tiberium Diaconum Duo. Edidit post Aubertum P. E. Pusey, A.M. Tomi III. 8vo. 2l. 5s.

**Cyrilli Commentarii in Lucae Evangelium quas supersunt Syriace.** E mss. apud Mus. Britan. edidit R. Payne Smith, A.M. 4to. 1l. 2s.

— The same, translated by R. Payne Smith, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. 14s.

**Ephraemi Syri, Rabulae Episcopi Edesseni, Balasi, aliorumque Opera Selecta.** E Codd. Syriacis mss. in Museo Britannico et Bibliotheca Bodleiana asservatis primus edidit J. J. Overbeck. 8vo. 1l. 1s.

**Eusebii Pamphili Evangelicae Praeparationis Libri XV.** Ad Codd. mss. recensuit T. Gaisford, S.T.P. Tomi IV. 8vo. 1l. 10s.

— *Evangelicae Demonstrationis Libri X.* Recensuit T. Gaisford, S.T.P. Tomi II. 8vo. 15s.

— *contra Hieroclem et Marcellum Libri.* Recensuit T. Gaisford, S.T.P. 8vo. 7s.

**Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History,** according to the text of Burton, with an Introduction by W. Bright, D.D. Crown 8vo. 8s. 6d.

**Evagrii Historia Ecclesiastica,** ex recensione H. Valesii. 8vo. 4s.

**Irenaeus : The Third Book of St. Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons, against Heresies.** With short Notes and a Glossary by H. Deane, B.D. Crown 8vo. 5s. 6d.

**Patrum Apostolicorum, S. Clementis Romani, S. Ignatii, S. Polycarpi, quas supersunt.** Edidit Guil. Jacobson, S.T.P.R. Tomi II. 8vo. 1l. 1s.

**Philo.** *About the Contemporary Life ; or, the Fourth Book of the Treatise concerning Virtues.* Critically edited, with a defence of its genuineness. By Fred. C. Conybeare, M.A. 8vo. 14s.

**Reliquiae Sacrae secundi tertiique saeculi.** Recensuit M. J. Routh, S.T.P. Tomi V. 8vo. 1l. 5s.

**Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Opuscula.** Recensuit M. J. Routh, S.T.P. Tomi II. 8vo. 10s.

**Socrates' Ecclesiastical History,** according to the Text of Hussey, with an Introduction by William Bright, D.D. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Sozomeni Historia Ecclesiastica.** Edidit R. Hussey, S.T.B. Tomi III. 8vo. 15s.

**Tertulliani Apologeticus adversus Gentes pro Christianis.** Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by T. Herbert Bindley, B.D. Crown 8vo. 6s.

— *de Praescriptione Haeticorum : ad Martyras : ad Scapulam.* Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by T. Herbert Bindley, B.D. Crown 8vo. 6s.

**Theodoreti Ecclesiasticae Historiae Libri V.** Recensuit T. Gaisford, S.T.P. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

### 3. ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, ETC.

**Adamnani Vita S. Columbae.** Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by J. T. Fowler, M.A., D.C.L. Crown 8vo, half-bound, 8s. 6d. net.

— The same, together with Translation. 9s. 6d. net.

**Baedae Historia Ecclesiastica.** A New Edition. Edited, with Introduction, English Notes, &c., by C. Plummer, M.A. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. 21s. net.

**Bedford (W.K.R.). The Blazon of Episcopacy.** Being the Arms borne by, or attributed to, the Archbishops and Bishops of England and Wales. With an Ordinary of the Coats described and of other Episcopal Arms. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. With One Thousand Illustrations. Sm. 4to, buckram, 31s. 6d. net.

**Bigg. The Christian Platonists of Alexandria.** By Charles Bigg, D.D. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church, and other Works.** 10 vols. 8vo. 3l. 3s.

**Bright. Chapters of Early English Church History.** By W. Bright, D.D. Second Edition. 8vo. 12s.

**Burnet's History of the Reformation of the Church of England.** A new Edition, by N. Pocock, M.A. 7 vols. 8vo. 1l. 10s.

**Cardwell's Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England ;** being a Collection of Injunctions, Declarations, Orders, Articles of Inquiry, &c. from 1546 to 1716. 2 vols. 8vo. 18s.

**Conybeare. The Key of Truth.** A Manual of the Paulician Church of Armenia. The Armenian Text, edited and translated with illustrative Documents and Introduction by F. C. Conybeare, M.A. 8vo. 15s. net.

**Councils and Ecclesiastical**

*Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland.* Edited, after Spelman and Wilkins, by A. W. Haddan, B.D., and W. Stubbs, D.D. Vols. I and III. Medium 8vo, each 1l. 1s.

Vol. II, Part I. Med. 8vo, 10s. 6d.

Vol. II, Part II. *Church of Ireland; Memorials of St. Patrick.* Stiff covers, 3s. 6d.

**Fuller's Church History of**

*Britain.* Edited by J. S. Brewer, M.A. 6 vols. 8vo. 1l. 19s.

**Gee. The Elizabethan Clergy**

*and the Settlement of Religion, 1558-1564.* By Henry Gee, B.D., F.S.A. Co-editor of 'Documents Illustrative of English Church History.' With Illustrative Documents and Lists. 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.

**Gibson's Synodus Anglicana.**

Edited by E. Cardwell, D.D. 8vo. 6s.

**Hamilton's (Archbishop John)**

*Catechism, 1552.* Edited, with Introduction and Glossary, by Thomas Graves Law, Librarian of the Signet Library, Edinburgh. With a Preface by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d.

**John, Bishop of Ephesus. The**

*Third Part of his Ecclesiastical History.* [In Syriac.] Now first edited by William Cureton, M.A. 4to. 1l. 12s.

**— The same, translated by**

R. Payne Smith, M.A. 8vo. 10s.

**Le Neve's Fasti Ecclesiae**

*Anglicanae.* Corrected and continued from 1715 to 1853 by T. Duffus Hardy. 3 vols. 8vo. 1l. 1s.

**Noelli (A.) Catechismus sive**

*prima institutio disciplinae Pietatis Christianae Latine explicata.* Editio nova cura Guili. Jacobson, A.M. 8vo. 5s. 6d.

**Ommanney. A Critical Dis-**

*sertation on the Athanasian Creed.* By G. D. W. Ommanney, M.A. 8vo, 16s.

**Records of the Reformation.**

*The Divorce, 1527-1533.* Mostly now for the first time printed from MSS. in the British Museum and other Libraries. Collected and arranged by N. Pocock, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 16s.

**Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum.**

The Reformation of Ecclesiastical Laws, as attempted in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth. Edited by E. Cardwell, D.D. 8vo. 6s. 6d.

**Shirley. Some Account of the**

*Church in the Apostolic Age.* By W.W. Shirley, D.D. Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

**Stubbs. Registrum Sacrum**

*Anglicanum.* An attempt to exhibit the course of Episcopal Succession in England. By W. Stubbs, D.D. Small 4to. Second Edition. 10s. 6d.

**4. ENGLISH THEOLOGY.****Bradley. Lectures on the**

*Book of Job.* By George Granville Bradley, D.D., Dean of Westminster. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**— Lectures on Ecclesiastes.**

By the same. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

**Bull's Works, with Nelson's**

*Life.* Edited by E. Burton, D.D. 8 vols. 8vo. 2l. 9s.

**Burnet's Exposition of the**

*XXXIX Articles.* 8vo. 7s.

**Butler's Works.** Divided into Sections; with Sectional Headings; an Index to each volume; and some occasional Notes; also Prefatory Matter. Edited by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. 2 vols. Medium 8vo. 14s. each.

**Cranmer's Works.** Collected and arranged by H. Jenkyns, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College. 4 vols. 8vo. 1l. 10s.

**Enchiridion Theologicum**  
*Anti-Romanum.*

Vol. I. Jeremy Taylor's Dissuasive from Popery, and Treatise on the Real Presence. 8vo. 8s.

Vol. II. Barrow on the Supremacy of the Pope, with his Discourse on the Unity of the Church. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Vol. III. Tracts selected from Wake, Patrick, Stillingfleet, Claggett, and others. 8vo. 11s.

**Greswell's Harmonia Evangelica.** Fifth Edition. 8vo. 9s. 6d.

**Hall's Works.** Edited by P. Wynter, D.D. 10 vols. 8vo. 3l. 3s.

**Heurtley. Harmonia Symbolica: Creeds of the Western Church.** By C. Heurtley, D.D. 8vo. 6s. 6d.

**Homilies appointed to be read in Churches.** Edited by J. Griffiths, D.D. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Hooker's Works, with his Life** by Walton, arranged by John Keble, M.A. *Seventh Edition.* Revised by R. W. Church, M.A., Dean of St. Paul's, and F. Paget, D.D. 3 vols. medium 8vo. 1l. 16s.

— *the Text as arranged by* J. Keble, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. 11s.

**Jackson's (Dr. Thomas) Works.** 12 vols. 8vo. 3l. 6s.

**Jewel's Works.** Edited by R. W. Jelf, D.D. 8 vols. 8vo. 1l. 10s.

**Martineau. A Study of Religion: its Sources and Contents.** By James Martineau, D.D. *Second Edition.* 2 vols. Crown 8vo. 15s.

**Patrick's Theological Works.** 9 vols. 8vo. 1l. 1s.

**Pearson's Exposition of the Creed.** Revised and corrected by E. Burton, D.D. *Sixth Edition.* 8vo. 10s. 6d.

— *Minor Theological Works.* Edited with a Memoir, by Edward Churton, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. 10s.

**Sanderson's Works.** Edited by W. Jacobson, D.D. 6 vols. 8vo. 1l. 10s.

**Stillingfleet's Origines Sacrae.** 2 vols. 8vo. 9s.

— *Rational Account of the Grounds of Protestant Religion; being a vindication of Archbishop Laud's Relation of a Conference, &c.* 2 vols. 8vo. 10s.

**Wall's History of Infant Baptism.** Edited by H. Cotton, D.C.L. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 1s.

**Waterland's Works, with Life,** by Bp. Van Mildert. *A new Edition,* with copious Indexes. 6 vols. 8vo. 2l. 11s.

— *Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist,* with a Preface by the late Bishop of London. Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d.

## 5. LITURGY

**Cardwell's *Two Books of Common Prayer***, set forth by authority in the Reign of King Edward VI, compared with each other. *Third Edition*. 8vo. 7s.

— *History of Conferences on the Book of Common Prayer from 1551 to 1690*. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

### **The Gelasian Sacramentary.**

*Liber Sacramentorum Romanæ Ecclesiæ*. Edited, with Introduction, Critical Notes, and Appendix, by H. A. Wilson, M.A. Medium 8vo. 18s.

### **Liturgies, Eastern and Western.**

Edited, with Introductions and Appendices, by F. E. Brightman, M.A., on the Basis of the former Work by C. E. Hammond, M.A.

Vol. I. **Eastern Liturgies**. Demy 8vo. 11. 1s.

### **Helps to the Study of the Book of Common Prayer: Being**

*a Commentary for Clergy and People*





18

18

18

18

18

18



3 2044 037 777 778

~~JUN 1 1983~~

~~JUN 1 1983~~

~~NOV 1 1983~~

~~SEP 10 1998~~



